

DĪGHA-NIKĀYA

Romanize Pāli Text with English Translation



Alka Barua

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(Romanize Pāli Text with English Translation)

संस्कृतकाल २५६३

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मंनिदश ३१-१०-०९

VOL- II

by
Alka Barua

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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION —

Does one but hold on long enough in this span of human wayfaring, one may be here to see even the translation of a Buddhist text sold out, with the gentle demand for it not yet exhausted. So has this work, after 28 years, attained to a second edition. By the process called 'off-set', emendations are difficult and costly. And there are no funds. Hence I have made only such as were most desirable, leaving in much which I should have wished to see expressed otherwise, both in my husband's work and in my own, were this more thoroughly a 'new' edition.

A word first to make clear our partnership in both this and the third (and last) volume, the first being wholly his work (published 1899). He ceased from his labours here in 1922, soon after the completion of these Dialogues. From the beginning of this century he had undertaken engrossing work as holding the new, the first Chair in a British University for the comparative study of religion, a task, at the present stage of research, fitter for half a dozen men than for one. Concentration on work in any one religious tradition had become impossible. It was only when Estlin Carpenter suggested that I should join in aiding the completion of the Dialogues that we both with good will started to do this. Of this second volume Rh D. had already, in 1881, published Suttantas XVI and XVII in *Sacred Books of the East*, XI. All the rest I translated, he revising my work, inserting many of the footnotes and contributing all the Introductions save that to the Mahā-Nidāna Suttanta, which is my work.

Another eleven years passed before the remaining volume was issued. Funds had to be raised, and our generous patron no longer sat on Siam's throne. My husband was ageing, his health

waning, and the accursed war came down. Siam's later monarch however, paid the printer, and the Dialogues achieved completion in 1921. Introductions to XXXI-XXXIII I wrote and all the translation.

In this edition it is mainly my own work that I have revised. Not a little in my partner's work needed revision, but there was not only expense, but the wish in me not to barge in on what was in a way a 'classic'. Moreover his footnotes, where a rendering seemed to him make-shift, often guard the reader. In all this there is matter in the history of research it may be well to keep in view.

Here I will briefly notice certain prominent renderings I have left unaltered, and also three of vital importance which I have altered.

(1) I have only altered Max-Mullerian transliteration (a system now generally discarded) where cerebrals were involved. To write *K* for *C*, *G* for *J*. etc., has proved for the general reader, ay, for the general writer too misleading to be left in. Further, I have let stand the circumflex for the long *a* ; also the less correct crude form of *-i* for *-in*, e.g. in *Vipassin*, and the crude form of *-a* in *Gotama*, etc. I never could share the partiality of some German and Asiatic scholars for the nominative in *-o* for general use. Such a phrase as 'he told Anado' is too unpleasant a shock—as were one to say 'amo tu'.

(2) I have let stand the use of 'god' for 'deva', but I do not find either 'god' or 'angel' historically fitting. In early Buddhism (as a consequence of the accepted Immanence) Vedic gods *had become friendly mortals*, living close by and given, in friendly-good will, to talk with the 'man-who-saw' and heard. Immanence had driven out, save for the many-folk, the notions of worship, prayer, ritual, intermediacy. Nor were devas always 'messengers' (angels) from a Highest. Nor do I like *devatā*, the abstract, as 'fairy' ; this I have changed to 'being' or 'spirit'.

(3) I have left in 'brethren' for *bhikkhu*, *bhikkhave*, etc. Unwillingly, but cf. footnote, 1st ed., p. 81. I have not the objection to 'monk' Rh. D. there shows, nor have I found Buddhists

objecting. We should not, because of convenience and tradition, force in 'brethren'. The Pali for 'brother' could have been used had it seemed meet ; it never was used.

(4) I have left in his 'intoxications' and my 'intoxicants' for 'āsavā'. We have no good word for spreading, absorbed, liquid Dane. 'Canker' is on the whole best, yet it is too 'dry'. Drugs, taints, poisons have also served.

(5) I have let *viññāṇa* be rendered by 'cognition', or by 'consciousness', albeit the older meaning : 'man-as-surviving' or 'soul' is in the main truer. But not in all Suttas. We see, in Majjhima 38, how this older meaning of a persisting principle, referred to as 'speaker, experiencer', is being hounded out, to be replaced by a meaning virtually identical with that of the other two varieties of cognition : *saññā*, *vedanā*, as merely the mental outcrop of sensation. *Viññāṇa*, in the Indian-tradition, could connote both meanings ; we have no such Janus-word.

(6) I have let 'rapture' in Jhāna stand for *samādhi* (lit. 'concentration'), although it goes too far, is too near Chalmers' 'ecstasy', which also goes too far. The only 'rapture' about *samādhi* is the 'rapt' quality of hyper-attention. As 'rapture' it is too easily confused with *pīti*, or emotional rapture, which in *samādhi* had to be suppressed.

(7) I have let the usual 'wobbling' in translation stand, when it is *bhava* that has to be rendered. Thus (p. 131) the last two lines : 'craving for future life—renewed existence—no more birth' show a triple use of the one word *bhava*, thus : 'then is the craving for becoming rooted out— that which leads to becoming is faded out—there is no more becoming'. No one reading the former translation gets any idea of the sinister change which had come over this word. No one unhelped would recognize it as the joyous word on p. 267, when the king sends polite greeting : 'May good fortune (*bhava*) attend the honourable Jotipāla.' (The Commentary strongly supports this rendering). In original Buddhism 'becoming' is given as the reason why men needed Gotarna's message, as one which could promote that 'good fortune' in the spiritual growth of the man. It had come, in monas-

ticism, to mean the dreadful persistence of life both as 'rebirth' and as 're-worlded'. However, the translator, with his triple variant for the one Pali word, gets there, so far as the monastic outlook goes, and so I leave it.

(8) Then there is the great word, of all words hardest fitly to translate : Dhamma. This is quite inaccurately rendered 'Truth' : Had the Buddhist speaker wished to say 'Truth', he had three strong words at hand : *sacca*, *bhūta*, *tathatā*. But no one regrets more than I that Rh. D. and I did not hammer out more often our renderings together. Till near his end I was too much just pupil ; let alone that we were both more or less akin to the Sutta Nipāta rhinoceros :

eko care khaggavisānakappo

My own view of that day I somewhat guard in a footnote (p. 29) by adducing the term 'Norm'. But Dhamma wants a better word than what is a 'good average'. Gotama's many brahmin fellow-workers will have had in mind the Upanishadic term *antaryāmin*. Yet will this not have sufficed for Dhamma, object from the first of the Leader's avowed worship. This was more ; it was inner incentive, urger, not merely restraining force. There was in Dhamma the push of conscience as well as its check. Hence possibly it is why *antaryāmin* did not get taken over by them, as for a while did *amṛta*.

But *dhamma* had also got the wider looser meaning of 'religion'; for this no other word was current (save perhaps *suddhi*). Take an instance from our volume III, p. 37 : 'What is this *dhamma* wherein you train your disciples, so that they win comfort and acknowledge inclination as the beginning of the training, *ajjhāsayam ādibrahmacariyam* ?' How is not a stronger word, like 'will', wanted here). For us religion here fits better than any other term. If the reader will bear in mind this wider meaning of *dhamma*, and let 'Truth' convey this, Rh. D. will not have misled him. Anyway it is better than the rendering 'Law'.

Here a brief codicil. On p. 38 I have once more altered in a formula three epithets, usually applied to *dhamma*, and have let them apply, implicitly as in the Pali, to the life of the 'wayfarer'

(*tathāgta*). If *dhmma* means 'religion', these epithets : 'beginning, middle, end' have no fit place. Nor have they if we call *dhmma* 'Truth'. Nor can the three fit the later meaning now general among Southern Buddhists, of *dhmma* as a code of teaching, for, when this mission-charge was made to the first disciples, there was not yet any such code of oral teaching. Obviously, for me, the epithets apply to man's span of present life, here or elsewhere : *dhmma* as 'lovely at the beginning, middle, end.'

(9) A not unimportant matter is the leaving in, on p. 82 ff.. of 'prosper' for growth (*vuddhi*). In the text we find *vuddhi* opposed to 'decay' (*parihāni*) : 'just growth is to be expected, not decay.' 'Prosper' is not in itself incorrect, but for me it is vital to remember, that not only here, at the end of his long mission, but at its very beginning, the inspiring message ran: 'Men are decaying ; as learners of (this) *dhmma* they will grow' (lit. 'become'). The great Man-lover is here shown keeping faith with the message from the Unseen from first to last. By the literal rendering 'growth' the reader can see this, as with 'prosper' he cannot.

This brings me to the three emendations I have made in our work, made because it is vital to an improved grasp of the teaching of original Buddhism that they should replace our own pioneer renderings, through which that grasp has been and still is crippled.

(10) The first is on pp. 29-32. Hero, in translating, I had docilely followed Oldenberg's rendering in *Vinaya Texts* (S.B.E.)—these pages being his work, not Rh. D's—and also K.E. Neumann's (p. 268 of his *Majjhima Nikāya*, 1917). A rendering I repeated, alas ! knowing no better then, in *Kindred Sayings*, I, pp. 173ff., 1917. These scholars judged that the word giving the better state for men who would hear Gotama teach meant just 'will be', not 'will become', or 'grow'. But this word 'will be' or 'become' is opposed to 'decaying,' thus indicating no mere future happening, but a causal process, an evolution, and hence had we all been more discerning, we should have seen that more was wanted than just a 'will be'. We had before us contexts

in both Upanishads and Pitakas, where *bhavissanti* (and other *bhu* inflections) clearly meant more than just a copula, or bare future state. The more pregnant meaning of 'will become' gives a hitherto buried consecutive force to the Hesitation scene and to its immediate sequel, as I have repeatedly pointed out.¹

(II) The second corrected context is no less important. It is on p. 108 ; a very solemn, very emphatic parting charge. Rh. D.'s rendering is echoed by R.O. Franke's, which is yet more free. But that is not the worst. Both entirely ignored the religious import, in Gotama's day, of the word *attā* (*ātmā*), import by which the accepted teaching of Immanence brought into the word 'self', or 'spirit'. Deity Itself. 'Lamps . . . refuge *unto yourselves*' may be good modern English tradition, but it was not Indian religious idiom of 500 B.C And when our translators render similar compounds of *ātmā* in the Upanishads, their procedure is very different. Then it is 'Lamp of the Self, refuge of the Self', or at least similar usage of this word. Why not this usage here also ?

Buddhists and lapsed Christians have lapped up this apparent call to be depending on the actual average self, quite overlooking that, in the Pali scriptures, the believer is usually told to take as refuge, not himself, not the two of the injunction : 'live as they that have the *attā*, that have *dhmma* as lamp, as refuge, and no other', but a *trinity* of lamps or refuges. And he cannot have it both ways. But I am here not mainly concerned with inconsistencies. It is for me most vital, I repeat, if we are to grip rightly the Founder's teaching, that we reject the atheistic or antitheistic presentation of it which, true enough of degenerate Hinayāna, is here thrust upon him who was the Child of a teaching of Immanence, the Child of an uplift in man—man as being, immanently and in germ, the Highest, the Peak of the Immortal (*t' amat' agge*)—an outlook unrivalled then and since in religious culture. I do not suppose we shall ever get the word 'self' to raise us religiously as it raised India. We have seen grow

1. Cf. esp. my *To become or not to Become*, 1937.

up, since Johnson's Dictionary registered our language, the meaning in self and unselfish of 'egoism', 'altruism'. But long before it, St. Catherine of Genoa had taught Immanence with a personal pronoun. 'My Me is God . . . by a process of transformation'. For her perhaps *ipse, stessa*, did not mean the ugly thing they now do, yet she chose well. And I think that if our translators had consistently used 'spirit', not 'self', that rather absurd perversion by our translators of the pathetic farewell had never been made. But we started our Indian culture with research into grammar, and only then moved on into religion, taking with us the *grammatical ātmā*, when we, richer here than India, had the better alternatives of 'spirit' and 'soul', India having the one word.

(12) The third alternative is of but one word, yet it is hardly less important than the others. On p. 33, where the Hesitation scene, true it may be of Gotama only, is told as true or earlier Buddhas, we see the Teacher-to-be, for whom doubt has now been dispelled, making glad response to the inspiring deva, whom psychically he has seen and heard. So glad was this for early compilers that it had been lifted into poetry :

Opened for man the portals of the Undying !

Man, as learning that he was essentially, not just a being, but a becoming, was herein to be shown how he had a very guarantee to winning the 'immortal peak' of Becoming, the very culmination of life (cf. p. 109). This glorious destiny for man conceived as essentially divine reverberates through the early Upanishads and was echoed by the Sakyan missionaries.

But for the after-men the vision faded out. Life was to be realized—so far as man, his vision turned earthwards could see—not as an ever more and more, but as something to be got rid of. And for the virtually positive term *amata*, they substituted the actually negative term *nirvāna*. So we get the Commentary telling us, that the 'portals' are '*nibbāna* reckoned as *amata*', and the translators, alas ! following it, choosing (possibly for aesthetic reasons) the more musical exegetic term, and turning from a word belonging, as that term did not, to the best religious teaching when '*Buddhism*' was *barn*. Late in time I have restored the 'undying' of the text, where *nirvāna* had been put.

Senior and junior translators, we may, in this volume leave an impression of 'self-lit self-supported' confidence that is misleading. Nay, none have been more mindful of difficulties. And I regret that, in the translation transferred from *S.B.E. XI*, for my husband's general preface no room was found, since in it are words of modesty and historical sagacity. Thus he wrote : 'with very great diffidence I yet maintain, that the discovery of early Buddhism . . . has turned the flank, so to speak, of most of the existing literature on Buddhism'. After a lapse of sixty years I venture to think, that we can only now go on to achieve the flank-turning. Only now can we, with regard to the refrains and emphases in the Pitakas, endorse with confidence the truth in his special and later Introduction, in this volume, to No. XVI (p. 77). Namely, that these records may be considered authentic enough, but only in the one way in which any such record can be considered authentic, that is, as evidence of beliefs, of values, held *at the date at which it was composed*.

NOTE. I regret that, in the foregoing I did not list my cited reading of *t'amat' agge* : 'The peak of the Highest' as a fourth alteration. In preparing the volume for reprint, it had broken in on me, that Buddhaghosa's interpretation (p. 109 fn.) was fantastic, and of the worsened outlook of degenerate values. "Darkness" (*tamas*) plays here no part. The *t'* is the emphatic *ta* ; the *agge* is Magadhese nominative (lingering here and there in the Canon) ; and *amata* it was that the New Gospel *professed to be revealing*. The compound, coupled with the pregnant *bhavissanti*, as 'will become' shows this very grand old man (yet ever young) closing his long work with the very words with which he had begun. But so far philologists have shaken sapient heads at me!

INTRODUCTION

The 'Dīghā Nikāya' is regarded as the first book of the Sutta Pitaka. The Dīgha Nikāya which is a collection of longer Suttas or discourses deals with various subjects of Buddhism. The book, (Romanize Pāli Text with English Translation) which is divided into three Volumes. The Mahāpadāna Sutta is the fourteenth sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya and Second Volume begins with this Sutta. The word 'Apadāna' used in the title signifies legend or life-story of the Buddha. It is also used as the title of the thirteen book of the Khuddaka Nikāya of the Sutta Pitaka and it means the legends or life story of an Arhat. In later books, Apadāna is never used to mean the legend of a Buddha. The mahapādāna may mean the story of the Great Ones (Seven Buddhas). This Sutta introduces an account of the seven Buddhas by way of illustrations. But it is only the life of Vipassī, first of the seven precious Buddhas, which finds an elaborate treatment. This Sutta interprets the term Pātimokkha not in the vigorous sense of ethical discipline attainable by the imitation of the lives of the Great Master.

The Mahānidāna Sutta is the fifteenth Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. This Sutta deals with the doctrine of Paticcasamuppāda or dependent origination of the law of causation and mentions soul. Seven kinds of being and eight kinds of vimokkhas or Stages of emancipation. The eight stages of emancipation are the condition of rūpi, arūpi, Saññi, recognition of Subha, realisation of ākāśānānañcāyatana (infinity of space), viññānānañcāyatana (infinitude of life-force or mind matter), of ākiñcaññāyatana (realm or sphere of nothingness), of neva- Saññānasaññāyatana (neither perception nor non perception), and of Saññāvedayitanirodha (cessation of consciousness and sensation).

This Sutta also discusses the Cause of jāti (birth), jara (oldage) and maraṇa (death). We learn from this Sutta, that there

was a talk between the Blessed one and venerable Ānanda. Here the latter told the former that it was really strange to see that the Dharma which is regarded as deep and profound appeared to me to be very easy. But the Buddha said to Ānanda that it was really not good to say like this. But the Buddha said to Ānanda that it was really not good to say like this. Because due to ignorance and non realisation of his Dharma, people were too busy with the worldly affairs and were entangled too much in this worldly matters and were not able to over come hell.

The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta is the Sixteen Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. It is regarded as the best Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. It deals with the Buddha's last days and his last speeches and Sayings. This Sutta refers to the Buddha's visit to vesālī (vaisālī). It mentions important events which practically affected the fate of Buddhism and records the wailings of men and women of countries far and near on hearing that the Blessed one would pass away too soon, and the honour with which the relics of the Buddha were received and cairns made over them. go to show how deeply were the people moved by the preachings and personality of the Buddha. The last word of the Tathagata. "Decay, is inherent in all component things; work out your salvation with diligence" "Vayadhammā Samkhārā, appamādena Sampādetthati" Strikes the keynote of Buddha's philosophy.

The Sutta mentions sila and Samādhi, four application of mind fulness (cattāre satipaṭṭhāna), four psychic powers (cattāre iddhipādā), five guiding faculties (pañca indriyāni), five forces (pañcabalāni) seven factors of enlightenment (satta bojjhanga), the noble eight-fold path (ariya aṭṭhaṅgika magga), the fourfold noble truth, Dhamma and vinaya. Vassakāra Brāhmaṇa's visit to the Buddha, Seven conditions of welfare of the Bhikkhusaṅgha, the lineage of faith, eight causes of earth quake, eight causes of subduing others, the Buddha's visit to cunda, four places of pilgrimage of any devout lay Buddhist, good results relating to the erection of dhātukaityas, former greatness of kushīnārā, Subhadha's visit to the Buddha and his conversation with him, the Mahāparinibbāna of the Buddha or the passing away of the Buddha, the Mallas homage to the Buddha's dead body, the cremation of the dead body of the Blessed One, quarrel over the

Buddha's relics. Dona's important role for the peaceful distribution of the Buddha's relics. It further says that when Ajātasattu of Magadha wanted to declare war against the vajjians and to defeat them, then the Buddha told that the vajjians fulfilled the seven conditions of welfare and it was for this reason they would not face any danger now. It then describes that the disciples of Pāṭligāma cordially received the Buddha who referred to the five disadvantages for not observing the precepts by householders and also five advantages for observing precepts by householders.

The Sutta gives an account of the villages through which the Buddha passed on his way to kusinagara or kusiṇārā, and he gave the last instruction for the well being of the saṃgha. The names of the places were Pāṭaligāma, kotigāma, Nādikā, Vesālī, Bhandagāma, Bhoganagara, Pāvā and kusiṇārā. At Pāvā the Buddha stayed in the mangogrove of Cunda, who was the son of a blacksmith. He took his meal at cuṇḍa's place and then he had an attack of dysentery. From there he went to kusiṇārā of the Mallas and there his Mahāparinibbāna took place between the twin Sāla trees. This Sutta then describes the distribution of the Buddha's relics amongst the Moriyas of Pippalivana, Ajātasattu of Magadha, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī (Vesālī), the Sākyas (Sākiyas) of kapilavastu (kapilavatthu), the Bulis of Allakappa, the koliyas of Rāmāgāma, a Brāhmaṇa of Vettadīpa, and the Mallas of Pāvā and kusiṇārā who erected stupas over them.

The Sutta informs us about the republican states like vajji, Malla, Buli and koliya. From this Sutta we learn that the Buddha said to his disciples to observe precepts, meditation, knowledge and emancipation and he also introduced four rules to ascertain the Buddhavaṇṇas authentically. He also told his lay disciples to go to kapilavastu, Gaya, Benaras and kusinagara. This Sutta records that the Buddha described Parisā or assemblies of the gods which were the assembly of the cātummahārājika gods, the assembly of the Tāvātimsa gods, the assembly of Mara and the assembly of Brahmā.

The Mahāsudassana Sutta is the Seventeenth Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. It begins with an account of the riches and glory of Mahāsudassana. It reveals in its details the instructive fact that the legend is nothing more or less than a spiritualised sun-myth.

The Sutta mentions the greatest glory and majesty of the greatest king, the royal city and its place of Righteousness, the extent of his kingdom and his enjoyment. The aim and object of it is to inform us that all is vanity except righteousness. It says that nothing is permanent and there is an inevitable destruction of all objects. For this reason it has used rhetorical phrases and other figurative expressions. It mentions the past greatness of kusāvati (kusinagara, kusīnārā), which was king Sudassana's city.

The Janavasabha Sutta is the eighteenth Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. It deals with the rebirths of Gautama Buddhas faithful lay disciples, the effect of name, great kings of four quarters, joy of the gods, the four ways of miraculous power or magical power (iddhi), the three ways of bliss and seven requisites relating to samādhi or concentration. It also describes the Tāvātimsa gods, the gods of Paranimmita Vasavatti, Nimmānarati, Yāma, Cātummahārājika heavens, and king vessavana kuvera's assembly form it. We learn that about 24,00,000 lay-devotees, who belonged to Magadha followed the Buddha's instructions properly and were able to attain the Sotāpattiphala or the fruition of the first stage of sanctification.

The nineteenth Sutta is the Mahā-Govinda Sutta. It is important from the standpoint of ancient Indian history and geography. It deals with the Buddhist conception of the Shape of India. It states that on the north India was broad but in the South its form was like the front portion of a cart (i.e., sakatamukhaṃ) and was divided into seven equal parts. They were kalinga, Patana, Avanti, Sovīra, Videha, Aṅga and kāsī. This Sutta mentions the Suddhamma or Mete Hall of the gods of Tāvātimsa Heaven where all the gods assembled there and Sakka, the king of gods, acted as the President and they members through the appearance in their midst, of new gods produced by the good karma of the followers of the new view of life put forward by Gautama. Sakka, who was regarded as the lord of the gods, praised the Buddha in a few verses. From this Sutta we learn about Mahā-Brahmā's views of an ideal Brāhmana, concept of Nirvana, path leading to it, practice of piety, danger of delay, the lower and higher ways, and Mahā Govinda's renunciation of the worldly life with many followers and his seven wives.

The Mahā Samaya Sutta is the twentieth Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. It deals with the continual change in animistic belief which was then prevalent in India. There are three parts to the poem. The first is the list of gods, the second, the framework put into the Buddha's mouth, at the beginning and at the end, the third the prologue, with the verse of the four gods of the four gods of the Pure Abode. The prologue has been preserved as a separate episode in the samyutta 1, 27. The way in which the list is fitted into the framework in our section four, fifth and sixth is very confused, and awkward: and the grammar of the framework is inconsistent with the grammar of the list. It is highly probable therefore that the list itself and also the epilogue has been handed down as independent works in the community before our sutta was composed. The framework may be the work of the editor. The legends told here were intended to counteract the animistic delusions about them then so prevalent in the Ganges valley. They are almost the only evidence we have as yet outside the priestly books. This Sutta refers to some gods of the earth and also of the regions above and in all, there is a reference to a long list of gods.

The Sakkapañha Sutta is the twenty first of the Dīgha Nikāya. This Sutta describes that the Buddha stayed at a Brāhmaṇa village named Ambasaṇḍa which was near Magadha and there he dwelt in the Indasāla cave on the vediya mountain Sakka, found it very difficult to approach the Buddha, who had then engaged himself in deep meditation. He then took the help of Pañcasikha who was a heavenly Musician (gandhabba). This musician sang in praise of the blessed one, the truth, the Arahant and love. The Buddha was deeply moved by the music of the Gandhabba and then he had a talk with him and he came to know about the advent of Sakka through his conversation with him. Sakka paid homage to the Buddha and asked several questions which were related to ethics and psychology. He was very happy with the Buddha's answer and he was then converted to Buddhism.

This Sutta also deals with the causes of malice and avarice, the causes of favour or disfavour, this path relating to papañca (any of the evil conditions), Sañña (consciousness), and

samkhāranirodha; (cessation of confectional) and the rules of the Pātimokkha which were to be followed by a bhikkhu. It then discusses the Buddha's sojourn in the kingdom of Magadha, and Gopika, a Sākya princess, who was happy with the Buddha, the Dhamma and the saṅgha, observed the precepts properly, and was so much unhappy with women life that she exagaged herself in meditation to become a man.

The Mahā Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta is the twenty Second sutta of the Digha Nikāya. It deals with the path of mindfulness (sati). The Aryan Path can be obtained with the help of mindfulness. In this Sutta the Buddha told his disciples to set up mindfulness. It then discusses four types of meditation on impurities and impermanency of body and impermanency of vedanā (sensation), citta (thought) and dhamma (condition). It also mentions five hindrances, seven part of wisdom, four truth, five khandhas or aggregates and various stages of inhalations and exhalations.

The Pāyāsi Sutta is the twenty third sutta of the Digha Nikāya. This Sutta has received its name after a khattiya teacher and philosopher named Pāyāsi, who was a cheftain of Setavya, a city of kosalan. According to him, there was no rebirth after death and that the acts of a being, good or bad, did not produce and effect. But kumāra kassapa a disciple of the Buddha, refuted this view and with the help of similes and analogy he was able to show and to prove that Pāyāsi's arguments had no value at all and they were useless. So he was able to convince Pāyāsi and defeated him by his arguments and as a result, Pāyāsi became a disciple of kassapa. The second part of the dialogue is sequal to the first which is a dialogue between Pāyāsi and his disciple Uttara. Here the latter was successful in persuading Pāyāsi to establisth gifts in the faith. The third part is a sequal to the second and it deals with a conversation between the venerable Gavampati and the god Pāyāsi in the lovely sarisakma Mansion

The Pāyāsi Sutta records moon god and Sun god, message from the dead excape of the soul, search for the soul and right and wrong sacrifices.

CONTENTS

VOL-II

Preface	iii-x
Introduction	xi-xvi
Introduction to The Mahāpadāna Sutta	
14. Mahāpadāna Sutta	1-94
(The Sublime Story)	
Introduction to the Mahānidāna Sutta	
15. Mahānidāna Sutta	95-134
(The Great Discourse on Causation)	
Introduction to the Parinibbāna Sutta	
16. Parinibbāna Sutta	135-341
(The Book of the Great Decease)	
Introduction to the Mahāsudassana Sutta	
17. Mahāsudassana Sutta	342-408
(The Great King of Glory)	
Introduction to the Janavasabha Sutta	
18. Janavasabha Sutta	409-444
(Janavasabha's Story)	
Introduction to the Maha Govinda Sutta	
19. Maha Govinda Sutta	445-501
(The Lord High Steward)	
Introduction to the Mahāsamaya Sutta	

20. Mahā-Samaya Sutta	502-522
(The Great Concourse)	
Introduction to the Sakka-Pañha Sutta	
21. Sakka-Pañha Sutta	523-574
(The Questions of Sakka)	
Introduction to the Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta	
22. Mahā Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta	575-621
(Setting up of Mindfulness)	
Introduction to the Pāyāsi Sutta	
23. Pāyāsi Sutta	622-690
(Rebirth and karma)	
Index	691-701

INTRODUCTION TO THE Mahāpadāna-Sutta

The fourteenth is the Mahāpadāna Sutta. The word 'Apadāna' used in the title signifies legend or life story of a Buddha¹. It is also used as the title of the thirteenth book of the khuddaka Nikāya of the Sutta Piṭaka and it means the legend or life-story of an Arahāt. The Mahāpadāna may mean the story of the Great ones (Seven Buddhas). This Sutta introduces and account of the seven Buddhas by way of illustrations. But it is only the life of vipassī, first of the seven previous Buddhas, which finds an elaborate treatment in it. It should be noted that the cullaniddesa (Page-80) cites this Sutta as a typical instance of the earlier Jātakas. This Sublime Story in Pāli may be held in a way to be the historical basis of the Mahāvastu, the Book of the Great Story Further, it may be seen that this Sutta interprets the term Pātimokkha not in the vigorous sense of a penal Code of the monks but in a higher sense of ethical discipline attainable by the imitation of the lives of the Great Masters.

1. See Dr. B.C. Law's 'A Study of the Mahāvastu' (Supplement), PP.-4-8- Jātaka and Avadāna or Apadāna contrasted.

Dīgha Nikāya

xiv. Mahāpadāna-Sutta.

1. 1. Evam me sutam. Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Sāvattthiyaṃ viharati Jetavane Anāthāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme¹ Kareri-kuṭikāyaṃ.² Atha kho sambahulāta - paṭikkantānaṃ Kareri-maṇḍala-māle³ sannisinnānaṃ sannipatitānaṃ pubbenivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttā dhammī⁴ kathā udapādi: 'Iti pubbenivāso ti.'

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying at Sāvattthi, in Anātha Pindka's pleasaunce in the Jeta Wood, at the Kareri-tree cottage⁵. Now among many bhikkhus who had

1. K Anāthapiṇḍikassārāme (*spells - pīṇḍ-, and below pīṇḍapāta, etc.*)
2. B^m Karerī, and so always. S^{cd} Karerū here, Kareri in § 2: K Kareri throughout. Sum Kareru- thrice, Kareri once.
3. K always, B^m mostly, SS frequently māle (SS here kareri-).
4. B^m dhammi, and onwards
5. Kareri, according to Childers, is *Cappan's trifoliata*. The Cy. states that this tree which stood by the entrance to the cottage was a Varuna-tree, suggestive, if true, of the superseded tree-cult into which Varuna-worship had declined. See Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist India,' p. 235; Jāt. IV, 8. There were four principal buildings in the Jeta Wood : the cottage or chamber in question, the Kosamba-tree cottage, a perfumed chamber, and the fir-tree house (salala= saralaghara). According to the commentator each cost 100,000 [? kahāparcas] to build, but the ancient bas-relief on the Bharahat Tope shows clearly cottages, and apparently cottages of only one room each. In § 12 below this cottage is called a vihāra; and the latter word, in the ancient texts, always means a single room or lodging-place. Anātha-pindika had built the first three, King Pasenadi the last.

returned from their alms-tour and were assembled, sitting together after their meal, in the pavilion in the Kareri grounds¹, a religious conversation bearing on previous births arose, to the effect that thus and thus were previous births².

2. Assosi kho Bhagavā dībbāya sota-dhātuyā visuddhāya atikkanta-mānusi-kāya tesam bhikkhūnam imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ. Atha kho Bhagavā utṭhāy' āsanā yena Kareri-maṇḍala-mālo ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte³ āsane nisīdi. Nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

'Kāya nu 'ttha bhikkhave etarahi kathāya sannisinā, kā ca pana vo antarā kathā vippakatā ti ?'

Evam vutte te bhikkhū Bhagavantam etad avocum :

'Idha bhante amhākaṃ pacchā-bhattam paṇḍapāta-paṭikkantānam Kareri-maṇḍala-māle⁴ sannisinānam sannipatitānam pubbe-nivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttā dhammī kathā udapādi : "Iti pubbe-nivāso iti pubbe nivāso ti." Ayam kho no bhante antarā kathā vippakatā atha Bhagavā anuppatto ti.'

2. And the Exalted One, with clear and Heavenly Ear surpassing the hearing of men, overheard this conversation among the bhikkhus⁵. And arising from his seat he came to the pavilion

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1. Mālo. Buddhaghosa describes this as a nisīdana-sālā, or sitting-room, built near the cottage. At the time when this Sutta was composed it meant a thatched roof supported by wooden pillars. There were no walls to it.
 2. According to the Cy. only religious teachers, religious disciples, Pacceka-Buddhas, and the Saviour Buddhas could recall their own or other previous lives, and, of the first, only those who taught Karma. Except the memories of the great Buddhas, which have no limit whatever, a limit is given in the case of each of these classes, past which they could not recall. This systematizing of a popular belief seems to indicate that, when Buddhaghosa lived, no claim to such transcendent memory was actually made among his contemporaries.
 3. K paññattāsane.
 4. So all MSS.
 5. Buddhaghosa distinguishes between the 'omniscient knowledge'

in the Kareri grounds, and took his seat on the mat spread out for him. And when he had sat down he said to the brethren :—
‘What is the talk on which you are engaged sitting here, and what is the subject of conversation between you ?’ [And they told him all.]

3. ‘*Īccheyyātha no tumhe bhikkha ve pubbe-nivāsa-
paṭisaṃyuttaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ sotun ti ?*’

‘*Etassa Bhagavā kālo, etassa Sugata Kālo, yaṃ bhagavā
pubbe-nivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ kareyya,
Bhagavato¹ sutvā bhikkhū dhāressantīti.*’

‘*Tena hi bhikkhave suṇātha, sādhukaṃ manasikarotha,
bhāsissāmīti.*’

‘*Evaṃ bhante*’ ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassouṃ.
Bhagavā etad avoca:

3. Then he said :—‘Do you not wish, brethren, to hear
some religious talk on the subject of former lives ?’

‘Now is the time, O Exalted One, now is the time, O
Welcome One, for the Exalted One to give us a religious dis-
course on the subject of former lives. When the brethren have
heard it from the Exalted One they will bear it in mind.’

‘Wherefore then, brethren, hearken well to me, and I will
speak.’

‘So be it, lord,’ replied the brethren. And the Exalted One
said :—

4. ‘*Īto so bhikkhave eka-navuto kappo² yaṃ Vipassī
bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Īto so
bhikkhave eka-tiṃso kappo³ yaṃ Sikhī bhagavā arahaṃ
sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Tasmīṃ yeva kho bhikkhave
eka-tiṃse kappe Vessabhū bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-*

by which the Buddha realizes the drift of the talk in the Brahmajāla
Sutta (‘Dialogues,’ I, 2), and the divine hearing, as by a finer sense,
operating here.

1. K adds *vacanaṃ*.

2. So SS and K; B^m eka-navuti-kappe. *Comp. Jāt. i. 41, and below 3.*
29 and 31.

3. S^c eka-tiṃsa-kappe, B^m tiṃse kappe.

sambuddho loke udapādi. Imasmiṃ yeva¹ kho bhikkhave bhadda-kappe Kakusandho bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Imasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave bhadda-kappe Konāgamano² bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Imasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave bhadda-kassapo bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Imasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave bhadda-kappe ahaṃ etarahi arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke uppanno.

4. 'It is now ninety-one aeons ago, brethren, since Vipassī, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It is now thirty-one aeons ago, brethren, since Sikhi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It was in that same thirty-first aeon, brethren, that Vessabhū, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It was in this present auspicious aeon, brethren, that Kakusandha, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It was in this auspicious aeon, brethren, that Konagamana, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It was in this auspicious aeon, brethren, that Kassapa, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. It is in this auspicious aeon, brethren, that now I, an Arahant, Buddha Supreme, have arisen in the world.'

5. 'Vipassī bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho khattiyo jātiyā ahoṣi, khattiya-kule udapādi. Sikhī bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho khattiyo jātiyā ahoṣi, khattiya-kule udapādi. Vessabhū bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho khattiyo jātiyā ahoṣi, khattiya-kule udapādi. Kakusandho bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho brāhmaṇo jātiyā ahoṣi, brāhmaṇa-kule udapādi. Konāgamano bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho brāhmaṇo jātiyā ahoṣi, brāhmaṇa-kule udapādi. Kassapo bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho brāhmaṇo jātiyā ahoṣi, brāhmaṇa-kule udapādi. Ahaṃ bhikkhave etarahi arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho khattiyo jātiyā ahoṣi.¹ khat-tiya-kule uppanno.

1. SS omit.

2. So S^{cd} K; Fausböll prints Koṇā°, so S B^m. S^c B^m add nāma.

3. B^m ahoṣi.

5. Vipassī, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Sṛatiya caste, born in the Noble family. Sikhi, the Exalted one, Arhant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Sṛatiya Caste, born (arose) in the noble family. Vessabhū, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Sṛatiya Family. Kakusandha the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Brahmin Caste, born (arose) in the Brahmin family. Konaamana, the Exalted On, Arahant, Buddha supreme, was belonged to Brahmin Caste, born (arose) in the Brahmin family. Konagamana, the Exalted One, Arhant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Brahmin Caste, born in the Brahmin family. Kassapa, the Exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Brahmin caste, born in the Brahmin family that now. I, an Arahant, Buddha Supreme have belonged to Sṛatiya Caste, Born (arisen) in the noble family.

6. 'Vipāssī bhikkhave bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho Koṇḍañño gottena ahoṣi. Kikhī bhikkhave bhavavā araham sammā sambuddho Koṇḍañño gottena ahoṣi. Vessabhū bhikkhave bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho Koṇḍañño gottena ahoṣi. Kakusandho bhik-khave bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho Kassapo gottena ahoṣi. Konāgamano bhikkhave bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho kassapo gottena ahoṣi. Kassapo bhikkhave bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho Kassapo gottena ahoṣi. Aham bhikkhave etarahi araham sammā sambuddho Gotamo gottena.²

6. Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Kodañña a clan. Sikhi, the Exalted one Arhant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Kodañña clan. Vessabha the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha was belonged to Kodañña clan. Kakusandha, the Exalted one Arhant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to kassapa clan. Konagaman, the Exalted one Arhant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to kassapa clan. kassapa, the Exalted one Arhant, Buddha Supreme, was belonged to Kassapa clan. that now I, am Arahant Buddha Supreme, have belonged to Gotama clan.

7. 'Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa asīti³ vassa-sahassāni āyuppamāṇam ahoṣi. Sikhissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa sattati⁴ vassa-sahassāni āyuppamāṇam ahoṣi. Vessabhuṣsa

2. K adds ahoṣim ; S^c B^m add ahoṣi.

3. B^m K asiti.

4. So all four MSS. and K. Jāt. i. 42 satta-tiṃsa.

bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhassa saṭṭhi⁵ vassa-sahassāni āyupamāṇaṃ ahosi. Kakusandhassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa cattārīsaṃ⁶ vassa-sahassāni āyupamāṇaṃ ahosi. Konāgamanassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa tiṃsa vassa-sahassāni āyupamāṇaṃ ahosi. Kassapassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa vīsatiṃ⁷ vassa-sahassāni āyupamāṇaṃ ahosi. Mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi appakaṃ a āyupamāṇaṃ parittaṃ,⁸ yo ciraṃ jīvati so vassasataṃ appa vā bhiyyo.

7. Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's length of the life was eighty thousand year old, Sikhi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's length of the life was seventy thousand year old. Vessabhu, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's length of the life was sixty thousand year old. Kakusandha, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's length of the life was forty thousand year old. Konagamana, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's length of the life was thirty thousand year old. Kassapa, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's length of the life was twenty thousand year old. that now I am Arahant Buddha Supreme's length of the life was one thousand year old.

8. 'Vipassī bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho pātaliyā mūle abhisambuddho. Sikhī bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho puṇḍarīkassa¹ mūle abhisambuddho. Vessabhū bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho sālassa mūle bhisambuddho. Kakusandho bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho sirīsassa² mūle abhisambuddho. Konāgamano bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho udumbarassa mūle abhisambuddho. Kassapo bhikkhave bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho nigrodhassa mūle abhisambuddho. Ahaṃ bhikkhave etarahi arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho assatthassa mūle abhisambuddho.

5. S^t saṭṭhiṃ.

6. B^m cattālīsa; K - ḷisa.

7. B^m K vīsati.

8. So Sum. and S^{cdt} here and in 3.30; B^m K lahukaṃ.

1. B^m puṇḍarik^O.

2. B^m sirīsassa.

8. Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlightened under Patali tree. Sikhi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlightened under Pundarika tree. Vessabhu, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlightened under Sala tree. Kakusandha, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlightened under Sirisa tree. Konagamana, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlightened under Udumbara tree. Kassapa, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlightened under Nigrodha tree that now I an Arahant, Buddha Supreme, was became enlightened under Assatthaz tree.

9. 'Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Khaṇḍa-Tissaṃ nāma sāvaka-yugam ahosi aggam. Sikhissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Abhibhū-Sabhavaṃ nāma sāvaka-yugam ahosi aggam bhadda-yugam. Vessabhussa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Soṇ-Uttaram³ nāma sāvaka-yugam ahosi aggam bhadda-yugam. Kakusandhassa bhikkhave bhagvato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa vidhūra-Saṇjīvaṃ⁴ nāma sāvaka-yugam ahosi aggam bhadda-yugam. Konā-gamanassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Bhiyyos-Uttaram⁵ nāma sāvaka-yugam ahosi aggam bhadda-yugam. Kassapassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Tissa-Bhāradvājaṃ nāma sāvaka-yugam ahosi aggam bhadda-yugam. Māyhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi Sāriputta-Moggallānaṃ nāma sāvaka-yugam ahosi⁶ aggam bhadda-yugam.

9. Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's name of the chief disciples were Khanda and Tissa. Sikhi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's name of the chief disciples were Abhibhu and and Sambhava. Vessabhu, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's name of the chief disciples were Sona and Utara. Kakusandha, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's name of the chief disciples were Vidhura and Sanjiva. Konagamana the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's name of the chief disciples were Bhiyyosa and Uttara. Kassapa, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's

3. K S^c Sonuttaram.

4. SS B^m Vidhura. and so Trenckner at M. i. 333; K Vidhūra. So also S ii. 191. B^p at M. i. 33, Jāt. i. 42, and Sum.

5. S^{cd} Bhīyosu nam

6. So all MSS. and K.

name of the chief disciples were Tissa and Bharadvaja. That now, I an Arahant, Buddha Supreme's name of the chief disciples were Sariputta and Moggallana.

10. 'Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa toyo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi atṭha-satṭhi-bhikkhusata-sahassaṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi bhikkhusata-sahassaṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi asīti-bhikkhusahassāni. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ime tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇāsavānaṃ.

'Sikhissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ.¹ Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi asītiṃ² bhikkhu-sahassāni. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sattati bhikkhu-sahassāni. Sikhissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ime tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇāsavānaṃ.

'Vessabhussa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sam-buddhassa tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi asītiṃ³ bhikkhu-sahassāni. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sattati-bhikkhu-sahassāni. Eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi satṭhi bhikkhu-sahassāni. Vessabhussa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ime tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇāsavānaṃ.

'Kakusandhassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi cattārīsaṃ⁴ bhikkhu-sahassāni. Kambuddhassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ayaṃ eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇāsavānaṃ.

'Konāgamanassa bhikkhave bhavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi tiṃsa bhikkhu-sahassāni. Konāgamanassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ayaṃ eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇāsavānaṃ.

'Kassapassa bhikkhave Bhagavato arahato sammā-sam-

1. S^c sahassāni.

2. B^m K asīti.

3. B^m K asīti.

4. B^m cattālīsa ; K -līsa.

buddhassa eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi vīsatiṃ¹ bhikkhu-sahassāni. Kassapassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ayaṃ eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇāsavānaṃ.

‘Mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi addha-telaṣāni² bhikkhu-satāni. Mayhaṃ bhikkhave ayaṃ eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇāsavānaṃ.

10. Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arhant Buddha Supreme, had three assemblies of disciple. Sixty eight lakh bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. One lakh bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. Eighty lakh bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. These were the three assembly where all were free from mental obsessions, Arahant.

Sikhi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, had three assemblies of disciple. One lakh bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. Eight thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. Seventy thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. These were the three assemblies where all were free from mental obsession, Arahant.

Vessabhu, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme had three assemblies discipline Eight thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. Seventy thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. Sixty thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciple. These were the three assemblies where all were free from mental obsession, Arahant.

Kakusandha, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme had one assemblies of discipline. Forty thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciples at one assembly of disciplines. This was the One assemblies of disciples. Where all were free from mental obsession, Arahant.

Konāgamana, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme had one assemblies of disciplines. Thirty thousand bhikkhu presented at one assembly of disciples where all were free from mental obsession, Arahant.

Kassapa, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme had one assemblies of discipline. Twenty thousand bhikkhu presented

1. B^m K vīsati.

2. S^{cdt} telaṣāni here, but ! in § 30. Sum. has 1.

.at assembly of disciples where all were free from mental obsession, Arahant.

I an Arahant, Buddha Supreme have one assembles of disciplines. One thousand two hundred fifty bhikkhu presented at the assembly of disciples. Where all were free from mental obsession, Arahant.

11. 'Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Asoko nāma bhikkhu upat̐thāko ahosi aggupat̐thāko. Sikhissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Khemaṃkaro³ nāma bhikkhu upat̐thāko ahosi aggupat̐thāko. Vessabhussa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Upasannako⁴ nāma bhikkhu upat̐thāko ahosi aggupat̐thāko. Kaku-sandhassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Buddhijo⁵ nāma bhikkhu upat̐thāko ahosi aggupat̐thāko. Konāgamanassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Sotthijo nāma bhikkhu upat̐thāko ahosi aggupat̐thāko. Kassapassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Sabbamitto nāma bhikkhu upat̐thāko ahosi aggupat̐thāko. Mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi Ānando bhikkhu upat̐thāko⁶ aggu-pat̐thāko.

11. Vipassi, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme Ashoka was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku. Sikhi, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme Khemankura was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku. Verssabhu, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's upasannaka was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku. Kakusandha, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's Bhuddhya was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku. Konagaman, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's Sotthija was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku. Kassapa, the blessed one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's Sabbanitta was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku. I am Arahant the Buddha Supreme's Ananda was the name of the usual attendant Bhikku.

3. K Khemaṅk^o.

4. K B^m and Jāt. i. 42 Upasanto : but K gices Upasannako also as the Sinhalese reading

5. K Vuḍḍhijo.

6. All Mss. and K add ahosi : but see Sum.

12. 'Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Bandhumā nāma rājā pitā ahoṣi, Bandhumatī nāma devī mātā ahoṣi janettī. Bandhumassa rañño Bandhumatī nāma nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī ahoṣi.

'Sikhissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Aruṇo nāma rājā pitā ahoṣi, Pabhāvatī nāma devī mātā ahoṣi janettī. Aruṇassa rañño Aruṇavatī nāma nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī ahoṣi.

'Vessabhussa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Suppatīto¹ nāma rājā pitā ahoṣi, Yasavatī nāma devī mātā ahoṣi janettī. Suppatītassa rañño Anopamaṃ² nāma nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī ahoṣi.

'Kakusandhassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Aggidatto nāma Brāhmaṇo pitā ahoṣi. Visākhā nāma Brāhmaṇī mātā ahoṣi janettī. Tena kho pana bhikkhave samayena Khemo nāma rājā ahoṣi. Khemassa rañño Khemavatī³ nāma nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī ahoṣi.

'Konāgamanassa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Yaññadatto⁴ nāma Brāhmaṇo pitā ahoṣi, Uttarā nāma Brāhmaṇī mātā ahoṣi janettī. Tena kho pana bhikkhave samayena Sobho nāma rāja ahoṣi. Sobhassa rañño Sobhavatī nāma nagaraṃ rājā-dhānī ahoṣi.

'Kassapassa bhikkhave bhagavato arebato sammā-sambuddhassa Brahmadatto nāma Brāhmaṇo pitā ahoṣi. Dhanavatī nāma Brāhmaṇī mātā ahoṣi janettī. Tena kho pana bhikkhave samayena Kikī⁵ nāma rājā ahoṣi. Kikissa rañño Bārāṇasī nāma nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī ahoṣi.

'Mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi Suddhodano nāma rājā pitā ahoṣi, Māyā devī mātā⁶ janettī. Kapilavatthu⁷ nagaraṃ rāja-dhānī⁸ ti.'

Idam avoca Bhagavā. Idam vatvā⁹ Sugato utthāy āsanā vihāraṃ pāvīsi.¹⁰

1. B^m-tito.
2. S^t Ahonāpamaṃ, B^m K Anomaṃ.
3. Jāt. i. 42 Khemaṃ.
4. S^{dt} Saññadatto.
5. K Kimkī, and Kimkissa below.
6. K mātā ahoṣi.
7. B^m adds nāma: Kvatthuṃ nāma.
8. K ahoṣīti.
9. B^m K vatvana.
10. B pāvīsi.

12. Vipassi, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's father name was King Bandhuma, mother name was Bandhumati, name of the birthplace was Bandhumati, Capital of the king bandhuma.

Sikhi, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's father name was King Aruna, mother name was pathavati, name of the birthplace was Arunavati, name of the capital was Arbna.

Vessabhu, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's father name was King Suppatita, mother name was yasavati, name of the birthplace was Anopama, name of the capital was Suppatita.

Kakusandha, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's father name was Brahman Aggidatta, mother name was Brahmani Vishakha brethren, in that time name of the capital was khem, name of the birthplace was Khemavati, Capital of the king Khema.

Konagamana, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's father name was Brahman Yaññadatta, mother name was Brahmani Uttara, in that time name of the king was Sobha, name of the birthplace was Sobhavati, name of the capital was Sobha.

Kassapa, the exalted one, Arahant, Buddha Supreme's father name was Brahman Brahmadatta, mother name was Brahmani Dhanavati, in that time name of the king was Kiki, name of the birthplace was Baranasi, name of the capital was Kiki.

Brethrem, My father name was King Sudhodana, mother name was Mayadevi, name of the capital was Kapilvastu.

13. Atha kho tesam bhikkhunam acira-pakkantassa Bhagavato ayam antarā kathā udapādi:

‘Acchariyam āvuso abbhutam¹ āvuso Tathāgatassa mahiddhikatā mahānubhāvatā, yatra hi nāma Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭṭume pariyādinna² -vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anus-sarissati,³ nāmato pi anussarissati, gottato pi anussarissati, āyuppmāṇato pi anussarissati, sāvaka-yugato pi anus-sarissati,

1. K abbhutam, and so always.

2. B^m pariyādiṇṇa. See M. ii. 172, iii. 118.

3. So Sum. S^c anussarissarissati, S^d anussarati Comp. § 14, and the future at M. iii. 118.

sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarissarti— “Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā evaṃ-gottā evaṃ-dhammā evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti.” Kin⁴ nu kho āvuso ? Tathāgatass’ eva nu kho esā dhamma-dhātu suppaṭividdhā⁵ yassā dhamma-dhātuyā suppaṭividdhattā⁵ Tathāgato atīte Buddhhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna⁶-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte¹ jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottat pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: “Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto² ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā, evaṃ-gottā, evaṃ-sīlā, evaṃ-dhammā, evaṃ-paññā, evaṃ-vihārī, evaṃ vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti”? Udāhu devatā³ Tathāgatassa etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ⁴ yena Tathāgato atīte Buddhhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chin-na-vaṭume pariyādinna-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: “Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto⁵ ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā evaṃ gottā evaṃ-sītā evaṃ-dhammā evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti” ?’

Ayañ ca h’ idaṃ⁶ tesam bhikkhūnaṃ antarā kathā vippakatā⁷ hoti.

4. K Kiṃ.

5. S^c tassā dhammādhātu suppaṭividdhattā; S^d omits.

Text as in §14. B^m agrees with text. S^t omits suppaṭividdhā yassā dhamma-dhātuyā.

6. S^t diṇṇa. so B^m (and B^m below).

1. B^m viti^o.

2. S^{cd} Bhagavato.

3. S^{cdt} here add hi, but omit in § 14.

4. S^c āroceyyuṃ; but in § 16 ārocesuṃ.

5. S^d Bhagavante.

6. K hi, om. idaṃ.

7. S^{dt} -kathā.

13. Now not long after he had gone out, this talk arose among the brethren :—’ How wonderful a thing, brethren, and how strange is the great genius, the master mind of the Tathāgata, that he should remember the Buddhas of old, who attained final completion, who cut off obstacles, who cut down barriers, who have ended the cycle, who have escaped from all sorrow—that he should remember of these that such was their rank, such were their personal names, such were their family names, such the span of their lives, such their pair of disciples, and such the

number of the congregations of their disciples, telling us :—“Of such was the birth of those Exalted Ones, such were their names, and their clans; such were their morals, their doctrines, their wisdom ; thus did they live, and thus they gained emancipation.”

Now, what think you, brother? Has this principle of truth been clearly discerned by the Tathāgata, so that by his discernment of it he remembers [all those facts] about the Buddhas of the past? Or have gods revealed this matter to the Tathāgata, so that thereby he remembers ?’

14. Atha kho Bhagavā sāyaṇha-samayaṃ paṭisallāṇā vuṭṭhito yena Karerī¹-maṇḍala-mālo ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi :

‘Kāya nu ‘ttha bhikkhave etarahi kathāya sannisinnā, kā ca pana vo antarā vippakatā ti ?’

Evam vutte te bhikkhū Bhagavantam etad avocum :

‘Idha bhante amhākaṃ acira-pakkantassa Bhagavato ayaṃ antarā kathā udapādi: “ Acchariyaṃ āvuso abbhutaṃ āvuso Tathāgatassa ahiddhikata mahānubhāvata, yatra hi nāma Tathāgato atīte Buddhhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātio pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarti, gottato pi anussarati,

1. S^t kāreti (*for the first time*), B^m karerī.

āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: ‘Evaṃ-jaccāte Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā, evaṃ-gottā, evaṃ-sīlā, evaṃ-dhammā, evaṃ-paññā, evaṃ-vihārī, evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti.’” Kin nu kho āvuso ? Tathāgatass’ eva nu kho esā dhamma-dhātu suppaṭividdhā yassā dhamma-dhātuyā suppaṭizid- dhattā Tathāgato atīte Buddhhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: “Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāma, evaṃ-gotta, evaṃ-sīlā, evaṃ-dhammā. evaṃ-paññā, evaṃ vihārī, evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti” ? Udāhu devatā Tathagātassa etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ yena Tathāgato atīte Buddhhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: “Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā evaṃ-gottā evaṃ-sīlā evaṃ-dhammā evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti” ?”

‘Ayaṃ kho no bhante antarā kathā vippakatā¹ atha bhagavā anuppatto ti.’

14. Now such was the trend of the talk that was going on among the brethren when the Exalted One, rousing himself at eventide from meditation, went to the pavilion in the Kareri grounds, and took his seat on the mat spread out for him. And when he had sat down, he said to the brethren :— ‘What is the talk on which you are engaged, brethren, as ye sit here, and what was the subject of conversation between you ?’ [And they told him all.]

1. B^m adds hoti.

15. 'Tathāgatass' ev' esā bhikkhave dhamma-dhātu suppaṭividdhā yassā dhamma-dhātuyā suppaṭividdhattā Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: "Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi evaṃ-nāmā, evaṃ-gottā, evaṃ-silā, evaṃ-dhammā, evaṃ-paññā, evaṃ-vihārī, evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti." Devatā pi Tathāgatassa etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ¹ yena Tathāgato atīte Buddhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādinna-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anus-sarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: "Evaṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā, evaṃ-gottā, evaṃ-silā, evaṃ-dhammā, evaṃ-paññā, evaṃ-vihārī, evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti."

'Iccheyyātha no tumhe bhikkhave bhiyyoso mattāya pubbe-nivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttaṃ dhammiṃ² kathaṃ sotuṃ ti ?'

'Etassa Bhagavā kālo, etassa Sugata kālo. Yaṃ Bhagavā bhiyyoso mattāya pubbe-nivāsa-paṭisaṃyuttaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ kareyya Bhagavato sutvā bhikkhū dhāressantīti.'

'Tena hi bhikkhave suṇātha, sādhu kaṃ manasikarotha, bhāsissāmīti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccas-sosuṃ. Bhagavā etad avoca:

15. 'It is through his clear discernment of a principle of the truth, brethren, that the Tathāgata is able to remember [all those facts about the Buddhas of old³]. And gods also have revealed these matters to him, enabling him to remember [all those things]. Do ye not wish, brethren, to hear yet further religious discourse bearing on former lives ?'

1. S^c āroceyyuṃ.

2. S^d B^m and below dhammi- ; S^l dhammī-.

3. In the text is a full repetition of the reminiscence given in § 13.

‘Now, O Exalted One, is the time, now, O Welcome One, is the time! Whatsoever the Exalted One may tell us further bearing on former lives, the brethren will listen to it and bear it in mind.’

‘Wherefore, brethren, hearken and attend well, and I will speak.’

‘So be it, lord,’ replied the brethren. The Exalted One said:—

16. ‘Ito so bhikkhave eka¹ navuto kappo¹ yaṃ Vipassī bhagavā araham̐ sammā-sambuddho loka udapādi. Vipassī buikkhave bhagavā araham̐ sammā-sambuddho khattiyo jātiyā ahoṣi, khattiya-kule udapādi. Vipassī bhikkhave bhagavā araham̐ sammā-sambuddho Koṇḍañño gottena ahoṣi. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa asīti-vassa-sahassāni āyuppamāṇam̐ ahoṣi. Vipassī bhikkhave bhagavā araham̐ sammā-sambuddho pāṭaliyā mūle abhisabuddho. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Khaṇḍa-Tissam̐² nāma sāvakā-yugam̐ ahoṣi aggam̐ bhadda-yugam̐. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa tayo sāvakānam̐ sannipātā anesum̐. Eko sāvakānam̐ sannipāto ahoṣi attha-satthi³ bhikkhu-sata-sahassam̐. Eko sāvakānam̐ sannipāto ahoṣi bhikkhu-sata-sahassam̐. Eko sāvakānam̐ sannipāto ahoṣi asīti⁴ bhikkhu-sata-sahassāni. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ime tayo sāvakānam̐ sannipātā ahesum̐ sabbesam̐ veva khīṇāsavānam̐. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Asoko nāma bhikkhu upatthāko ahoṣi aggupatthāko. Vipassissa bhikkhave bhagavato arahato sammā-sambud-dhassa Bandhumā nama rājā pitā ahoṣi, Bandhumatī nāma devī mātā ahoṣi janettī. Bandhumassa raññe Bandhumatī nāma nagaram̐ rāja-dhānī ahoṣi.

1. 1. S^t B^m navute kappe.

2. S^c Khanda-Tissa. S^d Khaṇaccan-Tissam̐.

3. S^{cd} attha-satthum̐.

4. S^{cdt} asītim̐.

16. 'I have told you, brethren, when Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world, into what rank and family he was born, how long he lived, where he became a Buddha, the names of his leading disciples, the number of his disciples, the name of his ministering bhikkhu, of his father, his mother, and of their place of residence¹.

17. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī Bodhisatto Tusitā² kāyā cavitvā sato sampajāno mātu-kucchiṃ okkami. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto Tusitā kāyā cavitvā mātu kucehiṃ okkamati atha sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadeva-manussāya appamāṇo ulāro³ obhāso⁴ pātubhavati atikkamma⁵ devānaṃ devānubhāvaṃ. Yā pi⁶ tā lokan-tarikā aghā asaṃvutā andhakārā andhakāra-timisā, yattha pi 'me candima-suriyā⁷ evaṃ mahiddhikā evaṃ mahānu-bhāvā ābhāya nānubhonti, tattha pi appamāṇo ulāco obhāso pātubhavati atikkamm'⁸ eva devānaṃ devānu-bhāvaṃ. Ye pi tattha sattā upapannā, te pi ten' obhāsena aññaṃ aññaṃ sañjānanti: "Aññe pi kira bho santi sattā idhūpapannā ti." Ayañ ca dasa-sahassī loka-dhātu saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati.⁹ Appamāṇo ca ulāro obhāso loke pātubhavati atikkamm' eva¹⁰ devānaṃ devānubhāvaṃ. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

17. 'Now Vipassi, brethren, when, as Bodhisat, he ceased to belong to the hosts of the heaven of Delight, descended

1. The text repeats verbatim all that was said above of Vipassi.

2. B^m Tussitā, and below. Cp Acchariyabbhuta-Suttaṃ, M. iii 119.

3. Ko!o throughout and in § 30.

4. K adds loke.

5. So SS and M. iii. 120. B^m K atikkamm' eva; and so below.

6. B^m omits here, but not in § 30.

7. B sūr^o here and in § 30.

8. S^d atikkamm'.

9. K here and in § 30 - vedheti.

10. S^d atikkamma ca.

into his mother's womb mindful and self-possessed¹. That, in such a case, is the rule².

'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat ceases to belong to the hosts of the heaven of Delight, and enters a mother's womb, there is made manifest throughout the universe—including the worlds above of the gods, the Māras and the Brahmās, and the world below with its recluses and brahmins, its princes and peoples—an infinite and splendid radiance, passing the glory of the gods. Even in those spaces which are between the worlds, baseless³, murky and dark, and where even moon and sun, so

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1. This and following paragraphs (to § 30 inclusive) recur in the *Acchariyabbhutadhamma Sutta* (M. III, pp. 119-24). The notes appended by Dr. Neumann to his translation of that Sutta, giving parallels from Christian archaeology, are of great interest. (*Reden Gotamo Buddho's Majjhimanikāyo*, III, pp. 253 ff.) How the Birth-legend had developed in the fifth century A.D. may be seen in the *Nidānakathā*, translated in Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 62 ff.

This state of mind in Rule the first, according to a voluminous comment by Buddhaghosa, refers more to the termination of the Bodhisat's life in the Tusita heaven, than to any miraculous embryonic commencement. He is depicted as being fully aware, with his angelic neighbours, of the imminent culminating career awaiting him, and to have selected country, region, town, father and mother, on the eve of his 'fall' from heaven. He is further said to be conscious that he was *quá* god deceased:— 'Thus fallen (or deceased) he knows 'I fall.' But he is not aware of his cuti-cittam, or dying thought. As to when there is awareness of re-conception, the Buddhist fathers were not agreed. But they admit that, in its content, the dawning idea was either the first, or the fifth of the eight types of 'good thought' enumerated in *Dhamma-Sangani* (pp. 1, 39 of the translation). But we learn, under § 21, that there was no consciousness by way of the five senses before birth.

2. *Dhammatā*, i.e. says the Cy. in the nature, or order of things. The five old-world order of things is the Order of Karma, of the Seasons, of Life-germs, of Mind, and of the Dhamma. The last named is here implicated.
3. *Asamvutā*. Cy.—not supported from beneath.

wondrous and mighty, cannot prevail to give light, even there is made manifest this infinite and splendid radiance, passing the glory of the gods. And those beings who happen to be existing there¹, perceiving each other by that radiance, say :— “Verily there be other beings living here!” And the ten thousand worlds of the universe tremble and shudder and quake. And that this infinite splendid radiance is made manifest in the world, passing the glory of the gods—that, in such a case, is the rule.

17^a. ‘Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchim okkanto hoti, cattāro naṃ² deva-puttā catud-disaṃ³ rakkhāya upagacchanti: “Mā taṃ⁴ Bodhisattaṃ vā Bodhisatta-mātaraṃ vā manusso vā amanusso vā koci vā vihetthesīti.”⁵ Ayam ettha dhammatā.

17^a. ‘It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother’s womb, four sons of the gods go toward the four quarters to protect him, saying :— “Let no one, be he human, or non-human, or whatsoever he be, work harm to the Bodhisat or to the mother of the Bodhisat!” That, in such a case, is the rule.

18. ‘Dhamatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchim okkanto hoti, pakatiyā sīlavatī Bodhisatta-mātā hoti, viratā pānātipātā adinnādānā, viratā kāmesu micchācārā, viratā musā-vādā, viratā surā-meraya- majja-pamādaṭṭhānā. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

18. ‘It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother’s womb, the mother of the Bodhisat is

1. In the Great Inter-world Hell. They would be undergoing purgatory for karma of grievous offences against parents and the religious world, and of cruelty to animals. Very long in body and with bats’ nails, they were condemned to crawl up the CakkavaVa rock, till finding no food, they turned back and fell into the river of brine flowing round the world. Cy.

2. K omits.

3. K cātud^o.

4. B^m K naṃ.

5. S^{ct} vihethessasīti

a woman virtuous through her own nature :—averse from taking life, averse from taking what is not given, averse from unchastity, averse from lying speech, averse from indulgence in strong drinks. That, in such a case, is the rule.

19. **Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchiṃ okkanto hoti, na Bodhisatta¹-mātu purisesu mānasam uppajjati kāma-guṇūpasamhitam, anattika-maniyā ca Bodhisatta²-mātā hoti kenaci purisena rattacittena. Ayam ettha dhammatā.**

19. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, that mother has no mind for indulgence in the pleasures of sense with men, and is incapable of transgression with any man whatever who may be enamoured of her. That, in such a case, is the rule.

20. **'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchiṃ okkanto³ hoti, lābhinī Bodhisatta-mātā hoti pañcannaṃ kāma-guṇānaṃ, sā pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappitā samaṅgibhūtā parivāreti. Ayam ettha dhammatā.**

20. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother's womb, that mother is living in the enjoyment yielded by the five senses, is addicted to it, possessed of it, surrounded by it. That, in such a case, is the rule.

21. **'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchiṃ okkanto hoti, na Bodhisatta-mātu kocid eva ābādho uppajjati, sukhinī Bodhisatta-mātā hoti akilanta kāyā. Bodhisattañ ca Bhodhisatta-mātā tiro-kucchi-gataṃ passati sabbaṅga-paccaṅgiṃ abhinindriyaṃ.⁴**

'Seyyathā pi bhikkhave maṇi veluriyo subbo jātimā atthamso suparikamma-kato accho vippasaanno sabbākāra-sampanno. Tatra 'ssa⁵ suttaṃ āvutaṃ nīlaṃ vā. Pītaṃ vā

1. SS Bodhisattassa.

2. S^{cd} Bodhisattassa.

3. S^c okkamanto.

4. K ahīnindriyaṃ B^m ahin^o. See ii. 85; Sum, on the passage, i 222; M. iii. 121.

5. B^m yaṃ. See ii. 84; M. iii. 121.

Lohitaṃ¹ vā odātaṃ vā paṇḍu-suttaṃ vā. Tam evaṃ cakkhumā puriso hatthe² karitvā pacca-vekkheyya: “Ayaṃ kho maṇi veluriyo subho jātimā atthaṃ supari-kamma-kato accho vippasanno sabbākāra-sampanno Tatr’ idaṃ³ suttaṃ āvutaṃ vā ti.”⁴ Evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchiṃ okkanto hoti, na Bodhisatta-mātu kocid eva ābādho uppajjati, sukhinī Bodhisatta-mātā hoti akilanta-kāyā, Bodhisattañ ca Bodhisatta-māta tiro-kucchi-gataṃ passati sabbaṅga-paccaṅgiṃ abhinindriyaṃ. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

21. ‘It is the rule, brethren, that, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother’s womb, no ailment whatsoever befalls that mother; at ease is she and un-afflicted in body ; and within her womb she sees the Bodhisat complete in the endowment of all his organs and his limbs. Just as if, brethren, there were a beautiful cat’s-eye gem⁵, of purest water, octangular, cut with supreme skill, translucent and flawless, excellent in every way. And through it were strung a thread, blue or orange, red, white, or yellow. If a man who had eyes to see were to take it into his hand, he would clearly perceive how the one was strung on the other. Even so, brethren, when the Bodhisat is descending into a mother’s womb, no ailment whatever befalls that mother; at ease is she and unaffected in body; and within her womb she sees the Bodhisat complete in the endowment of all his organs and his limbs. That, in such a case, is the rule.

1. B^m lohitakaṃ *and below*.

2. B^m K hatthesu.

3. K tatr’ assa.

4. K *omits* ti.

5. This simile, occurring in a similar connexion in M. III, 121, is elsewhere (‘Dialogues,’ I, 87 ; M. II, 17) applied to self-knowledge, i.e. of one’s body and mind and their interdependence. The point of the simile is not the perfection of the jewel, but the clarity of vision. The myth of the visible embryo recurs in mediaeval Christian art. See Neumann, *op. cit.*; and ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ p. 65 *n*.

22. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, sattāha-jāte Bodhisatte Bodhisatta-mātā kālaṃ karoti, Tusitaṃ¹ kāyaṃ uappajjati. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

22. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, on the seventh day after the birth of a Bodhisat, the mother of the Bodhisat dies, and rises again in the heaven of Delight. That, in such a case, is the rule.

23. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yathā aññā itthikā nava vā dasa vā māse gabbhaṃ kucchinā pariharitvā vijāyanti, na h' evaṃ Bodhisattaṃ Bodhisatta-mātā vijāyati, das' eva māsāni² Bodhisattaṃ Bodhisatta-mātā kucchinā pariharitvā vijāyati. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

23. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, whereas other women bring forth after bearing either nine or ten months³, the mother of a Bodhisat brings not forth till she has borne the child ten months. That, in such a case, is the rule.

24. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yathā aññā itthikā nisinnā vā nipannā vā vijāyanti, na h' evaṃ Bodhisattaṃ Bodhisatta-mātā vijāyati, ñhitā va Bodhisattaṃ Bodhisatta mātā vijāyati. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

24. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, whereas other women bring forth sitting or reclining, the mother of a Bodhisat brings forth not so, but standing. That, in such a case, is the rule.'

25. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchismā⁴ nikkhamati, devā paṭhamam paṭiggaṇhanti, pacchā manussā. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

25. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues

1. B^m Tusitaṃ.

2. B^m māse.

3. The Cy. holds that these disjunctives may be understood to include a term of from seven to twelve months. Seven months' embryos, it adds, live, but cannot endure heat or cold; eight months' babes do not live—a midwife tradition that, we fancy, is still current here and now.

4. B^m kucchimahā, and so throughout.

from his mother's womb, gods receive him first, afterwards men¹. That, in such a case, is the rule.

26. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchismā nikkhamati appatto va² Bodhisatto paṭhavim hoti. cattāro naṃ deva-puttā patiggahetvā mātu purato ṭhapenti: "Attamanā devi hoti, Mahesakko te putto uppannot it." Ayam ettha dhammatā.

26. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother's womb, and has not yet touched the earth, for four sons of the gods to receive him, and present him to the mother, saying :—"Rejoice, lady, for Mighty is the son that is born to thee !" That, in such a case, is the rule.

27. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave, yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchismā nikkhamati, visado va nikkhamati, amakkhito uddena amakkhito semhena amakkhito ruhirena³ amakkhito kenaci asucinā, suddho visado⁴.

'Seyyathā pi phikkhave maṇi-ratanāṃ Kāsike vatthe nikkhittam, n'eva maṇi-ratanam Kāsikam vattham makkheti, na pi Kāsikam vattham maṇi-ratanam makkheti—tam kissa hetu ? ubhinnaṃ suddhattā—evam eva kho bhikkhave yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchismā nikkhamati, visado vanikkhamati, amakkhito uddena amakkhito semhena amakkhito ruhirena amakkhito kenaci asucinā, suddho visado.⁵ Ayam ettha dhammatā.

27. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother's womb, he comes forth stainless, undefined by watery matter, undefiled by mucus, undefiled by blood, undefiled by any uncleanness whatever, pure, spotless. Just as if, brethren, a jewel were laid down on Benares muslin ; the jewel

1. Cf. the account of the birth of Gotama, 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 66, and of the *four*, not *three*, adoring kings in some early Christian bas-reliefs, Neumann, op. cit.

2. S^{dt} K ca; S^c omits; B^m and M. iii. 122 va.

3. SS here, but only S^d in the repetition, rudhirena.

4. K visuddho; Jāt. 53 visado.

5. K visuddho (as above).

is not stained by the muslin, nor is the muslin stained by it; and why is that ? Because of the purity of both. Even so, brethren, is it at the birth of a Bodhisat. That, in such a case, is the rule.

28. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave. Yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchismā nikkhamati, dve udakassa dhārā¹ antalikkhā pātubhavanti, ekā sītassa ekā uṇhassa, yena Bodhisattassa udaka-kiccaṃ karonti mātucca.² Ayam ettha dhammatā.

28. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother's womb, two showers of water appear from the sky, one of cold, the other of warm water, wherewith they do the needful bathing of the Bodhisat and of his mother. That, in such a case, is the rule.

29. 'Dhammatā esā bhikkhave. Sampati-jāto Bodhi-satto samehi pādehi patiṭṭhahitvā uttarābhimukho³ sattapada-vītiḥārena gacchati, setamhi chatte anuhīramāne⁴ sabbā ca disā viloketi⁵ āsabhiṇ ca vācaṃ bhāsati: "Aggo 'ham asmi lokassa, jeṭṭho 'ham asmi lokassa, seṭṭho 'ham asmi lokassa, ayam antimā⁶ jāti, n'atthi 'dāni punabbhavo ti." Ayam ettha dhammatā.

29. 'It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat has come to birth, he stands firm on both feet and, with his face to the north, takes seven strides, the while a white canopy is held over him⁷, and, looking around on every side, he utters as with the voice of a bull:—"Chief am I in the world, Eldest am I in the world, Foremost am I in the world ! This is the last birth ! There

1. K and Sum. udakassa. SS and Jāt. i. 53 ukaka.

2. S^d mātuccā ; B^m K mātu ca, and so M. iii. 123

3. MSS. and K uttarenābhimukho; but see M. iii. 123 quoted Sum. i. 60.

4. S^d Sum. Anuhīramāne; S^t anubhiramāne; B^m anu-dhārayamāne; K anudhāriyamāne. See Trencker's *Pāli Misc.* 79.

5. B^m K and Sum. i. 60 anuvil⁰.

6. K adds me.

7. As an emblem of sovereignty, says the Cy., in which case the emblem is usually named, not its bearers. But these were devatā, angels or fairies or gods.

is now no more coming to be¹! “That, in such a case, is the rule.

30. ‘Dhammatā esā bhikkhave. Yadā Bodhisatto mātu kucchismā² nikkhamati, atha sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇ³-brāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadeva-manussāya appamāṇo ulāro obhāso pātubhavati, atik-kamm’eva devānaṃ devānubhāvaṃ. Yā pi tā lokan-tarikā aghā asaṃvutā andhakārā andhakāra-timisā, yattha pi ’me candimasuriyā evaṃ mahiddhikā evaṃ mahānubhāvā ābhāya evaṃ mahiddhikā evaṃ mahānu-bhāvā ābhāya nānubhonti, tattha pi appamāṇo ulāro obhāso pātubhavati atikkamm’eva devānaṃ devānubhāvaṃ. Ye pi tattha sattā upapannā, te pi ten’ obhāsena aññam aññaṃ sañjānanti: “Aññe pi kira bho santi sattā idhūpapannā ti.” Ayañ ca dasa-sahassī loka-dhātu saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati. Appamāṇo ca ulāro obhāso loke pātubhavati atikkamm’eva devānaṃ devānubhāvaṃ. Ayam ettha dhammatā.

30. ‘It is the rule, brethren, that, when a Bodhisat issues from his mother’s womb, there is made manifest throughout the universe—including the worlds above of the gods, the Māras and the Brahmās, and the world below with its recluses and brahmins, its princes and peoples,—an infinite and splendid radiance passing the glory of the gods. Even in those spaces which are between the worlds, baseless, murky and dark, and where even moon and sun, so wondrous and mighty, cannot prevail to give light, even there is manifest this infinite and splendid radiance,

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1. Each action of the babe had for the later Buddhists its symbolical meaning. Standing on the earth meant obtaining the Four Iddhipādas. Facing the north meant the spiritual conquest of multitudes. The seven strides were the Seven Bojjhangas. The canopy was the umbrella of emancipation. Looking around meant unveiled knowledge. The bull-cry meant the irrevocable turning of the wheel of the Truth or Law. The ‘lion-roar’ of ‘the last birth’ meant the arahantship he would attain in this life.
 2. B^m-imhā.
 3. B^m sasam^o.

passing the glory of the gods. And those beings who happen to be existing there, perceiving each other by that radiance, say :—
 “Verily there be other beings living here!” And the ten thousand worlds of the universe tremble and shudder and quake. And this infinite and splendid radiance is made manifest in the world, passing the glory of the gods. This, in such a case, is the rule.’

31. ‘Jāte kho pana bhikkhave Vipassimhi kumāre, Bandhumato rañño paṭivedesum: “Putto ¹te deva¹ jāto, taṃ devo passatūti.” Addasā kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā Vipassī²-kumāraṃ, disvā nemitte brāhmaṇe āmantā-petvā etad avoca: “Passantu phonto nemittā brāhmaṇā kumāraṃ ti.” Addasāsum³ kho bhikkhave⁴ nemittā brāhmaṇā Vipassī⁵-kumāraṃ, disvā Bandhumam⁶ rājānaṃ etad avocum: “Attamano deva hohi, makesakkho te deva⁷ puffo uppanno. Lābhā te Mahārāja, suladdhaṃ te Mahārāja, yassa te kule evarūpo putto upanno. Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro dvattiṃsa. Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇehi sa-mannāgato, yehi samannāgatassa Mahāpurisassa dve⁸ gatiyo bhavanti anaññā. Sace agāraṃ ajjhāvaseti, rājā hoti cakka-vatti dhammiko dhamma-rājā cāturanto vijitāvī janapadatthāvariyaṃ appatto⁹ satta-ratana-samannāgato. Tass’ imāṃ satta ratanāni bhavanti, seyyathidaṃ cakka-ratanaṃ hatti-ratanaṃ assa-ratanaṃ maṇi-ratanaṃ gahapati-ratanaṃ pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ eva sattamaṃ. Paro sahasaṃ kho paṇ’ assa puttā bhavanti sūrā vīraṅga-rūpā parasenappamaddaṇ. So imaṃ paṭhaviṃ sāgara-pariyantaṃ adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijjiya

1. 1. B^m deva te.

2. So SS, B^m K-siṃ. and below.

3. So S^{dt}, S^c addasāsu, B^m K addasaṃsu.

4. K adds naṃ.

5. B^m K-siṃ.

6. B^m K-mantaṃ.

7. B^m K te only, SS deva only.

8. B^m K add va ; SS and Sum. omit.

9. K oṭṭhāv^o.

ajjhāvasati. Sace kho pana agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, araham hoti sammā sambuddho loke vivattacchaddo.¹

31. 'When the boy Vipassi, brethren, was born, they brought word to Bandhuman the rāja saying :— "A son, my lord, is born to you ! May it please you to see him?" Now when Bandhuman the rāja had seen the babe, he sent for the brahmin soothsayers², saying:— "Let the reverend brahmin soothsayers see the child." Then, brethren, when the brahmin soothsayers had seen the child, they said to Bandhuman the rāja :— "Rejoice, lord, for one of the Mighty Ones is born thy son! Eortune is thine, my lord, good fortune is thine, in that in thy family such a son has come to birth! For this babe, my lord, is endowed with the thirty-two marks of the Great Man ; and to one so endowed two careers lie open, and none other. If he live the life of the House, he becomes Lord of the Wheel³, a righteous Lord of the Right⁴, ruler of the four quarters, conqueror, guardian of the people's good, owner of the Seven Treasures. He is do those seven treasures become, to wit, the Wheel treasure, the Elephant treasure, the Horse treasure, the Gem treasure, the Woman treasure, the Steward treasure, the Eldest Son treasure making seven⁵. More than a thousand sons will be his, heroes, vigorous of frame, crushers of the hosts of the enemy. He, when he has conquered this earth to its ocean bounds, is established not by the cource, not by the sword, but by righteousness. But if such a boy go forth from the life of the House into the Homeless state⁶, he becomes an Arahant, a Buddha Supreme, rolling back the veil from the world.

1. K vivatthavha to.

2. Literally, mark-men, or augurs. See 'Dialogues,' I, 16, n. 1.

3. Turner of the Wheel, the now well-known Indian symbol of empire.

4. Dhamma-rāja.

5. For details of each of these see below in the Mahā-Sudassana Sutta, No. XVII.

6. This vigorous and picturesque idiom—agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati—has been here and elsewhere rendered as literally as possible.

32. ‘ “Katamehi cāyāṃ deva kumāro dvattiṃsa Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇehi samannāgato yehi samannagatassa Mahāpurisassa dve gatiyo bhavanti anaññā ? Sace agāraṃ ajjhāvasati, rājā hoti cakka-vatti dhammiko dhamma-rājā cāturanto vijitāvī janapadatthāvariyaṃ pappatto¹ satta-ratana-samannāgato. Tass’ imāni satta ratanāni bhavanti, seyyathidaṃ cakka-ratanaṃ hatthi-ratanaṃ assa-ratanaṃ maṇi-ratanaṃ itthi-ratanaṃ gahapati-ratanaṃ pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ eva sattamaṃ. Paro sahaṃsaṃ kho pan’ assa puttā bhavanti sūrā vīraṅga-rūpā parasenappamaddanā. So imaṃ paṭhavim sāgara-pariyantaṃ adaṇḍena asatthena dhammena abhivijjiya ajjhāvasati. Sace kho pana agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, arahamaṃ hoti sammā sambuddho loka vivatta-cchaddo.

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro suppatitṭhita-pādo. Yam pāyaṃ deva kumāro suppatitṭhita-pādo, idam pi ’ssa² Mahāpurisassa Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇaṃ bhavati.

‘ “Imassa deva kumārassa hetthā-pāda-tesu cakkāni jātāni sahaṃsārāni sanemikāni sanābhikāni sabbākāra-paripūrāni. Yam pi deva imassa kumārassa hetthā-pāda-tesu cakkāni jātāni sahaṃsārāni sanemikāni sanābhikāni sabbākāra-paripūrāni, idam pi ’ssa Mahāpurisassa Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇaṃ bhavati.

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro āyata-paṇhī . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro dīghaṅgulī . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro mudu-taluṇa-hattha-pādo . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro jāla-hattha-pādo . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro ussaṅkha-pādo . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro eṇi-jaṅgho . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro ṭhitako va anonamanto ubho³ hi paṇi-talehi jannukāni³ parimasati⁴ parimajjati . . . pe . . .

1. K °ṭṭhāv°.

2. B^m p’imassa, and below.

3. S^t B^m jaṇṇuk°.

4. S^c param°; B^m parām°.

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro kosohita-vatthaguyho . . .
pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro suvaṇṇa-vaṇṇo kañcana-
sannibhattaco¹ . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro sukhumacchavi² sukhumattā
chaviyā rajojallaṃ kāye na upalimapati³ . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro ekeka-lomo ekekāni lomāni
loma-kūpesu jātāni . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro uddhaga- lomo uddhaggāni
lomāni jātāni nīlāni añjana-vaṇṇāni kuṇḍala⁴-vattāni dak-
khiṇāvattaka-jātāni . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro brahmujju-gatto⁵ . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro sattussado . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro sattussado . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro sīha-pubbaddhakāyo . . .
pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro citantaramso⁶ . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro nigrodha-parimaṇḍalo, yāva-
takvassa kāyo tāvatakvassa vyāmo, yāvatakvassa vyāmo
tāvatakvassa kāyo . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro samavattakkhandho⁷ . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro rasaggasaggī . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro sīha-hanu . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro cattātisa-danto . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro sama-danto . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro avivara⁸-danto . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro susukka-dāṭho . . . pe . . .

‘ “Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro pahūta-jivho . . . pe . . .

1. B^m K sannibhataco.

2. S^{cd} B^m sukhumachavi.

3. S^d uparimapati; S^t upalippati.

4. B^m K-lā.

5. K -ūju-

6. S^c citantaramso; K pittantaramso.

7. S^d samavata-; S^t samavata-corrected to ^ovatta; B^m K samavaṭṭa.

8. B^m K aviraḷa.

“Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro Brahmassaro karavīka¹-bhāṇī
... pe ...

“Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro abhinīla-netto ... pe ...

“Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro go-pakhumo ... pe ...

“Imassa deva kumārassa uṇṇā bhamukantare jātā
odātā mudu-tūla-sannibhā. Yam pi deva imassa kumārassa
uṇṇā bhamukantare jātā odātā mudu-tūla-sannibhā, idam pi
'ssa Mahāpurisassa Mahāpuris-lakkhaṇaṃ bhavati.

“Ayaṃ hi deva kumāro uṇhīsa²-sīso. Yam pāyaṃ deva
kumāro uṇhīsa-sīso, idam pi 'ssa Mahāpurisassa Mahāpurisa-
lakkhaṇaṃ bhavati.

32. “And what, my lord, are the thirty-two marks of the
'Great Man²,' wherewith endowed this child hath two careers
open to him, and only two :—that of the Lord of the Wheel . .
. that of Buddha Supreme ?

“This babe, my lord, has feet with level tread³. That this
is so counts to him as one of the marks of a Great Man.

“On the soles of the babe's feet wheels appear with a
thousand spokes, with tyre and hub, in every way complete. That
this is so counts to him as one of the marks of a Great Man.

“This babe has projecting heels⁴,

He is long in the fingers and long in the toes⁵,

Soft and tender in hands and feet,

With hands and feet like a net⁶.

1. ^S karavīkara; ^B K karavika.

2. Given also at M. II, 136, 137. Comp. the note above Vol. I, p. no.
The whole theory is pre-Buddhistic.

3. Suppatthita Mita-pādo: literally, 'well-planted feet.' The traditional
meaning is, that the whole under-surface touched the ground at
once. The Great Man was 'flat-footed,' and did not toe or heel the
ground in walking.

4. If the foot of a 'Great Man' be measured in four parts, two are
taken up by the sole and toes, one is under the leg, and one is the
heel projecting rearward.

5. And all four, fingers and toes, are of equal length, like a monkey's. Cy.

6. Like a lattice, says the Cy., and explains this to mean that there is
no 'webbing' between fingers and toes, but that these are set in
right lines, like the meshes of a net.

His ankles are like rounded shells¹ ;

His legs are like an antelope's².

Standing and without bending he can touch and rub his knees with either hand.

His male organs are concealed in a sheath.

His complexion is like bronze, the colour of gold.

His skin is so delicately smooth that no dust cleaves to his body³.

The down on it grows in single hairs, one to each pore,
The small hairs on his body turn upward, every hair of it,
blue-black in colour like eye-paint, in little curling rings, curling to the right.

“ This babe has a frame divinely straight⁴.

He has the seven convex surfaces⁵.

The front half of his body is like a lion's⁶.

There is no furrow between his shoulders⁷.

His proportions have the symmetry of the banyan-tree⁸ :-
The length of his body is equal to the compass of his arms, and
the compass of his arms is equal to his height.

-
1. Ensuring the maximum of flexibility. Cy. This is desirable in sitting cross-legged.
 2. With protuberant well-modelled joints, like an ear of rice or barley. Cy.
 3. Hence the Buddhas only wash as an example to their followers. Cy.
 4. He will not stoop, nor lean backward, as if catching at the stars, nor have a crooked spine, but tower up symmetrically like a golden tower-gate in a city of the gods. Cy.
 5. The backs of the four limbs, the shoulders and the trunk are well fleshed. Cy.
 6. i. e. proportionately broad and full.
 7. Citantaramso, lit. he has the shoulder-interval filled up. The Cy. explains, the two sides of the back have no depression in the middle, nor look separated, but from the small of the back upwards the fleshy covering is as a level golden slab.
 8. Literally, he has the banyan circumference. It was believed that a banyan always measured the same, like the diameter of a circle, in height as in width.

His bust is equally rounded ¹.

His taste is supremely acute ².

His jaw is as a lion's ³.

He has forty teeth ⁴,

Regular teeth.

Continuous,

The eye-teeth very lustrous. His tongue is very long ⁵.

He has a divine voice like the karavīka-bird's ⁶.

His eyes are intensely blue ⁷.

He has the eyelashes of a cow ⁸.

Between the eyebrows appears a hairy mole, white and like soft cotton down.

His head is like a royal turban ⁹.

This too counts to him as one of the marks of a Great Man ¹⁰.

1. Samavattakkhandho. According to the Cy. the exterior of the whole vocal apparatus is here meant, rather than the trunk or shoulders only.
2. Rasaggasaggi.
3. That is, with the lower jaw relatively fuller than the upper. Cy.
4. That is, the Great Man at a more adult stage has eight more than the normal thirty-two. How the learned brahmins saw these signs in the babe is not explained.
5. See 'Dialogues,' I, 131.
6. According to Childers, the Indian cuckoo. The Great Man's voice is very clear and pure-toned, neither worn nor broken nor harsh. Cy. Yoga-culture is to-day held to yield, as one result, a pleasant musical voice.
7. Like flax-blossom. Cy. Perhaps a tradition of Aryan origin.
8. Completely surrounding the eyes, thick like a black cow's; bright and soft like a new-born red calf's. Cy.
9. Unhīsa-sīso. This expression, says the Cy., refers to the fullness either of the forehead or of the cranium. In either case the rounded highly-developed appearance is meant, giving to the unadorned head the decorative dignified effect of a crested turban, and the smooth symmetry of a water-bubble.
10. In the text this refrain occurs after the naming of each mark.

33. 'Imehi kho ayaṃ deva kumāro dvattiṃsa Mahāpurisa-lakkhaṇehi samannāgato, yehi samannāgatassa Mahāpurisassa dve gatiyo bhavanti anaññā. Sace agāraṃ ajjhāvasati, rājā hoti cakkavatti dhammiko dhamma-rājā cāturato vijitāvī janapadatthāvariyaṃ appatto satta-ratana-samannāpato. Tass' imāni satta-ratanāni bhavanti: sey-yathūdaṃ cakka-ratanam hatthi-ratanam assa-ratanam maṇi-ratanam-ratanam itthi-ratanam pariṇāyaka-ratanam eva sattamaṃ. Parosahassaṃ kho pan' assa puttā bhavanti sūrā viraṅga-rūpā parasaenppaaddanā. So imaṃ paṭhaviṃ sāgara-pariyantaṃ adaḍḍena asat-thena dhammena² abhivijīya ajjhāvasati. Sace kho pana agāraṃ anagāriyaṃ pabbajati, araham hoti sammā sambuddho loke vivattacchaddo ti.³

'Atha kho bhikkhve Bandhumā rājā nemitte brāhmaṇe ahatehi⁴ vatthehi acchādāpetvā⁵ sabba-kāmehi santappesi.

33. ' "Endowed, my lord, as is this babe with these two-and-thirty marks of the Great Man, two careers and none other are open to him. . ." [as above, § 31] . . .

'Thereupon Bandhuman the rāja, brethren, let the brahmin soothsayers be invested with new robes and gratified their every desire.

34. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā Vipassissa kumārassa dhātiyo upaṭṭhāpesi. Aññā sudam⁶ pāyenti aññā nahāpenti,⁷ aññā dhārenti, aññā añkena pariharanti. Jātassa khe pana bhikkhave Vipassissa kumārassa setacchattaṃ dhārayittha divā c' eva ratti ca: "mā naṃ sītaṃ vā uḥam vā tiṇaṃ vā ussāvo vā bādha ti."⁸ Jāto kho pana bhikkhave

1. B^m uñhissa twice.

2. K adds samena here, but not in § 31.

3. B^m -cchaddo; K vivaṭacchaddo hoti.

4. B^m āhatehi.

5. K acchādetvā.

6. B^m K khīraṃ.

7. B^m nhāp^o. So K in text, but nahāpenti in note.

8. B^m bādhayitthāti; K ti only (without verb). A.i. 145 has phussi after mā naṃ, and omits bādha.

Vipassī kumāro bahuno janassa piyo ahosi manāpo. Seyyathā pi bhikkhave uppalaṃ vā padumaṃ vā puṇḍarīkaṃ vā bahuno janassa piyaṃ manāpaṃ evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro bahuno janassa piyo ahosi manā po. Svāssudaṃ¹ añken' eva añkaṃ² parihariyati.

34. 'And Bandhuman the rāja, brethren, engaged nurses for the babe Vipassī. Some suckled him, some washed him, some nursed him, some carried him about on their hip. And a white canopy was held over him day and night, for it was commanded:— "Let not cold or heat or straws or dust or dew annoy him !" And the boy Vipassī, brethren, became the darling and the beloved of the people, even as a blue or red or white lotus is dear to and beloved of all, so that he was literally carried about from lap to lap³.

35. 'Jāto kho pana bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro mañju-ssaro ca⁴ ahosi vaggu-ssaro ca madhura-ssaro ca pema-yāya-ssaro ca. Seyyathā pi bhikkhave Himavante pabbate karavīkā nāma sakuṇa-jāti mañjussarā ca vaggu⁵-madhu- rassarā ca pemañiyassarā ca, evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro mañjussaro ca ahosi vaggussaro ca madhurassaro ca pemañiyassararo ca.

35. 'And when the boy Vipassī was born, brethren, he had a lovely voice, well modulated and sweet and charming, just as the voice of the karavika-bird in the mountains of Himālaya is lovely and sweetly modulated and charming⁶.

1. B^m savassudaṃ; SS *here* So sudam; Sum svāssudaṃ.

2. B^m añgen' eva añgaṃ.

3. Literally by hip to hip; women passing him from arm to arm, men from one shoulder to another, explains the Cy.

4. S^d brahmassaro mañjussaro ca; B^m brahmassaro ca mañjuro ca; S^{ct} K Sum *omit*.

5. K vaggussarā va madhurassarā ca.

6. The Cy. relates of the bird that it sings a flute-like song after pecking at honey and mangoes, and that the song exercises a sort of Orpheus-spell over every beast that hears it. Asandhimittā, the consort of Asoka, was converted by it. She had inquired of the

36. 'Jātassa kho pana bhikkhave Vipassissa kumārassa kamma-vipākajaṃ dibbaṃ cakkhuṃ¹ pātur ahoṣi, yena sudaṃ² samantā yojanaṃ passati divā c' eva rattiñ va.

36. 'And when the boy Vipassi was born, brethren, there was manifested in him the Heavenly Eye born of the result of his karma³, by the which verily he could see as far as a league by day and eke by night.

37. 'Jāto kho pana bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro ahimi-santo⁴ pekkhati, seyyathā pi⁵ devā⁶ Tāvatiṃsā. "Animi-santo⁷ kumāro⁸ pekkhatīti"⁹ kho¹⁰ bhikkhave Vipassissa kumārassa "Vipassī"¹¹ tveva samaññā udapādi. Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā attha-karaṇe¹² nisinno, Vipassī¹³ -kumāraṃ aṅke¹⁴ nisīdāpetvā atthe¹⁵ anusasati. Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro pitu aṅke nisinno viceyya viceyya atthe

Order, if it were known what the Buddha's voice was like; and on its being compared to the karavka's song, wished to hear that. Asoka sent for one, which would not sing in its cage, till a mirror was placed by it. Fancying it saw a kinsman, it sang, throwing every one into ecstasies, and so exalting the queen's idea of the Buddha's voice, that she attained 'the fruit of sotāpatti.'

1. SS dibbaṃ cakkhuṃ; B^m dibba-cakkhu; K dibba-cakkhuṃ.
2. K dūraṃ.
3. That is, not by special practice, but as the result of action in former births, as with the fairies' power of vision. Cy.
4. B^m animmisanto, *and below*; K animmissanto, *and below*.
5. K *adds* bhikkhave.
6. K devatā.
7. K aninmmissantā.
8. B^m K *omit*.
9. B^m pekkhati; K pekkhanti.
10. B^m jātassa kho pana; K evam eva kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro animmissanto pekkhati. Jātassa kho pana.
11. S^d K *omit*.
12. S^d karaṇo; B^m attha-kar^o; K attakaraṇe.
13. B^m K Vipassī.
14. B^m aṅge, *and below*.
15. K atṭe.

panāyati nāyena.¹ “Viceyya viceyya kumāro atthe² panāyati nāyenāti”³ ⁴kho bhikkhave Vipassissa⁵ kumārassa bhiyyoso mattāya “Vipassī ⁶Vipassī” tveva samaññā udapādi.

37. ‘And when the boy Vipassi was born, brethren, he looked forward with unblinking eyes, like the gods in the heaven of Delight. Now it was because of this, people exclaiming “Vipassi, Vipassi”—a Seer, a Seer! —that this became his name⁷. And again, brethren, while Bandhuman rāja was sitting as judge, he would take the boy on his hip and so lay down the law as to the cases arising till verily the boy, thus seated on his father’s hip, and continually considering, would also determine the points of the matter according to justice⁸. Then at the thought “It is the babe who is judging cases aright” ever more and more did that word “a Seer, a Seer” become used as his name.

38. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhmā rājā Vipassissa kumārassa ṭayo pāsāde kārāpesi, ekaṃ vassikaṃ ekaṃ hemantikaṃ ekaṃ gimhikaṃ, pañca kāma-guṇāni upa-ṭṭhāpesi. Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro vassike pāsāde vassike⁹ cattāro māse nippurisehi¹⁰ turiyehi parivārayamāno¹¹ na heṭṭhā pāsādaṃ orohati.¹²

1. K nāyena.

2. K aṭṭe.

3. K nānenāti.

4. K adds atha.

5. S^c Vipassī.

6. K omits second Vipassī.

7. Vipassī refers rather to the inward vision of the seer. Vipassanā is insight or intuition.

8. Namely by giving signs of dissatisfaction when a decision was wrong.

9. K omits vassike, but see A i. 145.

10. B^m nipur^o.

11. B^m paricāriya^o.

12. K orohaṭṭi.

13. B^m K paṭhamā-bhāṇavāraṃ.

38. 'Now Bandhuman rāja, brethren, had three palaces built for the boy Vipassī, one for the rains, one for the winter and one for the summer, and he had them fitted with every kind of gratification for the five senses. Thus it came to pass that Vipassī spent the four months of the rainy season in the rains-palace, ministered to by bands of female musicians¹; and not once did he come down (from the upper terrace) into the mansion.'

¹³Jāti-khaṇḍaṃ nitthitam.¹³

Here endeth the Birth chapter.

II.

2.1. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro bahunnaṃ vassānaṃ bahunnaṃ vassa-satānaṃ bahunnaṃ vassa-sahassānaṃ accayena sārathīṃ āmantesi:

' "Yojehi samma sārathī bhaddāni bhaddāni² yānāni, uyyāna-bhumīṃ gacchāma bhūmiṃ³ dassanāyāti."

' "Evaṃ devāti" kho bhikkhave sārathī Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā Vipassissa⁴ kumārassa paṭivedesi: "Yuttāni kho te deva bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni, yassa 'dāni kālaṃ maññasīti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro bhaddaṃ⁵ yānaṃ abhiruhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi uyyāna-bhumīṃ niyyāsi.⁶

1. Nippurisehi turiyehi. Both words are ambiguous. Childers, following B. R., who follow Wilson, renders turiya by musical instrument. It is very doubtful whether it ever means that. Music, or orchestra, seems to be required in such passages as I have noted. Nippurisa (only found as yet in this connexion) may be non-human (that is, fairy), or not male. See D. II, 171; M. I, 571; A. I, 145; Vin. I, 15; II, 180; J. I, 58, and Senart's note at Mahāvastu III, 486. The alternative rendering would therefore be 'fairy music.'¹ But the commentator evidently takes the words in the meaning given above.

2. S^{ct} omit first and third, but not second time.

3. S^c K subhūmiṃ; B^m subhūmi.

4. K Vipassi-

5. B^m bhaddaṃ bhaddaṃ; K bhadraṃ, See pp. 28, 41.

6. S^d B^m niyyāti. See p. 41.

1. 'Now the young lord Vipassi, brethren, when many years, many centuries, many thousands of years had passed by¹, bade his charioteer make ready the state carriages, saying:—"Get ready the carriages, good charioteer, and let us go through the park to inspect the pleasaunce." "Yea, my lord," replied the charioteer, and harnessed the state carriages and sent word to Vipassi:—"The carriages are ready, my lord ; do now what you deem to be fit." Then Vipassi mounted a state carriage, and drove out in state into the park.

2. 'Addasā kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto purisaṃ jīṇṇaṃ gopānasi-vaṅkaṃ bhoggaṃ² daṇḍa-parāyanaṃ pavedhamānaṃ gacchantaṃ āturaṃ gata-yobbanāṃ. Disvā sārathiṃ āmantesi:

' "Ayam pana samma sārathi puriso kiṃ kato, kesā pi 'ssa na yathā aññesaṃ, kāyo pi 'ssa na yathā aññesan ti ?"

' "Eso kho deva jīṇṇo nāmāti."

' "Kim pan' eso samma sārathi jīṇṇo nāmāti ?"

' "Eso kho deva jīṇṇo nāma: Na dāni tena ciraṃ jīvitabbaṃ bhavissatīti."

' "Kim pana samma sārathi aham pi jarā-dhammo jaraṃ anatīto ti ?"

' "Tvañ ca deva mayaṃ c' amhā³ sabbe jarā-dhammā jaraṃ anatītā ti."

' "Tena hi samma sārathi alan dān' ajja uyyāna-bhū-miyā, ito va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāhīti."⁴

' "Evaṃ devāti" kho bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā tato va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāsi. Tatra

1. The legendary age of humans at the time of Vipassi was 80,000 years, so that we may reckon 1000 of his years as one of ours. When this legend is afterwards related of Gotama Buddha (in the Nidānakathā), he is said to have reached his majority (sixteen years) when the drives begin.

2. K bhaggaṃ. See A. i. 138; M. i. 88; Dh. A. 315; and Jāt. i. 59.

3. SS often amha.

4. SS B^m always pacca^o; K at first pacca^o, towards the end paccā. S^t onūy^o; S^{cd} onūyy^o.

sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro antepura¹-gato dukkhī dummano pajjhāyati: “Dhir² atthu kira bho jāti nāma.³ yatrahi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissatīti.”

2. ‘Now the young lord Vipassi saw, brethren, as he was driving to the park, an aged man as bent as a roof gable, decrepit, leaning on a staff, tottering as he walked, afflicted and long past his prime. And seeing him Vipassi said:—“That man, good charioteer, what has he done, that his hair is not like that of other men, nor his body ?”

‘ “He is what is called an aged man, my lord.”

‘ “But why is he called aged ?”

‘ “He is called aged, my lord, because he has not much longer to live.”

‘ “But then, good charioteer, am I too subject to old age, one who has not got past old age?”

‘ “You, my lord, and we too, we all are of a kind to grow old, we have not got past old age.”

‘ “Why then, good charioteer, enough of the park for to-day! Drive me back hence to my rooms⁴.”

‘ “Yea, my lord,” answered the charioteer, and drove him back. And he, brethren, going to his rooms sat brooding sorrowful and depressed, thinking:—“Shame then verily be upon this thing called birth, since to one born old age shows itself like that!”

3. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā sārathim āmantāpetvā etad avoca:

‘ “Kacci samma sārathi kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā abhiramittha, kacci samtha sārathi kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā attamano ahoṣīti ?”

‘ “Na kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā abhiramittha, na kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā attamano ahoṣīti.”

1. B^m K-raṃ.

2. B^m dhī.

3. So SS B^m K and below ; Jāt. i. 59 jātiyā.

4. Antepurarrī, or harem. Tradition adds that he ‘dismissed his womenfolk, and sat alone in his bedchamber, pierced in heart by this first dart.’

‘ “Kim pana samma sārathi addasa kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto ti ?”

‘ “Addasā¹ kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto purisaṃ jīṇṇaṃ gopānasi-vaṃkaṃ bhoggaṃ bhoggaṃ daṇḍa-parāya-naṃ pavedhamānaṃ gacchantāṃ āturaṃ-gata-yobbanāṃ. Disvā maṃ etad avoca: ‘Ayam pana samma sārathi puriso kiṃ kato, kesā pi ’ssa na yathā aññesaṃ, kāho pi ’ssa na yathā aññesan ti ?’ ‘Eso kho deva jīṇṇo nāmāti.’ ‘Kim pana so samma sārathi jīṇṇo nāmāti ?’ ‘Eso kho deva jīṇṇo nāma: na dāni tena ciraṃ jīvitaḥ bhavis-satīti.’ ‘Kim pana samma sārathi aham pi jarā-dhammo jaraṃ anatīto ti?’ ‘Tvañ ca deva mayaṃ c’ amhā sabbe jarā-dhammā jaraṃ anatītā ti. ‘Tena hi samma sārathi alan dān’ ajja uyyāna-bhūmiyā, ito va antepuram pacca-niyyāhīti.’ ‘Evaṃ devāti’ kho aham deva Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā tato va antepuram paccaniy-yāsiṃ. So kho deva kumāro antepura-gato dukkhī dummano pajjhāyati : ‘Dhi-r-atthu kira bho jāti jāti nāma, yatra hi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissatīti.’ ”

3. ‘Thereupon Bandhuman rāja, brethren, sent for the charioteer and asked him :— “Well, good charioteer, did the boy take pleasure in the park ? was he pleased with it ?”

‘ “No, my lord, he was not.”

‘ “What then did he see on his drive ?”

[And the charioteer told the rāja all.]

4. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumassa rañño etad ahosi: “Mā h’eva kho Vipassī kumāro na rajjaṃ kāresi, mā h’eva Vipassī kumāro agarasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaji, mā h’eva nemittānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ saccaṃ assa vacanan ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā Vipassissa kumārassa bhiyyoso mattāya pañca kāma-guṇāni upaṭṭhāpesi yathā Vipassī kumāro rajjaṃ kāreyya,² yathā Vipassī kumāro na agāasmā anagariyaṃ pabbajeyya, yathā nemittānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ micchā assa vacanaṃ.³ Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave

1. All MSS. addasa in the question, addasā in the answer.

2. B^m kareyya. (So S^c here, but no afterwards.)

3. SS B^m vacanan ti.

vipassī kumāro pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappito samaṅgi-bhūto¹ parivareti.²

4. 'Then the rāja, brethren, thought thus :— "We must not have Vipassi declining to rule. We must not have him going forth from the House into the Homeless state. We must not let what the brahmin soothsayers spoke of come true."

'So, that these things might not come to pass, he let the youth be still more surrounded by sensuous pleasures. And thus Vipassi continued to live amidst the pleasures of sense.

5. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro bahunnaṃ vassānaṃ . . . pe (§ 1) . . .

5. 'Now after many years, many centuries, many thousands of years had passed by, the young lord Vipassi, brethren, again bade his charioteer make ready, and drove forth as once before³.

6. 'Addasā kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro uyyāna-bhūiṃ niyyanto purisaṃ ābādhikaṃ dukkhiṃ⁴ bālha-gilānaṃ sake mutta-karīse palipannaṃ semānaṃ⁵ aññehi vuṭṭhāpiyamānaṃ aññehi saṃvesiyamānaṃ. Disvā sārathiṃ āmantesi : "Ayam pana samma sārathi puriso kiṃ kato, akkhīni pi 'ssa na yathā aññesaṃ, saro⁶ pi 'ssa na yathā aññesaṃ ti ?"

' "Eso kho deva vyādhito⁷ nāmāti."

' "Kim pana eso samma sārathi vyādhito nāmāti ?"

' "Eso kho deva vyādhito nāma: app eva nāma tamhā ābādhā vuṭṭhaheyyāti."

' "Kim pana samma sārathi aham pi vyādhi-dhammo vyādhiṃ anatīto ti ?"

' "Tvañ ca deva mayaṃ c' amhā sabbe vyādhi-dhammā vyādhiṃ anatītā ti."

1. S^c B^m samaṅgī-.

2. So SS; B^m paricāreti.

3. Text repeats in full as in § 1.

4. S^t dukkhaṃ ; S^d dukkhiṃ (see M. i. 88, A.i. 139).

5. S^t sopānaṃ; B^m K sayamānaṃ.

6. K siro.

7. B^m K byādhito, and throughout.

‘ “Tena hi sammā sārathi alan dān’ ajja uyyāna-bhūmiyā, ito va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāhīti.”

‘ “Evaṃ devāti” bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā tato va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāsi. Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro antepura-gato dukkhī dummano pajjhāyati: “Dhi-r-atthu kira bho jāti nāma, yatra hi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissati vyādhi paññāyissatīti.”

6. ‘And Vipassi, brethren, saw as he was driving to the park, a sick man, suffering and very ill, fallen and weltering in his own water, by some being lifted up, by others being dressed. Seeing this, Vipassi asked, “That man, good charioteer, what has he done that his eyes are not like others’ eyes, nor his voice like the voice of other men?”

‘ “He is what is called ill, my lord.”

‘ “But what is meant by ‘ill’ ?”

‘ “It means, my lord, that he will hardly recover from his illness.”

‘ “But am I too then, good charioteer, subject to fall ill; have not I got out of reach of illness ?”

‘ “You, my lord, and we too, we all are subject to fall ill, we have not got beyond the reach of illness.”

‘ “Why then, good charioteer, enough of the park for to-day! Drive me back hence to my rooms.” “Yea, my lord,” answered the charioteer, and drove him back. And he, brethren, going to his rooms sat brooding sorrowful and depressed, thinking :— “Shame then verily be upon this thing called birth, since to one born decay shows itself like that, disease shows itself like that.”

7. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā sārathim āmantāpetvā etad avoca:

‘ “Kacci sammā sārathi kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā abhiramittha, kacchi sammā sārathi kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā attamano ahoṣīti ?”

‘ “Na kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā abhiramittha, na kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā attamano ahoṣīti.”

‘ “Kim pana sammā sārathi addasa kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto ti?”

‘ “Addasā kho deva kukāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto purisaṃ ābādhikaṃ dukkhitaṃ bālha-gilānaṃ sake muttakarīse palipannaṃ semānaṃ aññehi vuṭṭhāpiyamānaṃ aññehi saṃvesiyamānaṃ. Disvā maṃ etad avoca: ‘Ayam pana samma sārathi puriso kiṃ kato, akkhini pi ‘ssa na yathā aññesaṃ, saro pi ‘ssa na yathā aññesaṃ ti?’ ‘Eso kho deva vyādhito nāmāti.’ ‘Kim pan’ eso samma sārathi vyādhito nāmāti?’ ‘Eso kho deva vyādhito nāma: app eva nāma tamhā ābādhā vuṭṭhaheyāti.’ ‘Kim pana samma sārathi aham pi vyādhidhammo vyādhiṃ anatīto ti?’ ‘Tvaṇ ca deva mayaṇ c’ amhā sabbe vyādhidhammā vyādhiṃ anatītā ti’ ‘Tena hi samma sārathi alan dān’ ajja uyyāna-bhūmiyā, ito va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāhīti.’ ‘Evaṃ devāti’ kho ahaṃ deva Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā tato va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāsim. So kho¹ deva deva kumāro antepura-gato dukkhī dummano apjjhāyati: Dhi-r-atthu kira bho jāti nāma, yatra hi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissati vyādhi paññāyissatīti.’ ”

7. ‘Thereupon Bandhuman rāja, brethren, sent for the charioteer and asked him :— “Well, good charioteer, did the young lord take pleasure in the park and was he pleased with it?”

‘ “No, my lord, he was not.”

‘ “What did he see then on his drive ?”

‘[And the charioteer told the rāja all.]

8. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumassa rañño etad ahosi: “Mā h’eva kho Vipassī kumāro na rajjaṃ kāresi, mā h’eva Vipassī kumāro agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaji, mā h’eva nemittānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ saccaṃ assa vacanaṃ ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā Vipassissa kumārassa bhiyyoso mattāya pañca kāma-guṇāni upaṭṭhāpesi, yathā Vipassī kumāro rajjaṃ kāreyya, yathā Vipassī kumāro na agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajeyya, yathā nemittānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ micchāassa vacanaṃ. Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappito samaṅgi-bhūto parivāreti.

8. 'Then the rāja, brethren, thought thus :— "We must not have Vipassi declining to rule; we must not have him going forth from the House to the Homeless state ; we must not let what the brahmin soothsayers spoke of come true."

'So, that these things might not come to pass, he let the young man be still more abundantly surrounded by sensuous pleasures. And thus Vipassi continued to live amidst the pleasures of sense.

9. . . . pe [§ 1] . . .

9. 'Now once again after many years . . . the young lord Vipassi . . . drove forth..

10. 'Addasā kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto mahājana-kāyaṃ sannipatitaṃ nānā-rattānaṃ ca dussānaṃ milātaṃ¹ kayiramānaṃ. Disvā sārathim āmantesi :

"Kin nu bho so samma sārathi mahājana-kāyo sannipatito nānā-rattānaṃ ca dussānaṃ milātaṃ kayiratīti ?"²

"Eso deva kālakato³ nāmāti."

"Tena hi samma sārathi yena so kālakato tena rathaṃ pesehīti."

"Evaṃ devāti" kho bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā yena so kālakato tena rathaṃ pesesi. Addasā kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro⁴ petaṃ kālakataṃ. Disvā sārathim āmantesi :

"Kim panāyaṃ⁵ samma sārathi kālakato nāmāti ?"

"Eso kho deva kālakato nāma: na dāni taṃ dakkhinti⁶ mātā vā pitā aññe vā ñāti-sālohitā, so pi na dakkhissati mātaraṃ vā pitaraṃ vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohite ti."

"Kim pana samma sārathi aham pi maraṇa-dhammo maraṇaṃ anatīto ti ? Mam pi na dakkhinti devo vā devī vā

1. B^m K vilātaṃ, and below.

2. K kariyatīti.

3. B^m kālāṃ, and so always.

4. In the repetition B^m K insert purisaṃ, but not here.

5. SS pana.

6. S^c dakkhissanti; K B^m dakkhanti. See i. 46; ii. 41.

āññe vā ñāti-sālohitā aham pi na dakkhissāmi devaṃ vā devīṃ vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohite ti?”

‘ “Tvañ ca deva mayañ c amhā sabbe maraṇa-dhammā maraṇaṃ anatītā. Tam pi na dakkhinti devo vā devī vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohitā. Tvam pi na dakkhissasi devaṃ vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohite ti.”

“Tena hi samma sārathi alan dān’ ajja uyyāna-bhūmiyā, ito va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāhīti.”

‘ “Evaṃ devāti” kho bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kuārassa paṭissutvā tato va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāsi. Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro antepura-gato dukkhī dummano pajjhāyati: “Dhi-r-atthu kira bho jāti nāma, yatra hi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissati, vyādhi paññāyissati, maraṇaṃ paññāyissatīti.”

10. ‘And he saw, brethren, as he was driving to the park, a great concourse of people clad in garments of different colours constructing a funeral pyre. And seeing them he asked his charioteer :— “Why now are all those people come together in garments of different colours, and making that pile ?”

‘ “It is because some one, my lord, has ended his days.”

‘ “Then drive the carriage close to him who has ended his days.”

‘ “Yea, my lord,” answered the charioteer, and did so. And Vipassi saw the corpse of him who had ended his days and asked:— “What, good charioteer, is ending one’s days ?”

‘ “It means, my lord, that neither mother, nor father, nor other kinsfolk will see him any more, nor will, he ever again see them.”

‘ “But am I too then subject to death, have I not got beyond the reach of death ? Will neither the rāja, nor the ranee, nor any other of my kin see me more, or I ever again see them?”

‘ “You, my lord and we too, we all are subject to death, we have not passed beyond the reach of death. Neither the rāja, nor the ranee, nor any other of your kin would see you any more, nor would you ever again see them.”

‘ “Why then, good charioteer, enough of the park for to-day! Drive me back hence to my rooms.”

‘ “Yea, my lord,” replied the charioteer, and drove him back.

‘And he, brethren, going to his rooms, sat brooding sorrowful and depressed, thinking:—“Shame then verily be upon this thing called birth, since to one born the decay of life, since disease, since death shows itself like that!”

11. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā sārathim āmantāpetvā etad avoca:

‘ “Kacci samma sārathi kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā abhiramitttha, kacci samma sārathi kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā attamano ahosīti ?”

‘ “Na kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā abhiramitttha, no kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiyā attamano ahosīti.”

‘ “Kim pana sammma sārathi addasa kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto ti ?”

‘ “Addasā kho deva kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto mahājana-kāyaṃ sannipatitaṃ nānārattānaṃ ca dussānaṃ mmilātaṃ kayiramānaṃ. Disvā maṃ etad avoca: ‘Kin nu kho so samma sārathi mahājana-kāyo sannipatito nānārattā-naṃ ca dussānaṃ milātaṃ kayiratīti ?’ ‘Eso kho deva kālakato nāmāti.’ ‘Tena hi samma sārathi yena so kālakato tena rathaṃ pesehīti.’ ‘Evaṃ devāti’ kho ahaṃ deva Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā yena so kālakato tena rathaṃ pesesiṃ. Addasākho deva kumāro petaṃ kālakataṃ. Disvā maṃ etad avoca: ‘Kim panāyaṃ samma sārathi kālakato nāmāti ?’ ‘Eso kho deva kālakato nāma: na dāni taṃ dakkhinti mātā vā pitā vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohitā So pi na dakkhissati mātaraṃ vā pitaraṃ vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohite ti.’ ‘Kim pana samma sārathi ahaṃ pi maraṇa-dhammo maraṇaṃ anatīto ? Maṃ pi na dakkhinti¹ devo vā devī vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohitā, ahaṃ pi na dakkhissāmi devaṃ vā devim vā aññe vā ñāti-sālohite ti ?’ ‘Tvaṃ ca deva mayaṃ c’ amhā sabbe maraṇa-dhammā maraṇaṃ anatītā.

1. K B^m dakkhaṇti, and below.

Tam pi na dakkhinti devo vā devī vā aññe vā nāti-sālohitā. Tvam pi na dakkhissasi devaṃ vā devīṃ vā aññe vā nāti-sālohite ti.’ ‘Tena hi samma sārathi alan dān’ ajja uyyāna-bhūmiyā, ito va antepuraṃ paccaniyyāhīti.’ ‘Evaṃ devāti’ kho ahaṃ Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā tato va ante-puraṃ paccaniyyāsiṃ. So kho deva kumāro antepuragato dukkhī dummano pajjhāyati: ‘Dhi-r-atthu kira bho jāti nāma, yatra hi nāma jātassa jarā paññāyissati, vyādhi paññāyissati, maraṇaṃ paññāyissatīti.’ ”

12. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumassa rañño etad ahosi: “Mā h’eva kho Vipassī kumāro na rajjaṃ kāresi, mā h’eva Vipassī kumāro agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajī, mā h’eva nemittānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ saccaṃ assa vacanan ti.”’

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Bandhumā rājā Vipassissa kumārassa bhiyyoso mattāya pañca kāma-guṇāni upatthāpesi, yathā Vipassī kumāro rajjaṃ kār yya, yathā Vipassī kumāro na agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajeyya, yathā nemittānaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ micchā assa vacanaṃ. Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappito samaṅgi - bhūto parivāreti.

11-12. ‘Thereupon, Bandhuman rāja, brethren, [questioned the charioteer as before, and as before let Vipassi be still more surrounded by sensuous enjoyments]. And thus Vipassi continued to live amidst the pleasures of sense.

13. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro bahunnaṃ vassānaṃ bahunnaṃ vassa-satānaṃ bahunnaṃ vassa-sahassānaṃ accayena sārathīṃ āmantesi :

‘ “Yojehi samma sārathi bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni, uyyāna-bhūmiṃ gacchāma bhūmiṃ dassanāyāti.”’

‘ “Evaṃ devāti” kho bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā Vipassissa kumārassa paṭivedesi :

‘ “Yuttāni kho te deva bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni, yassa dāni kālaṃ maññasīti.”’

1. B^m bhaddaṃ bhaddaṃ; K bhadraṃ. See pp. 21, 41.

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro bhaddaṃ¹ yānaṃ abhiruhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyāsi.

13. ‘Now once again after many years ... the lord Vipassī ... drove forth.

14. ‘Addasā kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyanto purisaṃ bhaṇḍuṃ pabbajitaṃ kāsāya-vasanaṃ. Disvā sārathiṃ āmantesi :

‘ “Ayaṃ pana samma sārathi puriso kiṃ kato, sīsaṃ pi ’ssa na yathā aññesaṃ, vatthāni pi ’ssa na yathā aññesaṃ ti ?”

‘ “Eso kho deva pabbajito nāmāti.”

‘ “Kim pan’ eso samma sārathi pabbajito nāmāti ?”

‘ “Eso kho deva pabbajito nāma: sādhu dhamma-cariyā sādhu sama-cariyā¹ sādhu kusala-kiriyā² sādhu puñña-kiriyā sādhu avihiṃsā sādhu bhūtānukampā ti.”

‘ “Sādhu kho so samma sārathi pabbajito nāma, sādhu hi³ samma sārathi dhamma-cariyā sādhu sama-cariyā sādhu kusala-kiriyā sādhu puñña-kiriyā sādhu avihiṃsā sādhu bhūtānukampā.⁴ Tena hi samma sārathi yena so pabbajito tena rathaṃ pesehīti.”

‘ “Evaṃ devāti” kho bhikkhave sārathi Vipassissa kumārassa paṭissutvā yena so pabbajito tena rathaṃ pesesi. Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro taṃ pabbajitaṃ etad avoca:

‘ “Tvam pana samma kiṃ kato, sīsaṃ pi te na yathā aññesaṃ, vatthāni pi te na yathā aññesaṃ ti ?”

‘ “Ahaṃ kho deva pabbajito nāmāti.”

‘ “Kim pana tvam samma pabbajito nāmāti ?”

‘ “Ahaṃ kho deva pabbajito nāma: sādhu dhamma-cariyā sādhu sama-cariyā sādhu kusala-kiriyā sādhu puñña-kiriyā sādhu avihiṃsā sādhu bhūtānukampā ti.”

1. B^m samma- and below.

2. K cariyā, with kiriyā as the Ceylon reading in note.

3. B^m K omīti.

4. B^m adds ti.

‘ “Sādhū kho tvaṃ samma pabbajito nāma, sādhū hi samma dhamma-cariyā sādhū sama-cariyā sādhū kusala-kiriyā sādhū puñña-kiriyā sādhū avihimsā sādhū bhūtānukampā ti.”

14. ‘And he saw, brethren, as he was driving to the park, a shaven-headed man, a Wanderer, wearing the yellow robe. And seeing him he asked the charioteer :— “That man, good charioteer, what has he done, that his head is unlike other men’s heads and his clothes too are unlike those of others ?”

‘ “That is what they call a Wanderer, because, my lord, he is one who has gone forth.”

‘ “What is that, to have gone forth ?”

‘ “To have gone forth, my lord, means being thorough in the religious life, thorough in the peaceful life, thorough in good actions, thorough in meritorious conduct, thorough in harmlessness, thorough in kindness to all creatures.”

‘ “Excellent indeed, friend charioteer, is what they call a Wanderer, since so thorough is his conduct in all those respects. Wherefore drive up to that forthgone man.”

‘ “Yea, my lord,” replied the charioteer, and drove up to the Wanderer. Then Vipassī addressed him, saying:— “You, master, what have you done that your head is not as other men’s heads, nor your clothes as those of other men ?”

‘ “I, my lord, am one who has gone forth.”

‘ “What, master, does that mean ?”

‘ “It means, my lord, being thorough in the religious life, thorough in the peaceful life, thorough in good actions, thorough in meritorious conduct, thorough in harmlessness, thorough in kindness to all creatures.”

‘ “Excellent indeed, master, are you said to have gone forth, since so thorough is your conduct in all those respects.”

15. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī kumāro sārathim āmantesi:

‘ “Tena hi samma sārathi ratham ādāya itova¹ ante-

1. S^{ct} ca; B^m K va; S^d omits.

puram paccaniyyāhi. Aham pana idh' eva kesa-massum ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyam¹ pabbajissāmīti."

“Evam devāti” kho sārathi Vipassaissa kumārassa paṭissutvā, ratham ādāya tato va² antepuram pacca-niyyāsi. Vipassī pana kumāro tatth' eva kesa-massum ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyam pabbaji.

15. 'Then the lord Vipassi, brethren, bade his charioteer, saying:— “Come then, good charioteer, do you take the carriage and drive it hence back to my rooms. But I will even here cut off my hair, and don the yellow robe, and go forth from the House into the Homeless state.”

“Yea, my lord,” replied the charioteer, and drove back. But the lord Vipassi, there and then, cutting off his hair and donning the yellow robe, went forth from the House into the Homeless state.

16. 'Assosi kho bhikkhave Bandhumatiyā rājadhāniyā mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni : “Vipassī kira kumāro kesa-massum ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajito ti.” Sutvāna tesam etad : “Na hi³ nūna so orako dhamma-vinayo, na sā orikā⁴ pabbajjā, yattha Vipassī kumāro kesa-massum ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajito. Vipassī pi nāma kumāro kesa-massum ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajissati, kim aṅga pana na⁵ mayan ti ?” Atha kho so⁶ bhikkhave mahā-jana-kāyo⁷ caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni⁸ kesa-massum ohāretvā kāsāyāni

1. B^m anāg^o, and below.

2. So SS ; B^m va : K ca.

3. S^{ct} ha; S^d hā ; B^m K hi. See p. 42 and Vin. i. 19.

4. K orikā, SS here oraka ; 3. 14 orikā.

5. S^{ct} kim pana; S^d kimaṅgaṃ pana ; S^t kimaṅga pana na; B^m kim aṅgaṃ pana; K kimaṅga pana na. So also in 3.14

6. K omits.

7. K - kāyā.

8. SS-āsītiṃ; B^m K -ti.

9721

vatthāni acchādetvā Vipassim Bodhisattaṃ agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitaṃ anupabbajimsu. Tāya sudaṃ bhikkhave parisāya parivuto Vipassī Bodhisatto gāmanigama¹-rājadhānīsu cārikaṃ carati.

16. 'Now at Bandhumati, brethren, the rāja's seat, a "Teat number of persons—some eighty-four thousand souls²—heard of what lord Vipassi had done, and thought:—"Surely this is no ordinary religious rule, this is no common going forth, in that the lord Vipassi himself has had his head shaved and has donned the yellow robe and has gone forth from the House into the Homeless state. If the lord Vipassi has done this, why then should not we also?" And they all had their heads shaved, and donned the yellow robes, and in imitation of Vipassi the Bodhisat they went forth from the House into the Homeless state. So Vipassi the Bodhisat went on his rounds through the villages, towns, and cities accompanied by that multitude.

17. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa raho-gatassa paṭisallīnassa evaṃ cetaso parivitaṃ udapādi:

' "Nakho me taṃ³ patirūpaṃ yo 'haṃ ākiṇṇo viharāmi. Yan nūnāhaṃ eko gaṇamā⁴ vūpakaṭṭho vihareyyan ti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī Bodhisatto aparena samayena eko gaṇasmā vūpakaṭṭho vihasi. Añen' eva tāni caturāsīti-pabbajjita-sahassāni⁵ agamaṃsu, aññena⁶ Vipassī Bodhisatto.

17. 'Now there arose, brethren, in the mind of Vipassi the Bodhisat, when he was meditating in seclusion, the following consideration :—"That indeed is not suitable for me that I should live beset. 'Twere better were I to dwell alone, far from the crowd !"

1. B^m K insert janapada.

2. Pāna, 'living creatures.' The number is the usual idiom for a multitude, no more pretending to accuracy than our 'a thousand thanks.'

3. B^m kho pan etaṃ.

4. B^m K gaṇamhā, twice.

5. SS -āsītiṃ ; B^m K -ti.

6. B^m adds maggena.

‘So after a time he dwelt alone, away from the crowd. These eighty-four thousand Wanderers went one way, and Vipassi the Bodhisat went another way.

18. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa vāsupagatassa¹ rahogatassa paṭisatillīnassa evaṃ cetaco parivitaṅko ndapādi :

“Kicchaṃ vatāyaṃ loko āpanno, jāyati ca jīyati ca mīyati ca cavati ca uppajjati ca. Atha ca pan’ imassa dukkhassa nissaraṇaṃ nappajānāti jarā-maraṇassa, kudāssu² nāma imassa dukkhassa nissaraṇaṃ paññāyissati jarāma-raṇassāti ?”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho sati jarā-maraṇaṃ hoti, kim-pac-cayā jarā-maraṇaṃ ti ?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu³ paññāya abhisamayo: “Jātiyā kho sati jarā-maraṇaṃ hoti, jāti-paccayā jarā-maraṇaṃ ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho sati jāti hoti, kim-paccayā jātīti?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Bhave kho sati jāti hoti bhava-paccayā jātīti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho sati bhavo hoti, kim-paccayā bhavo ti?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo : “Upādāne kho sati bhavo hoti, upādāna-paccayā bhavo ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho sati upādānaṃ hotī, kim-paccayā upādānaṃ ti ?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo : “Taṇhāya kho sati upādānaṃ hoti, taṇhā-paccayā upādānaṃ ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad

1. K vāsūp°.

2. So S^t; S^c kadussu; S^d kudussu; B^m K kudassu.

3. SS vary between ahu and āhu.

ahosi: “Kimhi nu kho sati taṇhā hoti, kim-paccayā taṇhā ti?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo : “Vedanāya kho sati taṇhā hoti, vedanā-paccayā taṇhā ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: “Kimhi nu kho sati vedanā hoti, kim-paccayā vedanā ti?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisat-tassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo : “Phasse kho sati vedanā hoti, phassa-paccayā vedanā ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: “Kimhi nu kho sati phasso hoti, kim-paccayā vedanā ti?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisat-tassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Saḷāyatane kho sati phasso hoti, saḷāyatana-paccayā phasso ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: “Kimhi nu kho sati saḷāyatanaṃ hoti, kim-paccayā vedanā ti?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisat-tassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Nāma-rūpe kho sati saḷāyatanaṃ hoti, nāmarūpa-paccayā saḷāyatanaṃ ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: “Kimhi nu kho sati nāma-rūpaṃ hoti, kim-paccayā nāma-rūpaṃ ti?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisat-tassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Viññāṇe kho sati nāma-rūpaṃ hoti, nāmarūpa-paccayā nāma-rūpaṃ ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahosi: “Kimhi nu kho sati viññāṇaṃ hoti, kim-paccayā viññāṇaṃ ti?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisat-tassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Nāma-rūpe kho¹ sati viññāṇaṃ hoti. nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇaṃ ti.”

18. ‘Now there arose, brethren, in the mind of Vipassi the Bodhisat, when he had gone to his place², and was meditating in

1. SS omit.

2. Vāsupagato. The commentary explains this as meaning ‘when seated under his Wisdom-Tree,’ But the word in the text is quite vague;

seclusion, the following consideration:— “Verily this world has fallen upon trouble ; one is born, and grows old, and dies, and falls from one state, and springs up in another.”

“And from this suffering, moreover, no one knows of any way of escape, even from decay and death. O when shall a way of escape from this suffering be made known, from decay and from death !”

‘Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this thought occurred:— “What now being present, is decay and dying also present; what conditions decay and dying ?” Then, brethren, from attention to the cause¹ arose the conviction through reason:— “Where birth is, there is decay and dying; birth is the condition of decay and dying.”

‘Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:— “What now being present, is birth also present; what conditions birth ? “Then, Brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :— “When becoming is, birth also is present; becoming is the condition of birth.”

‘Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— “What now being present, is becoming also present; what con

and it is only the later tradition which thought it edifying to limit all such deep questions as the one discussed in the following sections to one time and place.

1. Yoniso manasikārā. The Cy. paraphrases thus that interesting idiom: ‘i.e. from attention to expedients (upāya, that is, expedients in analysis, comp. S. II, 17 ; III, 135; III, 53; III, 161 ; A. V, III), from attention to the course [of things] (patha); the attention of one who is attending to impermanence and the rest [dukkha, anattā] *as such*; the attention of one who is observing the continuity, that is to say the rising and passing away, of the phenomena in question under either their positive or negative aspect.’ There is here no attempt to substitute, as an equivalent for yoni, a term for origin or basis—nidāna, e.g. or mūla. The observation that is yoniso appears to Buddhaghosa to be of causation viewed as phenomenal only, as process of invariable antecedent and consequent, with application of the methods of induction known since J.S. Mill as the Methods of Agreement and Difference.

ditions becoming ?” Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :—” Where grasping ¹ is, there is becoming ; grasping is the condition of becoming.”

‘Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— “What now being present, is grasping also present; what conditions grasping ?” Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :— “Where craving is, there is grasping ; craving is the condition of grasping.”

‘Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— “What now being present, is craving also present; what conditions craving?” Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :— “Where feeling is, there is craving ; feeling is the condition of craving.”

‘Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— “What now being present, is feeling also present; what conditions feeling ?” Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:— “Where contact is, there is feeling; contact is the condition of feeling.”

‘Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— “What now being present, is contact also present; what conditions contact?” Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:— “Where is the sixfold field, there is contact; the sixfold field is the condition of contact².”

‘Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— “What now being present, is the sixfold field also present; what conditions the sixfold field?” Then, brethren, from attention to

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1. The translating of upādānam must always be inadequate; we having no word to fill its dual sense of something-to-hand, *Staff*, fuel, and a laying hold of something. If ‘data,’ which is etymologically akin, had chanced to be danda, there would have been an approximation in implication. That the term, in the commentarial tradition, held this active force is clear from anupādāya, ‘void of grasping, being paraphrased by agahetva, not having laid hold of. See also ‘Psychological Ethics,’ p. 322, n. 1; ‘Asl.’ pp. 385, 450.
 2. The sixfold field is the sphere of action of the six senses; that is, our five senses, and the representative faculty.

the cause arose the conviction through reason :— “Where name-and-form is, there is the sixfold field; name-and-form is the condition of the sixfold field¹.”

‘Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— “What now being present, is name-and-form also present; what conditions name-and-form ?” Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :— “Where cognition is there is name-and-form ; cognition is the condition of name-and-form².”

‘Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred :— “What now being present, is cognition also present; what conditions cognition ? “Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason :— “Where name-and-form is, there is cognition ; name-and-form conditions cognition.”

19. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi : ‘Paccudāvattati kho idaṃ viññāṇaṃ nāma-rūpaṃhā, nāparaṃ gacchati. Ettāvata jāyetha vā jīyetha³ vā mīyetha⁴ vā cavetha⁵ vā uppajjetha⁶ vā, yadidaṃ⁷ nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇaṃ, viññāṇa-paccayā nāma-rūpaṃ nāmarūpa-paccayā

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1. *Name-and-form* is what we should call mind and body.
 2. The Cy. here inquires into the omission of the two ultimate links in the ‘Chain of Causation’ that are given in most of the passages where the formula occurs—notably in the Nidāna Saṃyutta and in the Majjhima Nikāya (I, pp. 49-52, 261, etc.); also in Dh. S., p. 348, and Vibh., PP. 135 ff. It judges that, whereas avijjā and saṅkhārā relate to existence *prior* to that in which the remainder of the terms from viññāṇaṃ to jarāmaranaṃ, for any given individual, hold true, Vipassi’s vipassanā was confining itself to any given *present* life. Mr. Loveday, in his essay on the ‘Chain,’ also came to the conclusion that, to apply the links in succession to any individual life, ‘ignorance’ and ‘the saṅkhāras’ must be referred to prior existence. (J. A. O. S., 1894.)
 3. B^m jīyyetha.
 4. B^m miyyetha.
 5. K cayetha.
 6. B^m K upapaj^o.
 7. SS yadisam, *but* yadidaṃ in § 21.

saḷāyatanaṃ, saḷāyatana-paccayā phasso, phassa-paccayā vedanā, vedanā-paccayā taṇhasaḷāyatanaṃ, saḷāyatana-paccayā phasso, phassa-paccayā vedanā, vedanā-paccayā, taṇhā-paccayā upādānaṃ, upādāna-paccayā bhavo, bhava-paccayā jāti, jāti-paccayā jarā-maraṇaṃ soka-parideva-dukkha-domanass-upāyāsā sambhavanti, evam etassa kevalassa dukkha-kkhandhassa samudayo hoti.

‘ “Samudayo samudayo” ti kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhuṃ udapādi, ñāṇaṃ udapādi, paññā udapādi, vijjā udapādi, āloko udapādi.

19. ‘Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:—“Cognition turns back from name-and-form ; it goes not beyond. Only as follows can one be born or grow old or die or fall from one condition or reappear in another; that is, in that cognition is conditioned by name-and-form, and name-and-form by cognition¹, the sixfold field by name-and-form, contact by the sixfold field, feeling by contact, craving by feeling, grasping by craving, becoming by grasping, birth by becoming, decay and dying by birth, and so too grief, lamentation, ill, sorrow and despair come to pass. Such is the coming to be of this entire body of Ill.”

‘ “Coming to be, coming to be !”—at that thought, brethren, there arose to Vipassi the Bodhisat a vision into things not called before to mind, and knowledge arose, reason arose, wisdom arose, light arose.

20. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho asati jarā-maraṇaṃ na hoti, kissa nirodhā jarā-maraṇa-nirodho ti ?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-mansasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Jātiyā kho asati jarā-maraṇaṃ na hoti, jāti-nirodhā jarā-maraṇa-nirodho ti.”

1. In S. II, 114 their independence is compared to two sheaves of reeds leaning one against the other. Elsewhere—in definitions of nāma-rupam—nāma is sometimes made to include viññānaṃ, Dh. S., PP- 341, 342, sometimes not, M. I, 53; Vibh. 136.

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi¹ nu kho asati jāti na hoti, kissa nirodhā jāti-nirodho ti ?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Bhave kho asati jāti na hoti, bhava-nirodhā jāti-nirodho ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho asati bhavo na hoti, kissa nirodhā bhava-nirodho ti ?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Upādāne kho asati bhavo na hoti, upādāna-nirodhā bhava-nirodho ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho asati upādānaṃ na hoti, kissa nirodhā upādāna-nirodho ti ?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Taṇhāya kho asati upādānaṃ na hoti, taṇhānirodhā upādāna-nirodhā ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho asati taṇhā na hoti, kissa nirodhā taṇhā-nirodho ti ?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Vedanāya kho asati taṇhā na hoti, vedanā nirodhā taṇhā-nirodho ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho asati vedanā na hoti, kissa nirodhā vedanā-nirodho ti ?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Phasse kho asati vedanā na hoti, phassa-nirodhā vedanā-nirodho ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho asati phasso na hoti, kissa nirodhā phassa-nirodho ti ?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Saḷāyatane kho asati phasso na hoti, Saḷāyatana-nirodhā phassa-nirodho ti.”

1. SS here only kismim.

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho asati saḷāyatanaṃ na hoti, kissa nirodhā saḷāyatana-nirodho ti ?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Nāma-rūpe kho asati saḷāyatanaṃ na hoti, nāma-rūpa-nirodhā saḷāyatana-nirodho ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho asati nāma-rūpaṃ na hoti, kissa nirodhā nāma-rūpa-nirodho ti ?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Viññāṇe kho asati nāma-rūpaṃ na hoti, viññāṇa-nirodhā nāma-rūpa-nirodho ti.”

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: “Kimhi nu kho asati viññāṇaṃ na hoti, kissa nirodhā viññāṇa-nirodho ti ?” Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa yoniso-manasikārā ahu paññāya abhisamayo: “Nāmarūpe kho asati viññāṇaṃ na hoti, nāma-rūpa-nirodhā viññāṇa-nirodho ti.”

20. ‘Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:— “What now being absent, is decay and dying also absent; by the ceasing of what does decay and dying cease ?” Then, brethren, from attention to the cause arose the conviction through reason:— “ Where birth is absent, decay and dying are absent; when birth ceases, decay and dying cease . . . Where becoming is absent, birth is absent; when becoming ceases, birth ceases . . . Where grasping is absent, becoming is absent; when grasping ceases, becoming ceases . . . Where craving is absent, grasping is absent; when craving ceases, grasping ceases . . . Where feeling is absent, craving is absent; when feeling ceases, craving ceases . . . Where contact is absent, feeling is absent; when contact ceases, feeling ceases . . . Where the sixfold field is absent, contact is absent; when the sixfold field ceases, contact ceases . . . Where name-and-form is absent, the sixfold field is absent; when name-and-form ceases, the sixfold field ceases . . . Where cognition is absent, name-and-form is absent ; when cognition ceases, name-and-form ceases . . . Where name-and-form is absent, cognition is absent; when name-and-form ceases, cognition ceases.”

21. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa etad ahoṣi: "Adhigato kho mayāyaṃ¹ vipassanā²-maggo bo-dhāya³ yadidaṃ nāmarūpa-nirodhā viññāṇa-nirodho, viññāṇa-nirodhā nāmarūpa-nirodo, nāmarūpa-nirodhā saḷāyatana-nirodho, saḷāyatana-nirodhā phassa-nirodho, phassa-nirodhā vedanā-nirodho, vedanā taṇhā-nirodho, taṇha-nirodhā upādāna-nirodho, upādāna-nirodhā bhava-nirodho, bhava-nirodhā jāti-nirodho, jāto-nirodhā jarā-maraṇaṃ soka-parideva-dukkha-domanass-upāyāsā nirujjhanti, evam etassa kevalassa dukkha-kkhandhassa nirodho hoti.

"Nirodho nirodho ti" kho bhikkhave Vipassissa Bodhisattassa pubbe ananussutesu dhammesu cakkhum udapādi, ñāṇaṃ udapādi, paññā udapādi, vijjā udapādi, āloko udapādi.

21. 'Then to Vipassi the Bodhisat, brethren, this occurred:—"Lo! I have won to this, the Way to enlightenment through insight⁴. And it is this, that from name-and-form ceasing, cognition ceases, and conversely; that from name-and-form ceasing, the sixfold field ceases; from the sixfold field ceasing, contact ceases; from contact ceasing, feeling ceases; from feeling ceasing, craving ceases; from craving ceasing, grasping ceases; from grasping ceasing, becoming ceases; from becoming ceasing, birth ceases; from birth ceasing, decay and dying, grief, lamentation, ill, sorrow and despair cease. Such is the ceasing of this entire body of Ill."

"Ceasing to be, ceasing to be !" —at that thought, brethren, there arose to Vipassi the Bodhisat a vision into things not called before to mind, and knowledge arose, reason arose, wisdom arose, light arose.

1. So Sum, and K here. SS me ayam, and so K, SS at p. 36.

2. From Sum. MSS. and K omit.

3. S^c bodhā; S^d B^m sambodhāya; S^l K badhāya.

4. Literally 'the Vipassanā Way to insight.' As this is not a stock phrase in this connexion it doubtless contains a play on the name Vipassi.

22. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī Bodhisatto aparena samayena pañcas'¹ upādāna kkhandhesu udaya-vyayānupassī² vihāsi: "Iti rūpaṃ, iti rūpassa samudayo, iti rūpassa atthagamo³; iti vedanā, iti vedanāya samudayo, iti vedanāya atthagamo; iti saññā, iti saññāya samudayo iti saññāya atthagamo; iti saṃkhārā, iti saṃkhārānaṃ samudayo, iti saṃkhārānaṃ atthagamo; iti viññāṇaṃ, iti viññāṇassa samudayo, iti viññāṇassa atthagamo ti."

'Tassa pañcas' upādāna-kkhandesu udaya-vyayānupassino viharato na cirass' eva anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimucci.⁴

22. 'Thereafter, brethren, Vipassi the Bodhisat dwelt in the discernment of the rising and passing away of the five groups [of individual life] depending on grasping⁶ :— "Such is form, such is the coming to be of form, such is its passing away ; such is feeling, such is the coming to be of feeling, such is its passing away; such is perception, such is its coming to be, such is its passing away ; such are the syntheses, such is their coming to be, such is their passing away; such is cognition, such is its coming to be, such is its passing away."

'And for him, abiding in the discernment of the rising and passing away of the five groups depending on grasping, not long

1. K pañcasu *and below*.

2. B^m K udayabbayānup^o.

3. B^m K atthaṅgamo *throughout*.

4. B^m K vimuccīti.

5. S^d *omits* niṭṭhitam. B^m K Dutiya-Bhāṇavāraṃ (*omit niṭṭh^o*)

6. That is, the new individual, divisible into five constituent parts, called into being by the grasping attitude maintained during the previous life. Khandho, group, is rendered by 'body' in § 19— 'whole body of Ill'—and, in both connexions, is always paraphrased by rāsi, or heap. Buddhist Pluralism turned away from unifying concepts, and chose to picture organic processes under aggregates. The concept is not so atomistic as we might think, the 'heap' referring to past and potential repetition of process.

was it before his heart, void of grasping, was set free from the "Intoxicants¹."

Dutiyaka-Bhāṇavāraṃ Niṭṭhitam.⁵

Here endeth the Second Portion for recitation.

III

3. 1. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa etad ahosi : "Yannūnāhaṃ dhammaṃ deseyyan ti."²

³ "Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa etad ahosi: "Adhigato kho⁴ me ayam⁴ dhammo gambhīro duddaso duranubodhao santo paṇīto atakkāvacaro nipuṇo paṇḍita-vedanīyo. Ālaya-rāmā kho panāyaṃ pajā ālaya-ratā ālaya-sammuditā.⁵ Ālaya-rāmāya kho pana pajāya ālaya-ratāya ālaya-sammuditāya duddasaṃ idam thānaṃ yadidaṃ ida-paccayatā paṭiccasamuppādo. Idam pi kho thānaṃ duddasaṃ⁶ yadidaṃ sabba-saṃkhāra-samatho sabbūpadhi-paṭinisaṃsāro taṇhakkhaya virāgo nirodho nibbānaṃ. Ahañ c'eva kho pana dhammaṃ deseyyaṃ pare ca me na ājāney-yuṃ, so maṃ' assa kilamatho, sā maṃ' assa vihesā ti."

1. 'Then to Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, brethren, this occurred⁷:—"What if I were now to teach

1. This is the standing phrase for the attainment, not of Buddha-hood, but of Arahantship. Nevertheless Vipassi is henceforth called a Buddha. Compare what is said above, p. 2. On the Āsavas, here rendered Intoxicants, see above, Vol. I, pp. 92, 93. The Jain use of the term is referred to by Bhandarkar, 'Report, etc.,' p. 100. Other Pāli references are J. IV, 222, 3 and A. I, 124, 7, which confirm the suggested connotation of a poisonous, intoxicating drug.

2. *Sc repeats this whole sentence.*

3. *Comp. Vin. i. p. 4. Mahāvagga. i. 5. 2.*

4. *B^m myāyaṃ.*

5. *SS samuditā.*

6. *Old. sududdasaṃ.*

7. The following episode occurs also in Vinaya I, 4 (translated in Vin. Texts, I, 84-8), and M. I, 167-9 (translated by Dr. Neumann, 'Reden G. Buddho's, Mittlere Sammlung,' I, pp. 268 ff.), and S. I, 137-41.

the Truth¹.”

‘Then to him, brethren, this occurred²:— “I have penetrated this Truth, deep, hard to perceive, hard to understand, calm, sublime, no mere dialectic³, subtle, intelligible only to the wise. But this is a race devoting itself to the things to which it clings, devoted thereto, delighting therein. And for a race devoting itself to the things to which it clings, devoted thereto, delighting therein, this were a matter hard to perceive, to wit, that this is conditioned by that, and all that happens is by way of cause⁴. This too were a matter hard to discern :—The tranquillization of all the activities of life⁵, the renunciation of

1. Dhamma, more literally the Norm. On this difficult but all-pervading term see Rh. D. ‘American Lectures,’ pp. 2, 38, and ‘Buddhist India,’ 292-4.
2. In the eighth week, says the Cy., after his attainment of Buddhahood, the intervening weeks having been spent in places corresponding to those where Gotama Buddha is alleged, in the Nidānakathā, to have spent them. Rh. D. ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ pp. 105-9. But there is nothing in the text to confirm this.
3. See ‘Dialogues,’ I, 26 :— ‘not to be grasped by mere logic’—*atakkāvacaro*. ‘Only by *nānani*’—knowledge, insight—adds the Cy. *Takka*, meaning fundamentally thinking, is perhaps too much honoured, in the meaning it had come to bear, by being rendered ‘logic.’ In the *Takka-jātaka*, e.g. where the soubriquet ‘*takka-pandita*,’ date-sage, is considered by Mr. Chalmers to imply a wordplay on date and logic, the pundit’s occupation is said to be foretelling ‘what were lucky and unlucky seasons’ to villagers for pay. Such low crafts, however, are not classed as *takka* in the ‘Moralities’ list of Dialogues, I, pp. 16 ff. And it is very possible that ‘*takka*’ conveyed, to the religious mind of that day, much the same that so-called ‘mere logic’ or ‘sophistry’ does at the present time.
4. *Idapaccayatā paticca-samuppādo* :—more literally, that conditionedness, genesis by way of cause. The second term implies the universal law, the first is its application to any given case.
5. i.e. of the *sankhāras* of actions, speech and thoughts. ‘When Nirvana is reached,’ says the Cy., ‘all their diffusions are calmed. So too all cravings are destroyed, all evil passions are quenched, all suffering ceases.’ For Buddhaghosa, Vipassī’s ‘Truth’ is the calm and detachment of the intellectually and ethically free man.

all substrata of rebirth, the destruction of craving, the death of passion, quietude of heart, Nirvana. And if I were now to teach the Truth, and other men did not acknowledge it to me, that would be wearisome to me, that would be hurtful to me."

2. 'Api 'ssu¹ bhikkhave Vipassim bhagavantam arahantam sammā-sambuddham imā anacchariyā gāthā² paṭibhaṃsu pubbe assuta-pubbā:

"Kicchena me adhigatam halan dāni pakāsitam,
Rāga-dosa-paretehi nāyam dhammo susambuddho.
Paṭisota-gāmiṃ³ nipuṇam gambhīram duddasaṃ aṇuṃ
Rāga-rattā na dakkhinti⁴ tamokkhandhena āvaṭṭā⁵ ti."

'Iti ha bhikkhave Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā sambuddhassa paṭisaṃcikkhato⁶ appossukkatāya⁷ cittaṃ nami⁸ no dhamma-desanāya. Atha kho bhikkhave añña-tarassa Mahā-brahmuno Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa cetasā ceto-pativitakkam aññāya⁹ etad ahoṣi: "Nassati vata bho loko, vinassati vata bho loko, yatra hi nāma Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa appossukkatāya cittaṃ namati,¹⁰ no dhamma-desanāyāti."

2. 'And then verily, brethren, to Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme were revealed on the spur of the moment¹¹ these verses unheard of before:—

1. B^m apissudam here and in § 4; so K in text, but apissu in note.

2. So SS K and Sum. Old. gāthāyo, so B^m (here and in § 4).

3. So SS B^m K and Sum. Old. -gāmi.

4. B^m K dakkhanti.

5. So SS and Sum. Old. āvuṭṭā; so B^m; K āvutā. and so in § 4.

6. S^c paṭissaṃ^o.

7. B^m apposukk^o, and onwards.

8. So B^m K Sum. and Mil. 232. SS and Old. namati.

9. SS B^m K here and in § 7 parivitakkamaññāya.

10. B^m K nami.

11. Anacchariyā, i.e. anu-acchar-iyā, instantaneous; analogous to the Greek *ἀνὰ. χρόνον*, and similar to the later *ἐν ἰσχύει* of the New Testament (1 Cor. xv. 52). The expression is frequently used of the Buddha's similes.

“This that through many toils I’ve won—
 Enough! why should I make it known ?
 By folk with lust and hate consumed
 Not this the Truth that can be grasped!
 Against the stream of common thought,
 Deep, subtle, difficult, delicate,
 Unseen ‘twill be by passion’s slaves
 Cloaked in the murk of ignorance¹.”

‘In these words, brethren, pondering over the matter, did the heart of Vipassi incline to be averse from exertion and not to preach the Truth. Thereupon to one of the Great Brahmās², when he became aware in thought of the thoughts of Vipassi, this occurred :— “Alas ! the world will perish ! Utterly alas! will the world perish, now that the heart of Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, inclines to be averse from exertion and not towards preaching the Truth !”

3. ‘Atha kho so bhikkhave Mahā-brahmā, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva Brahma-loke antarahito Vipassissa bhagavato arahaṭo sammā-sambuddhassa purato pātur ahoṣi. Atha kho so³ bhikkhav Mahā-brahmā ekaṃsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā dakkhiṇaṃ jānu-maṇḍalaṃ paṭhaviyaṃ nihanvā⁴, yena Vipassī bhagavā araṇaṃ sammā-sambuddho ten’ añjaliṃ paṇāmetvā Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ etad avoca:

“Deseṭu bhante bhagavā dhammaṃ, desetu sugato dhammaṃ, santi sattā appa-rajakkha-jātikā, assavaṇṭā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāro ti.”

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1. Ignorance, not explicit in the text, is usually symbolized by darkness—tamokkhandho—and is so referred to in the Cy.
 2. ‘Although merely referred to,’ says the Cy., ‘as one among them, he is to be understood as the chief Great-Brahmā in this universe.’ But the title of Sahampati, given in the Vinaya and Majjhima versions, seems to be a later gloss.
 3. Sc S^t B^m; S^{cd} K omit.
 4. K nidahanto.

3. 'Then, brethren, did that Great Brahmā, like a strong man stretching his bent arm out, or drawing back his outstretched arm, vanish from the Brahmā world and appear before Vipassī. And the Great Brahmā, brethren, draping his outer robe over one shoulder and stooping his right knee to the ground, raised his joined hands towards Vipassī the Exalted One, the Arahant, the Buddha Supreme and said :— "Lord ! may the Exalted One preach the Truth ! May the Welcome One preach the Truth ! There are beings whose eyes are hardly dimmed by dust, they are perishing from not hearing the Truth ; they will come to be knowers of the Truth."

4. 'Evaṃ vutte¹ bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho² Mahā-brahmānam etad avoca :

"Mayham pi kho Brahme etad ahosi : 'Yannūnāham dhammam deseyyan ti.' Tassa mayham Brahme etad ahosi : 'Adhigato kho me ayam dhammo gaṃbhīro duddaso duranubodho santo paṇīto atakkāvacaro nipuṇo paṇḍita-vedanīyo. Ālaya-rāmā kho panāyam pajā ālayaratā ālaya-sammuditā. Ālaya-rāmāya kho paṇa pajāya ālaya-ratāya ālaya-sammuditāya duddasam idam thānam yadidam idappaccayatā paticcasamuppādo. Idam pi kho thānam duddasam, yadidam sabba-sam khāra-samatho sabbūpadhi-paṭinissaggo taṇhyakkhaya virāgo nirodho nibbānam. Ahañ c'eva kho pana dhammam deseyyam pare ca me na ājāneyyūṃ, so man assa kilamatho, sā mam' assa vihesā ti. Api 'ssu maṃ Brahme imā anacchariyā gāthā paṭibhaṃsu pubbe assuta-pubbā :

'Kicchena me adhigatam halan dāni pakāsituṃ

Rāga-dosa-paretehi nāyam dhammo susambuddho.

Paṭisota-gāmiṃ nipuṇam gaṃbhīram duddasam aṇuṃ

Rāga-rattā na dakkhinti tamokkhandena āvaṭṭa ti.'

"Iti ha me Brahme paṭisaṃcikkhato appossukkatāya cittam nami no dhamma-desanāyāti."

4. 'At these words, brethren, Vipassī the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, spoke thus to the Great Brahma:—

1. B^m atha kho for evaṃ vutte (see § 7).

2. B^m adds tam (so SS, § 7. p. 39)

“To me too, O Brahma, did it occur :— ‘What if I now were to preach the Truth ? But I judged that the world was not fit for it, would not acknowledge it; and that that would be wearisome for me, hurtful for me’ . . . And so, O Brahma, pondering over the matter, my heart inclined to be averse from exertion, and not towards preaching the Truth.”

5. ‘Dutiyam pi kho bhikkhave so Mahā-brahmā . . . pe . . .

5. ‘But this Great Brahmā, brethren, addressed Vipassī a second time . . .

6. ‘Tatiyam pi kho bhikkhave so Mahā-brahmā Vipassīṃ Bhagavantam arahantaṃ etad avoca :

‘Desetu bhante bhagavā dhammaṃ, desetu sugato dhammaṃ, santi sattā appa-rajakkha-jātikā assavanatā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāro ti.’

‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho Brahmuno ca ajjhesanam viditvā sattesu ca kāruṇṇatam paticca buddha-cakkhunā lokam volokesi. Addasā kho bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho buddha-cakkhunā kokaṃ volokento, satte appa-rajakkhe mahā-rajakkhe tikkhindriye mudindriye svākāre dvākāre suviññāpaye duviññāpaye¹ appekacce paraloka-vajja-bhaya-dassāvino viharante. Seyyathāpi nāma uppaliniyam vā paduminiyam vā puṇḍarikiniyam vāappekaccāni uppalāni vā padumāni vā puṇḍarīkāni vā udaye jātāni udaye samvaddhāni udakānuggatāni² anto-nimugga-posīni, appekkaccāni uppalāni vā padumāni vā puṇḍarīkāni vā udaye jātāni udaye samvaddhāni³ samodakam⁴ tthitāni, appekaccāni uppalāni vā padumāni vā puṇḍarīkāni vā udaye jātāni udaye samvaddhāni⁵ udakā⁶ accuggamma tthanti⁷ anupalittā udakena,—

1. B^m omits ; K adds bhabbe abhabbe, and below.

2. K -ānuggatāni.

3. S^{ct} samvattāni.

4. K -ka.

5. S^{ct} samvattāni.

6. B^m udakam, SS K -ka.

7. So S^{ct} and Sum; S^{ct} tthitāni; B^m K tthanti, and so Feer at S. i. 138.

evam eva kho bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho buddha-cakkhunā lokam volokento addasa satte appa-rajakkhe mahā-rajakkhe tikkhindriye mud-indriye svākāre dvāre suviññāpaye duviññāpaye appekacce paraloka-vajja-bhaya-dassāvino viharante.

6. '... and again a third time, saying :— "Lord ! let the Exalted One preach the Truth ! Let the Welcome One preach the Truth ! There are beings whose eyes are but hardly dimmed with dust; they are perishing from not hearing the Truth ; they will come to be knowers of the Truth !"

'Then, brethren, when Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, became aware of the entreaty of the Brahmā, because of his pitifulness towards all beings, he looked down over the world with a Buddha's Eye¹. And so looking, brethren, he saw beings whose eyes were nearly free from dust, and beings whose eyes were much dimmed with dust, beings sharp of sense and blunted in sense, beings of good and of evil disposition, beings docile and indocile, some among them discerning the danger in rebirth and in other worlds, and the danger in wrong doing. As in a pond of blue, or red, or white lotuses, some lotus-plants born in the water grow up in the water, do not emerge from the water, but thrive sunken beneath; and other lotus-plants, born in the water and grown up in the water, reach to the level; while other lotus-plants born in the water and grown up in the water, stand thrusting themselves above the water, undrenched by it; even so, brethren, did Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, look down over the world with a Buddha's Eye, and see beings whose eyes were nearly free from dust, and beings whose eyes were dim with dust, beings sharp of sense and blunted in sense, beings of good and of evil disposition, beings docile and indocile, and some among them discerning the danger in rebirth in other worlds, and the danger in wrong doing.

7. 'Atha kho so bhikkhave Mahā-brahmā vipassissa bhagavato arahato samma-sambuddhassa cetasā ceto-

1. On the super-normal sense of a Buddha, one of his ten balas or powers, see 'Vibhanga,' p. 340.

parivitakkam aññāya Vipassim bhagavantam arahantam
sammā-sambuddham gāthāhi ajjhabhāsi:

“Sele yathā pabbata-muddhaniṭṭhito¹ yathā pi passe
jantam samantato,

Tathūpamam dhammamayaṃ Sumedha pāsādam āruyha
samanta-cakkhu,

Sokāvatiṇṇam janatam apeta-soko avekkhassu jāti-
jarābhibhūtam,

Uṭṭhehi vīra vijita-saṃgāma sattha-vāha anaṇa² vicara³
loke.

Desetu bhagavā dhammam, aññātāro bhavissantīi.”

‘Atha kho⁴ bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavāraham sammā-
sambuddho tam Mahā-brahmānam gāthāya paccabhāsi⁵.

“Apārutā tesam⁶ amatassa dvārā⁷

Ye sotavanto pamuñcantu saddham⁸

Vihimsa-saññī paṇaṇam n’abhāsim⁹

Dhammam paṇtam manujesu Brame ti.”

‘Atha kho so¹⁰ bhikkhave Mahā-brahmā. “Katāvakāso
kho mhi Vipassinā bhagavatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena
dhamma-desamāyāti” Vipassim bhagavantam arahantam
sammā-sambuddham abhivādetvā padak-khiṇam katvā tatth’
ev’¹¹ antaradhāyi.

7. ‘Thereupon that Great Brahma, brethren, when he be-

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1. So SS B^m K and Sum. Also at Itiv. 33 and at S. i. 137, 234. Old. muddhini ṭhito.
 2. S^{cd} anana; S^t anaṇa.
 3. K vivara.
 4. K evaṃ vutte for atha kho.
 5. S^d ajjhabhāsi; so K Old.
 6. K te.
 7. SS add Brahme.
 8. S^c saccam ; S^d sabbam.
 9. So S^{cd} B K ; S^t Old, bhāsi.
 10. K omits.
 11. K eva.

came aware in thought of the thoughts of Vipassi, spoke to him in verse¹ :—

“As on a crag, on crest of mountain standing,
A man might watch the people far below,
E’en so do thou, O Wisdom fair, ascending,
O Seer of all, the terraced heights of Truth,
Look down, from grief released, upon the nations
Sunken in grief, oppressed with birth and age.
Arise, thou Hero! Conqueror in the battle!
Thou freed from debt! Lord of the pilgrim band !
Walk the world o’er, sublime and blessed Teacher²!
Teach us the Truth ; there are who’ll understand.”

“Thereupon, brethren, Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, made response in verse to that great Brahmā:—

“Wide opened are the portals to Nirvana³ !
Let those that hear renounce their empty faith⁴ !
Despairing of the weary task, O Brahmā,
I spake not of this doctrine, sweet and good, to men.”

“Then, brethren, that Great Brahma thinking :— “Verily I am the one by whom an opening has been given for the preaching of the Truth by Vipassi the Exalted One, the Arahant, the Buddha Supreme,” bowed down before Vipassi, and passing round him by the left vanished away.

1. The following verses and the response are otherwise arranged in the Vinaya and Majjhima versions, in the former immediately following the deity’s petition, in the latter immediately following the lotus simile.
2. In the text simply, O Exalted (or Blessed) One;—practically the only expression not literally reproduced.
3. Amataṣṣa dvārā; literally the doors of ambrosia. On this term see Appendix I. Cf. also M. I, 227 :—amatadvāraṃ. ‘Wide-flung the living gate, the safe (road) leading to Nirvana.’
4. Pamañcantu saddham. The expression is ambiguous. Oldenberg, ‘Vinaya Texts,’ I, 88, renders it ‘Let them send forth faith to meet it.’ We think it means let them give up their faith in rites, and gods, and ceremonies, with especial references to the offerings to the dead. Comp. R. O. Franke in Z.D.M.G., 1909, p. 7.

8. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa etad ahosi : "Kassa nu kho ahaṃ paṭhamam dhammam desettaṃ, ko imam dhammam khippam eva ajānissatīti ?"

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa etad ahosi: "Ayaṃ kho Khaṇḍo ca rāja-putto Tisso ca purohita-putto Bandhamatiyā rāja-dhāniyā paṭivasanti paṇḍitā vyattā¹ medhāvino dīgha-rattam apparajakkha-jātikā. Yannūnāham Khaṇḍ-assa ca rāja-puttassa Tissassa ca purohita-puttassa paṭhamam dhammam deseyyaṃ, te imam dhammam khippam eva ajānissatīti."

'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiññitaṃ vā bāham pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāham sammiññeyya, evam eva kho bodhi-rukkha-mūle antara-hito Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā Kheme miga-dāye pāturahosi.

8. 'Then to Vipassī, brethren, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, this occurred:— "To whom now should I first preach the Truth ? Who will quickly understand this doctrine?" And he thought:— "There is Khanda a rāja's son, and Tissa, the chaplain's son, both dwelling at Bandhumatī. They are learned, open-minded and wise, and for long have had but little dust in their eyes. If I were now to teach the Truth first to them, they would quickly understand it." Thereupon, brethren, did Vipassī, like a strong man stretching his bent arm out, or drawing back his outstretched arm, vanish from the Wisdom Tree and appear in the Sanctuary, in the deer-park at Bandhumatī².

9. 'Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho dāya-pālaṃ³ āmantesi :

' "Ehi tvaṃ samma dāya-pāla, Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ pavisitvā Khaṇḍaṇ ca rāja-puttaṃ Tissaṃ ca

1. K viy^o.

2. Tradition apparently identified this with Isipatana, the deer-park, in Gotama Buddha's time, at Benares, and attributed the name Knema to the park as having been given as a deer-preserve, or refuge. Cy.

3. K migadāya- throughout.

purohita-puttaṃ evaṃ vadehi: vadehi: ‘Vipassī bhante bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ anupatto Kheme miga-dāye viharati. So tumhākaṃ dassana-kāmo ti.’ ”

“Evaṃ bhante” ti kho bhikkhave dāya-pālo Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa paṭissutvā Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ pavisitvā Khaṇḍaṇ ca rājaputtaṃ Tissaṇ ca purohita-puttaṃ etad avoca :

“Vipassī bhante bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ anupatto Kheme miga-dāye viharati. So tumhākaṃ dassana-kāmo ti.”

9. ‘And Vipassi, brethren, bade the park-keeper, saying :—“Ho you, good park-keeper, go into Ban- Dhumatī and tell Khanda the rāja’s son, and Tissa the chaplain’s son, that :—Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, has arrived at Bandhumatī and abides in the Khema deer-park. He wishes to see you.” “Ay, my lord,” replied the park-keeper, and went to Bandhumatī and gave this message to Khanda and Tissa.

10. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Khaṇḍo ca rāja-putto Tisso ca purohita-putto bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā bhaddaṃ¹ yānaṃ abhiruhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā nīyimsu,² yena Khemo miga-dāyo tena pāyaṃsu,³ yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattikā va yena Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho ten’ upasaṃkamimsu. Upasaṃkamitvā Vipassim bhagavantam arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddham abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdimsu.

10. ‘Then they, ordering out their state carriages, mounted, and drove out from Bandhumatī to the deer-park. As far as there was a road they drove, and then alighting went on foot into the presence of Vipassi. And being come they saluted

1. B^m K bhaddaṃ bhaddaṃ.

2. S^c rājadhāniyimsu; S^d nīyimsu ; S^t nisīdimsu ; B^m niyyimsu ; K nīy^o.

3. So SS; B^m K pāyimsu.

Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, and seated themselves beside him.

11. 'Tesaṃ Vipassī abhgaṇṇā araham̐ sammā-sambuddho ānupubbi-katham¹ kathesi, seyyathādaṃ dāna-katham̐ sīla-katham̐ sagga-katham̐ kāmānaṃ ādīnavam̐ okāram̐ saṃkilesam̐ nekkhamme ānisaṃsam̐ pakāsesi. Yadā te bhagavā aññāsi kalla-citte mudu-citte vinīvaraṇa-citte udagga-citte pasanna-citte, atha yā Buddhānaṃ sāmukkaṇṇika-dhamma-desanā tam pakāsesi, dukkham̐ sāmudayaṃ nirodham̐ maggaṃ. Seyyathā pi nāma suddham̐ vattham̐ apagata-kālakam̐ sammad eva rajanam̐ paṭigaṇṇheyya,² evam̐ eva Khaṇḍassa ca rāja-puttassa Tissassa ca purohita-puttassa tasmim̐ yeva āsane virajam̐ vītamalaṃ dhamma-cakkhum̐ udapādi: "Yaṃ kiñci samudaya-dhammam̐, sabban tam̐ nirodha-dhamman ti."

11. 'To them Vipassi discoursed in due order³; that is to say, he gave them illustrative talk on generosity, on right conduct, on heaven, on the danger, the vanity and the defilement of lusts, on the advantages of renunciation. When the Exalted One saw that they had become prepared, softened, unprejudiced, upraised and believing in heart, then he proclaimed that Truth which the Buddhas alone have won; that is to say, the doctrine of Sorrow, of its origin, of its cessation, and the Path. And just as a clean cloth, from which all stain has been washed away, will readily take the dye, just even so did Khanda and Tissa obtain, even while sitting there, the pure and stainless Eye for the Truth, and they knew :— "Whatsoever has a beginning, in that is also inherent the necessity of passing away."

12. 'Te duṭṭha-dhammā patta-dhammā vidita-dhammā pariyoḅha-dhammā tiṇṇa-vicikicchā vigata-katham̐-kathā vesārajja-ppattā apara-ppaccayā satthu sāsane Vipassim̐ bhagavantam̐ arahantam̐ sammā-sambuddham̐ etad avocum̐:

1. So SS Sum i. 277, 308; D. i. 110; M. i. 379 ; Jāt. i. 8, 30. Old at Vin. i 15, 18; ii. 156 anu°. K anupubbī.

2. K paṭigg°.

3. Cf. 'Dialogues,' I, p. 135.

“Abhikkantaṃ bhante, abhikkantaṃ bhante ! Seyyathā pi bhante nikkujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya, paṭicchannaṃ vā vivareyya, mūlhasa vā maggaṃ ācikkhiheyya, andhakāre vā tela-pajjotaṃ dhāreyya ‘cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhintīti,’¹ evam eva Bhagavatā aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Ete mayaṃ bhante Bhagavantams saraṇaṃ gacchāma, dhammañ ca. Labheyyāma mayaṃ bhante Bhagavato santike pabbajjaṃ, pabbajjaṃ, labbajjaṃ, labheyyāma upasampadan ti.”

12. ‘Then they having seen the Truth, won the Truth, understood the Truth, sounded the depths of Truth, having crossed the waters of doubt and put away perplexity, having gained full confidence and become dependent on none other for the teaching of the Master, addressed Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, and said :—

“Most excellent, lord, most excellent, lord ! Just as if a man were to set up that which has been thrown down, or were to reveal that which has been hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a light into the darkness so that those who had eyes could see external forms,—even so has the truth been made known in many a figure by the Exalted One. We here, lord, betake ourselves to the Exalted One as our guide, and to the Truth. May we be suffered to go forth from the world under the Exalted One, may we be suffered to obtain ordination.”

13. Alatthum kho bhikkhave Khaṇḍo ca rāja-putto Tisso ca purohita-putto Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa santike pabbajjaṃ, alatthum upasampadaṃ. Te vipassī bhagavā araṇaṃ sammā-sambuddho dhammiyā kathāya sandassesī samādapesi samuttejesī sampahañsesī, saṃkhārānaṃ ādīnaṃ okāraṃ saṃkilesaṃ nibbāne² ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsesī. Tesāṃ Vipassinā bhagavatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena dhammiyā kathāya sandassiyamānānaṃ samādapiyamānānaṃ samuttejijamānānaṃ samphañsiyamānānaṃ na cirass’ eva anupādāya āsavcehi cittāni vimuccimṣu.

1. B^m K dakkhanti.

2. K nekkhamme, as in § 11. See § 17.

13. 'And so, brethren, Khanda the rāja's son and Tissa the chaplain's son obtained retreat and ordination under Vipassī, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme. Them did Vipassī instruct, arouse, incite and gladden with religious discourse, making clear the danger, the vanity and the corruption of component things, and the advantage in Nirvana. And they thus instructed, aroused, incited and gladdened by his discourse, their hearts ere long, being void of grasping, were set free from the Intoxicants.

14. 'Assosi kho bhikkhave Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni: "Vipassī kira bhagavā araham araham sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ anuppatto Kheme miga-dāye viharati. Khaṇḍo ca kira rāja-putto Tisso ca purohita-putto Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa santike kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitā ti." Suttvāna tesam¹ etad ahosi : "Na hi² nūna so orako dhamma-vinayo na sā crikā pabbajjā, yattha Khaṇḍo ca rāja-putto Tisso ca purohita-putto kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitā. Khaṇḍo ca hi nāma rāja-putto, Tisso ca purohita-putto Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa santike kesa-massuṃ ohāretva kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissanti, kim aṅga pana na mayan ti ?"

'Atha kho so bhikkhave mahā-jana-kāyo caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassāni Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā nikkhamitvā yena Khemo miga-dāyo yena Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho ten' upakamiṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā Vipassiṃ bhagavantam arahantam sammā-sambuddham abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu.

14. 'Now a great multitude, brethren, of the inhabitants of Bandhumatī—some 84,000 souls—heard that Vipassī, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, had come to Bandhumatī and was staying at the Sanctuary (Khema), in the deer-preserve;

1. B^m K nesam.

2. SS ha. See p. 30, § 2 16. B^m hi.

and how Khanda the rāja's son and Tissa the chaplain's son, had actually at his instigation shaved their heads and put on the yellow robe, and had gone forth from the House into the Homeless state. And hearing it they thought:— "Surely this is no ordinary religious rule, this is no common going forth, in that the rāja's son and the chaplain's son have had their heads shaved, have donned the yellow robe and gone forth from the House into the Homeless state. Khanda and Tissa have indeed done this ; why then should not we ?"

'So all that multitude came out from Bandhumatī to see Vipassi, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, and when they were in his presence they saluted him and sat down by him.

15. 'Tesaṃ Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho ānupubbi-kathaṃ kathesi, seyyathādaṃ dāna-kathaṃ sīla-kathaṃ sagga-kathaṃ kāmānaṃ ādīnavam okāram saṃkilesaṃ nekkhamme ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsesi. Yadā te bhagavā aññāsi kalla-citte mudu-citte vinīvaraṇa-citte udagga-citte pasanna-citte, atha, atha yā Buddhānaṃ sāmuk-kaṇṭhikā dhamma-desanā taṃ pakāsesi dukkhaṃ samudayaṃ nirodhaṃ maggaṃ. Seyyathā pi nāma suddhaṃ vatthaṃ apagata-kāḷakaṃ sammad eva rajanaṃ paṭigaṇheyya, evam eva tesaṃ caturāsīti-pāṇa-sahassānaṃ tasmim yeva āsane virajaṃ vītamalaṃ dhamma-cakkhuṃ udapādi: "Yaṃ kiñci mamudaya-dhammaṃ sabbaṃ taṃ nirodha-dhammaṃ ti."

15. 'And to them Vipassi discoursed, even as he had discoursed to Khanda and Tissa . . . he gave them illustrative talk on generosity, on right conduct, on heaven, on the danger, the Vanity and the defilement of lusts, on heaven, on the danger, the vanity and the defilement of lusts, on the advantages of renunciation, when the blessed one saw that they had become prepared softened, unprejudiced, upraised and believing in heart then he proclaimed that truth which the Buddhas alone have won; that is to say, the doctrine of sorrow, of its origin, of its cessation, and the path. And just as a clean cloth, from which all stain has been washed away, will readily take the dye, just even so did khanda and Tissa obtain, and they knew :— ^ what o ever has a beginings in that is also in herest the vecessity od passing away.

16. 'Te diṭṭha-dhammā patta-dhammā vidita-dhammā

pariyogālha-dhammā tiṇṇa-vicikicchā vigata-kathaṃ-kathā
vesārajjā-ppattā अपरा-ppaccayā satthu sāsane Vipassin
bhagavantam arahantam sammā-sambuddham etad avocum:

‘ “Abhikkantaṃ bhante, abhikkantaṃ bhante ! Sey-
yathā pi bhante nikkujjitaṃ vā ukujjeyya, paṭicchannaṃ vā
vivareyya, mūlhassa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya, andhakāre vā
tela-pajjotaṃ dhāreyya ‘cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhintīti,’
evam eva Bhagavatā aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Ete
mayam bhante Bhagacantaṃ saraṇam gacchāma dhammañ
ca.¹ Labheyyāma mayam bhante Bhagavato santike
pabbajjam, labheyyāma upasampadan ti.”

16. ‘And they too as those . . . who have gained full
confidence and become dependent on none other for the teaching
of the Master, addressed Vipassi even as Khanda’a and Tissa had
done, asking that they might obtain ordination.

17. ‘Alatthum kho bhikkhave tāni caturāsīti-pāṇa-
sahassāni Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa
santike pabajjam, alatham upasampadam. Te Vipassī bhagavā
araham sammā-sambuddho dhammiyā kathāya sandassesī
samādapesī samuttejesī sampahaṃsesī, saṃkhārānaṃ ādīna-
vaṃ okāraṃ saṃkilesaṃ nibbāne² ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsēsī.
Tasaṃ Vipassinā bhagavatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena
dhammiyā kathāya sandassiyamānānaṃ samādapiyamānā-
naṃ samuttejijyamānānaṃ sampahaṃsiyamānānaṃ na cirass
eva anupādāya āsavehi cittāni vimuccimsu.

17. ‘And so, brethren, those 84,000 souls obtained retreat
and ordination under Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha
Supreme. Them did Vipassi instruct, arouse, incite and gladden
with religious discourse, making clear the danger, the vanity and
the corruption of component things, and the advantages in Nir-
vana. They thus instructed, aroused, incited and gladdened by his
discourse, their hearts ere long, being void of grasping, were set
free from the Intoxicants.

18. ‘Assosum kho bhikkhave tāni purimāni caturāsī-

1. S^d adds bhikkhu-saṃghaṇ ca. See § 20. So K B^m here, and in §
20, but not in § 12. Comp. Vin. i. 15.

2. K in note nekkhamme ti pi pāṭhena bhavitabbam.

tiṃ¹ pabbajita-sahassāni : “Vipassī kira bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ anuppatto Kheme miga-dāye viharati, dhammañ ca kira desetīti.” Atha kho bhikkhave tāni caturāsīti pabbajita-sahassāni yena Bandhumati rāja-dhāni yena Khemo miga-dāyo yena Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho ten’ upasaṃkamimṃsu, upasaṃkamitvā Vipassiṃ bhagavantam arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddham abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nissīdimṃsu.

18. ‘Now a great multitude, brethren, of recluses—some 84,000—heard from the former multitude of Vipassī’s visitation. And they, too, went out from Bandhumatī to see him.

19. ‘Tesaṃ Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho ānupubbi-katham kathesi, seyyathādaṃ dāna-katham sīla-katham sagga-katham kāmānaṃ ādīnavaṃ okāraṃ saṃkilesaṃ nekkhamme ānisaṃsaṃ pakāsesi. Yadā te bhagavā aññāsi kalla-citte mudu-citte vinīvaraṇa-citte udagga-citte pasanna-citte atha yā Buddhānaṃ sāmukkaṃsika dhamma-desanā, taṃ pakāsesi dukkham samudayaṃ nirodham maggaṃ. Seyyathā pi nāma suddham vatthaṃ apagata-kālakam sammad eva rajanaṃ paṭigaṇheyya, evam eva² tesaṃ caturāsītiṃ³ pabbajita-sahassānaṃ tasmiṃ yeva āsane virajaṃ vitamalaṃ dhamma-cakkhum udapādi: “Yaṃ kiñci samudaya-dhammaṃ sabban aṃ nirodha-dhamman ti.”

19. ‘And to them did Vipassī likewise discourse, and it happened even so with them.

20. ‘Te diṭṭha-dhammā patta-dhammā vidita-dhammā pariyogāḷha-dhammā tiṇṇa-vicikicchā vigata-katham-kathā vesārajja-ppattā apara-ppaccayā satthu sāsane Vipassiṃ bhagavantam sammā-sambuddham etad avocum :

“Abhikkantaṃ bhante, abhikkantaṃ bhante ! Sey-yathā pi bhante nikkujjaitaṃ vā ukujjeyya, paṭicchannaṃ vā vivareyya, mūlhasa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya, andhakāre vā tela-pajjotaṃ dhāreyya “cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhīntīti,” evam eva Bhagavatā aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Ete

1. So SS. B^m K-sīti.

2. So SS. See § 15.

3. B^m K -sīti.

mayam bhante Bhagavantam saram gacchāma dhammañ ca bhikkhu-saṃghañ ca.¹ Labheyyāma mayam bhante Bhagavato santike pabbajjam, labheyyāma upasampadan ti.”

21. ‘Alatthum kho bhikkhave tāni caturāsītiṃ pabbajita-sahassāni Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa santike pabbajjam, alatthum upasampadam. To Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho dhammiyā kathāya sandassesī samādapesī samuttejesī sampahañ-sesi, saṃkhārānaṃ ādīnavam okāram saṃkilesam nibbāne¹ ānisaṃsam pakāsesī. Tesam Vipassinā bhagavatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena dhammiyā kathāya sandassiyamānānaṃ samādapiyamānānaṃ samuttejijyamānānaṃ sampahañsiyamānānaṃ na cirass’ eva anupādāya āsavehi cittāni vimuccimsu.

20. 21. ‘. . . and their hearts too ere long were set free from the Intoxicants.

22. ‘Tena kho pana bhikkhave samayena Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā mahā-bhikkhu-saṃgho paṭivasati aṭṭvasati aṭṭha-saṭṭhiṃ² bhikkhu-sata-sahassam.³ Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa raho-gatassa paṭisallīnassa evam cetaso parivittakko udapādi:

“Mahā kho etarahi bhikkhu-saṃgho Badhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā paṭivasati aṭṭha-saṭṭhiṃ bhikkhu-sata-sahas-sam. Yannūnāham bhikkhū anujāneyyam:⁴ ‘Caratha bhikkhave cārikam bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampāya⁵ atthāya hitāya sukhāya devamanus-sānam. Mā ekena dve agamittha,⁶ desetha bhikkhave dhammam ādi-kalyāṇam majjhe kalyāṇam pariyo-sāna-kalyāṇam sāttham savyañjanaṃ kevala-paripunnam parisuddham brahmacariyam pakāsetha. Santi⁷

1. S^c omits.

2. K nekkhamme.

2. B^m K saṭṭhi-

3. So SS, B^m K. See below.

4. See S. i. 105 = Vin. i. 21.

5. SS -pakāya.

6. SS all five times agamattha.

7. K santīdha throughout.

8. Attha-saṭṭhiṃ sata-sahassam— 6,800,000—is the literal figure given Seep p. 39.

sattā appa-rajakkha-jātikā assavanatā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāro. Api ca channaṃ channaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rāja-dhānī upasaṃkemitabbā pātimokkhuddesāyāti.' ”

22. 'Now at that time, brethren, a vast company of bhikkhus⁸ was staying at Bandhumatī. And to Vipassī the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, as he meditated in solitude, this idea arose in his mind:— “There is now a vast company of bhikkhus dwelling at Bandhumatī. What if I were now to grant leave to the bhikkhus and say :— ‘Fare ye forth, brethren, on the mission that is for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, to take compassion on the world, to work profit and good and happiness to gods and men. Go not singly; go in pairs; teach ye, brethren, the Truth, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation, both in the spirit and in the letter, proclaim ye the higher life in all its fullness and in all its purity. Beings there are whose eyes are hardly dimmed with dust, perishing because they hear not the Truth. Moreover after every six years have passed come ye to Bandhumatī, the royal residence, there to recite the summary of the Rules of the Order¹.’ ”

23. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave aññātaro Mahā-brahmā Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa cetasa ceto-parivittakam aññāya, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ² vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammāñjeyya, evam eva Brahma-loke antarahito Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa purato pātur ahoṣi. Atha kho bhikkhave Mahā-brahmā ekaṃsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā yena Vipassī bhagavā arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddho ten’ añjalim paṇāmetvā Vipassim bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ etad avoca:

1. Pātimokkha, literally the Disburdenment. The text as we have it (translated in ‘Vinaya Texts,’ Vol. I) dates only from the times of early Buddhism, and it is not likely that this technical name used as the title was much older.
2. B^m throughout sammiñj.

‘Evam etaṃ Bhagavā evam etaṃ Sugata ! Mahā kho bhante etarahi bhikkhu-saṃgho Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā paṭivasati aṭṭha-satthiṃ¹ bhikkhu-saka-sahassaṃ, anujānātu bhante Bhagavā bhikkhū: ‘Caratha bhikkhave cārikam bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukam pāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Mā ekena dve agamittha, desetha bhikkhave dhammaṃ ādikalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosāṇa-kalyāṇaṃ sātthaṃ savyañjanaṃ kevala-paripuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahma-cariyaṃ pakāsetha. Santi sattā appa-rajakkha-jātikā, assavantā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāro’. Api ca bhante mayaṃ tathā karissāma yathā bhikkhū channaṃ channaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ upasaṃ-kamissanti pātimokkhuddesāyāti.’”

‘Idam avoca bhikkhave so Mahā-brahmā. Idam vatvā Vipassiṃ bhagavantaṃ arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhaṃ abhivādetvā padakkhinaṃ katvā tatth’ ev’ antaradhāyi.

23. ‘Now one of the Great Brahmās, brethren, when he became aware in thought of the thoughts of Vipassi, like a strong man stretching his bent arm out, or drawing back his outstretched arm, vanished from the Brahma-world and appeared in the presence of Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme. Then, draping his outer robe over one shoulder, he raised his joined hands towards the Exalted One, saying:— “Even so, O Exalted One! Even so, O Welcome One! Let the Exalted One thus grant leave to this great company of bhikkhus, as he has a mind to do ... Moreover we too, lord, will do even as the bhikkhus after every six years have passed; we will come to Bandhumati there to recite the Pāti-mokkha.”

‘Thus, brethren, spake that Great Brahma. And bowing down before the Exalted One, he passed round by the left, and forthwith disappeared.

24. ‘Atha kho bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho sāyaṇha-samaye aṭṭhallaṇṇā vutthito bhikkhū āmantesi :

‘Idha mayahaṃ bhikkhave raho-gatassa paṭisallīpassa evaṃ cetaso parivitakko udapādi: ‘Mahā-kho-eterahi bhikkhu-

1. B^m K satthi.

saṃgho Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā pat vasati atṭha-satṭhiṃ bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ. Yannūn haṃ bhikkhu anujāneyyaṃ : “Caratha bhikkhave cārihaṃ bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampāya att-ya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Ma ekena dre agamitta, desetha bhikkhave dhammaṃ ādi-kalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosāna-kalyāṇaṃ tthaṃ savyañ-janaṃ kevala-paripuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāsetha. Santi sattā appa-rajakkha-jātikā, assavanatā, dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāro. Api ca channaṃ channaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rāja-upasaṃkakitaṭṭhā pātīmokkhuḍdesā-yāti.”

25. “Atha kho bhikkhave aññātaro Mahā-brahma mama cetaso ceto-parivitakkam aññāya, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasā-ritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva. Brahma-loke antarahito mama purato pātur ahoṣi. Atha kho so bhikkhave Mahā-brahmā ekaṃsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā yenāhaṃ ten’ añjalim paṇāmettvā maṃ etad avoca: ‘Evaṃ etaṃ Bhagavā, evam etaṃ Sugata ! Mahā kho bhaute etarahi bhikkhu-saṃgho Bandhumatiyā rāja-dhāniyā paṭi-vasati atṭha satṭhiṃ bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ, anujānātu, bhante Bhagavā bhikkhū: “Caratha bhikkhave cārikaṃ bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Mā ekena dve agamittha, desetha bhikkhave dhammaṃ ādi-kalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosāna-kalyāṇaṃ sātthaṃ savyañ-janaṃ kevala-paripuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāsetha. Santi sattā appa-rajakkha-jātika, assavanatā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāron Api ca bhante mayaṃ tathā karissāma, yathā bhikkhū channaṃ channaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ upasaṃkamissanti pātīmokkhuḍdesāyāti.’ Idam avoca so padakkhinaṃ katvā tatth’ ev’ antara-dhāyi.

24, 25. [47] ‘Then Vipassi, brethren, arose towards evening from his meditations and told the bhikkhus [of what he had deliberated and of the visitation of the Great Brahmā].

26. ‘“Anujānāmi bhikkhave ! Caratha cārikaṃ bahu-jana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Mā ekena dve agamittha, desetha bhikkhave dhammaṃ ādi-kalyāṇaṃ majjhe kalyāṇaṃ pariyosāna-kalyāṇaṃ sātthaṃ savyañ-janaṃ kevala-paripuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṃ brahmacariyaṃ pakāsetha. Santi sattā apparajakkha-jātikā, assavanatā dhammassa parihāyanti, bhavissanti dhammassa aññātāro. Api ca¹ bhikkhave channaṃ channaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rāja-dhānī upasaṃkamitabbā pātimokkh-yddesāyāti.”

‘Atha kho te² bhikkhave bhikkhū yebhuyyena ekāhen’ eva janapada-cārikaṃ pakkamiṃsu.

26. “I grant ye leave, brethren ! Fare ye forth on the mission that is for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, to take compassion on the world and to work profit and good and happiness to gods and men. Go not singly but in pairs; teach ye, brethren, the Truth, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation, both in the spirit and in the letter ; proclaim ye the higher life in all its fullness and in all its purity. Beings there are whose eyes are hardly dimmed with dust, perishing because they hear not the Truth ; they will become knowers of the Truth. Moreover, brethren, after every six years have passed come ye to Bandhumatī, there to recite the Pātimokkha.”

‘Then those bhikkhus, brethren, for the most part on that very day, set forth on their mission among the people.

27. ‘Tena kho pana bhikkhave samayena Jambudīpe caturāsītiṃ āvāsa-sahassāni honti. Ekamhi vasse nikkhante devatā saddam anussāvesuṃ: “Nikkhantaṃ kho mārisā ekam vassaṃ, pañca dāni vassāni sesāni. Pañcannaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rāja-dhānī upasaṃ-kamitabbā pātimokkhuddesāyāti.”

³Dvīsu vassesu nikkhantesu devatā saddam anussā-vesuṃ: “Nikkhantāni kho mārisā dve vassāni, cattāri dāni

1. K mayam tathā karissāma yathā channaṃ ect.

2. S^c B^m K omit.

3. B^m dvīsu vassesu nikkhantesu, tīsu vassesu nikkhantesu, catūsu vassesu nikkhantesu, pañcasy vassesu nikkhantesu devatā. etc., as below.

vassāni sesāni. Catunnaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rāja-dhānī upasaṃkamitabbā pātimokkh-uddesāyāti.

Tīsu vassesu nikkhantesu devatā saddam anussāvesuṃ: “Nikkhantāni kho mārisā tīṇi vassāni, tīṇi dāni vassāni sesāni. Tiṇṇaṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rājadhānī upasaṃkamitabbā pātimokkhuddesāyāti.”

‘Catusu vassesu nikkhantesu devatā saddam anussāvesuṃ : “Nikkhantāni kho mārisā cattāri vassāni, dve dāni vassāni sesāni. Dvinnāṃ vassānaṃ accayena Bandhumatī rāja-dhānī upasaṃkamitabbā pātimokkhuddesāyāti.”

‘Pañcasu vassesu nikkhantesu devatā saddam anussāvesuṃ: “Nikkhantāni kho mārisā pañca vassāni, ekaṃ dāni vassaṃ sesaṃ sesaṃ. Ekassa vassassa accayena Bandhu-matī rāja-dhānī upasaṃkamitabbā pātimokkhuddesāyāti.”

‘Chasu vassesu nikkhantesu devatā saddam anussāvesuṃ: “Nikkhantāni kho mārisā cha vassāni,¹ samayo dāni Bandhumatiṃ² rāja-dhāniṃ³ upasaṃkaṃkamituṃ⁴ pātimokkhuddesāyāti.”

‘Atha kho te bhikkhave bhikkhū, app ekacce saken’ eva⁵ iddhānubhāvena app ekacce devānaṃ⁶ iddhānubhā-vena, ekāhen’ eva Bandhumatiṃ rāja-dhāniṃ upasaṃkamiṃsu pātimokkhuddesāyāti.⁷

27. ‘Now at that time, brethren, there was a very great number of religious dwellings in Jambudīpa— some 84,000. As one year was drawing to a close the angels proclaimed the news:— “Ho, friends ! one year is ending; now five years remain. At the end of five years we have to go to Bandhumatī to recite the Pātirnokka.”

1. B^m K chabbassāni.

2. S^{dt} K -matī.

3. S^{dt} K -dhānī.

4. K -tabbā.

5. B^m K sakena.

6. B^m K devatānaṃ.

7. So SS, B^m.

‘And [this they did at the close of each remaining year, proclaiming] at the end of the sixth year :— “Ho, friends ! The six years are at an end. Now is the time for us to go to Bandhumatī to recite the Pātimokkha.” Then, brethren, those bhikkhus, some by their own magic power, some by the magic power of the gods, on that very day came to Bandhumatī to recite the Pātimokkha.

28. ‘Tatra sudaṃ bhikkhave Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho bhikkhu-saṃghe evaṃ pātimokkham uddisati¹ :

2 ‘ “Khaṇtī paramaṃ tapo titikkhā³

Nibbānaṃ paramaṃ vadanti Buddhā.

Na ni pabbajito parūpaghāti.

4 Samano hoti paraṃ viheṭṭhayanto.

‘ “ Sabba-pāpassa akaraṇaṃ, kusalassa upasampadā,

Sacitta-pariyodapanaṃ, etaṃ Buddhāna sāsanaṃ.

‘ “ Anupavādo⁵ anupaghāto⁶ pātimokkhe ca saṃvaro,

Mattaññutā ca bhattattasmiṃ pantañ ca sayanāsaṇaṃ,
Adhicitta ca āyogo, etaṃ Buddhāna sāsanaṃ” ti.

28. ‘Then verily, brethren, did Vipassī, the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, thus rehearse a Pātimokkha :—

“How may ye best the flesh subdue ?

Be patient, brethren, be forbearing.

What is the highest, what the best ?

Nirvana, brethren, say the Buddhas.

For he ’s no Wanderer who harms

His fellow man ; he ’s no recluse

Who works his neighbour injury.

Work ye no evil; give yourselves to good;

Cleanse ye your hearts,—so runs the Buddhas’ word.

Blame not, strike not, restrain self in the Law,

1. B^m K uddissati.

2. Dh. 184, 183, 185.

3. K tīt^o.

4. B^m inserts na: so also Sum (perhaps). SS and K omit.

5. S^c K anūp^o; S^t anūvādo.

6. S^c K anūp^o.

With temperance eat, lonely seek rest and sleep,
Given to thoughts sublime,—so runs the Buddhas' word¹."

29. 'Ekam idāhaṃ bhikkhave samayaṃ Ukkatthāyaṃ viharāmi Subhaga²-vane sāla-rāja-mūle. Tassa mayhaṃ bhikkhave rahogatassa paṭisallīnassa³ evaṃ cetaso parivī-takko udapādi: "Na kho so⁴ sattāvāso⁵ sulabha-rūpo yo⁶ mayā anāvuttha⁷-pubbo iminā dīghena addhunā aññatra Suddhā-vasehi devehi. Yan nūnāhaṃ yena Suddhāvāsā devā ten' upasaṃkameyyan ti."

'Atha kho ahaṃ⁸ bhikkhave seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evaṃ eva Ukkatthāyaṃ Subhaga-vane sāla-rāja-mūle antarahito Avihesu⁹ devesu pātur ahoṣiṃ¹⁰ Tasmim¹¹ bhikkhave deva-nikāye 'nekāni¹² devatā-sahassāni yenāhaṃ ten' upasaṃkamaṃsu, upasaṃka mitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. Ekamantaṃ tthitā kho bhikkhave tā devatā maṃ etad avocaṃ:

' "Ita so mārisa eka-navute¹³ kappe yaṃ Vipassī bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loke udapādi. Vipassī mārisa bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Khattiyo jātiyā ahoṣi, Khattiya-kule udapādi. Vipassī mārisa bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho Koṇḍañño gottena ahoṣi. Vipassissa-

1. These verses, except lines 8 and 9, have been included in the Dhammapada 184-6.
2. K Subha, and so below, but see M. i. 326, ii. 200, Kathā-Vatthu 559.
3. B^m paṭisallinassa.
4. B^m na so kho.
5. SS sattavāso.
6. S^{cd} so.
7. B^m anacchāvuttha.
8. K 'haṃ.
9. M. i. 289.
10. SS B^m ahoṣi.
11. K adds yeva kho.
12. B^m K anek^o. K inserts devatāsatāni anekāni.
13. So SS See 1. 4. B^m navuti.

mārisa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa asīti-vassa-sahassāni āyupamāṇaṃ ahosi. Vipassī mārisa bhagavā arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho pāṭa-liyā mūle abhisambuddho. Vipassissa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa Khaṇḍa-Tissaṃ nāma sāvaka-yugaṃ ahosi aggamaṃ bhadda-yugaṃ. Vipassissa mārisa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa tayo sāvakānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ, eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi atṭha-satṭhi-bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ, eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi bhikkhu-sata-sahassaṃ, eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi asīti-bhikkhu-sata-sahassāni. Vipassissa mārisa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa ime tayo sāva-kānaṃ sannipātā ahesuṃ sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇāsavānaṃ. Vipassissa mārisa bhagavato arahato sammā-sambud-dhassa Asoko nāma bhikkhu upatṭhāko ahosi aggupatṭhā-ko. Vipassissa mārisa bhagavato arahato sammā-sam-buddhassa Bandhumānāma rājā pitā ahosi, Bandhumatī nāma devī mātā ahosi janettī, Bandhumassa rañño Bandhumatī nāma rāja¹-nagaraṃ rājadhānī ahosi. Vipassissa mārisa bhagavato arhato sammā-sambud-dhassa evaṃ abhinikkhamaṇaṃ ahosi, evaṃ pabbajjā, evaṃ padhānaṃ, abhisambodhi, evaṃ dhamma-cakka-pavattanaṃ. Te mayaṃ mārisa Vipassimhi bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā kāmesu kāmaccchandaṃ virājetvā idh² uppannā² ti.”

29. ‘At one time I, brethren, was dwelling at Ukkatthā, in the Delectable Wood, beneath a giant sāl tree. Now to me as I meditated in solitude this idea arose in my mind :— “There is but one abode of beings easily accessible that I have not dwelt in for a very long time, and that is among the gods of the Pure Mansions³. What if I were now to repair thither ? Then, brethren,

1. B^m K *omit*.

2. B^m K *ūpappannā*, and so in § 30.

3. The Suddhāvāsā devā comprise the five highest spheres of celestials in the so-called Rūpa loka, i.e. the universe of Form, the five being named successively in the text. Beyond these five heavens were yet four spheres of the Formless. The following paragraphs develop the assertion on p. 7 : ‘And gods also have revealed these matters to him.’ . . .

as a strong man stretching his bent arm out, or drawing back his outstretched arm, so did I vanish from beneath the giant sāl tree in the Delectable Wood at Ukkatthā and appear among the gods of the Aviha heaven. In that group of gods, brethren, several thousands of them came up to me, and saluting me, stood by and spake thus :—

“Friend, it is now ninety-one aeons since Vipassi the Exalted One, Arahant, Buddha Supreme, arose in the world. Vipassi, friend, was of the noble class and was born in a noble family. Vipassi, friend, was by family a Kondañña. . . . The span of life in his time, friend, was 80,000 years. He attained enlightenment, friend, under a trumpet-flower tree. His chief disciples, friend, were a pair named, Khanda and Tissa. [51] He had, friend, three companies of disciples, sixty-eight lacs, one lac, and eighty thousand in number. His special attendant, friend, was named Asoka. His father was the rāja Bandhuman, whose ranee, Bandhumatī, was his mother, and whose seat was the town of Bandhumatī. His leaving the world, his becoming a recluse, his travail, his enlightenment, his setting the Wheel of Truth a-rolling, were each on such and such wise. And we being of those who have lived the holy life under Vipassi our Exalted One, and purged the lusts of the flesh, have been reborn here.”

30. ‘Tasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave deva-nikāye ’nekāni¹ devatā-sahassāni . . . pe² . . . ’ nekāni devatā-satāni³ yenāhaṃ ten’ upasaṃkamimṣu, upasaṃkamitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atthaṃsu. Ekamantaṃ tthitā kho bhikkhave tā devatā maṃ etad avocaṃ⁴:

“Imasmiṃ yeva kho mārīsa bhadda-kappe bhagavā etarah⁵ arahāṃ sammā-sambuddho loke uppanno. Bhagavā

1. B^m anekāni, and below. K anekāni devatā-satāni inekāni. etc.
2. B^m K omit.
3. S^c devatāni, B^m devatā-sata-sahassāni.
4. K inserts Ito so mārīsa ekatimso kappoyaṃ Sikhī bhagavā . . . pe. . . te mayaṃ mārīsa Sikhimhi Bhagavati . . . pe . . . Tasmiṃ etc., as in B^m § 32 pe; and at imasmiṃ yeva etc. = 30.
5. S^c omits.

mārisa Khattiyo jātuyā¹ Khattiya-kule uppanno. Bhagavā mārisa Gotamo gottena. Bhagavato mārisa appakaṃ āyuppannānaṃ parittaṃ lahasaṃ,² yo ciraṃ jīvati so vassasataṃ appaṃ vā bhiyyo. Bhagavā mārisa assatthassa mūle abhisambuddho. Bhagavato mārisa Sāriputta-Moggallāna³ sāvaka-yugaṃ⁴ aggaṃ bhadda-yugaṃ. Bhagavato mārisa eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi adḍhatelāsāni bhikkhu-satāni. Bhagavato mārisa ayaṃ eko sāvakānaṃ sannipāto ahosi sabbesaṃ yeva khīṇāsavānaṃ. Bhagavato mārisa Ānando⁵ bhikkhu upatṭhāko ahosi⁶ aggupatṭhāko. Bhagavato mārisa Suddhodano rājā pitā, Māyā⁷ devī mātā janettī, Kapilavatthu-nagaraṃ rājadhānī. Bhagavato mārisa evaṃ abhinikkhamanaṃ ahosi, evaṃ pabbajjā, evaṃ padhānaṃ, evaṃ abhisambodhi, evaṃ dhammacakka-pavattanaṃ. Te mayaṃ mārisa Bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā kāmesu kāmaccandaṃ virājetvā idh' uppannā ti."

30. 'And again, brethren, in that group of gods, several thousands of them . . .⁸ And again, brethren, several hundreds of them came up to me, and saluted, and stood on one side, and said :— "Friend! in this fortunate aeon the Exalted One has now arisen in the world as an Arahant, Buddha Supreme. The Exalted One, friend, is of noble birth, born in a clan of nobles, in a family with Gotama for surname. Small, friend, is the span of life in the Exalted One's time, [sa] brief and soon past; he who is longlived lives a hundred years more or less. The Exalted One,

1. S^d inserts ahosi but omits it in repetition.

2. So SS, B^m lahasaṃ.

3. S^d -na ; so SS in the repetition; B^m K Moggallānaṃ; K adds nāma.

4. K adds ahosi.

5. K adds nāma.

6. So B^m; SS K omit.

7. K adds nāma.

8. The text here is greatly abbreviated. It is intended that numbers of the gods claim to have been, in a previous birth, the followers of each successive Buddha; and § 29 is to be understood, in full, for each Buddha. The full text is given, as usual, for the first and last cases only.

friend, became a Buddha under an aspen tree. He has, friend, two chief disciples, Sāriputta and Moggallāna, a glorious pair. He has had one assembly, friend, of disciples, 1250 in number, and in this company all are arahants. He has for attendant, friend, for chief attendant, one named Ānanda. His father, friend, is the rāja Suddho-dana, whose wife Māyā is his mother, and whose seat is the town of Kapilavatthu. His leaving the world, his becoming a recluse, his travail, his enlightenment, his setting the Wheel of Truth a-rolling, were each on such and such wise. And we, friend, being of those who lived the holy life under our Exalted One, and purged the lusts of the flesh, have been reborn here.”

31. ‘Atha kho’ haṃ bhikkhave Avihehi devehi saddhiṃ yena Atappā devā ten’ upasaṃkamim¹ Atha khvāhaṃ² bhikkhave Avihehi³ ca devehi Atappehi ca devehi saddhiṃ yena Sudassā devā ten’ upasaṃkamim. Atha khvāhaṃ bhikkhave Avihehi ca devehi Atappehi ca devehi⁴ Sudas-sehi ca devehi saddhiṃ yena Sudassī devā ten’ upasaṃkamim. Atha khvāhaṃ bhikkhave Avihehi ca devehi Atappehi ca devehi Sudassehi ca devehi Sudassīhi ca devehi saddhiṃ yena Akanitṭhā devā ten’ upasaṃkamim. Tasmim⁵ bhikkhave deva-nikāye nekā⁶ devatā- saḥassāni⁷ yenāhaṃ ten’ upasaṃka-mimṣu, upasaṃ-kamitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. Kkamantaṃ tṭhita kho bhikkhave tā devatā maṃ etad avocum:

“Ito so mārisa ⁸eka-navute kappe⁸ yaṃ Vipassī bhagavā araham sammā sambuddho loke udapādi . . .
pe⁹

1. B^m inserts pa.
2. K as before kho ’haṃ.

3. S^c avī^o.

4. S^{ct} insert saddhiṃ.

5. K inserts yeva kho.

6. B^m anekāni.

7. B^m adds anekāni devatā sata-saḥassāni; K anekāni devatā-satāni anekāni etc.

8. So SS. See ante, § 29. B^m eka-navuti kappe; K ekanavuto kappo.

9. Not in SS; here repeat as in § 29, down to idh’ up-pannā ti.

32. 'Tasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave deva-nikāye¹ nekāni devatā-sahassāni . . . pe² . . . nekāni devata satāni³ yenāhaṃ ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhaṃsu. Ekamantaṃ t̥hitā kho bhikkhave tā devatā maṃ etad avocum⁴:

‘“Imasmiṃ yeva kho mārisa bhadda-kappe bhagavā etarahi arahaṃ sammā-sambuddho loka uppanno. pe.⁵

31, 32. 'Thereafter, brethren, I resorted, not only to the Aviha gods, but also to the home of the Cool gods; and so, including both the Aviha gods and the Cool gods⁶, I came to the home of the Fair gods⁷. Then on, including thus the Aviha and Cool and Fair gods, I came to the home of the Wellseeing gods.⁸ And yet on, including thus Aviha and Cool and Fair and Wellseeing gods, till I came to the home of the Senior gods. [And in each of these heavens numbers of the gods accosted me and told me of their previous birth under Vipassī and the following Buddhas down to the present one, myself.]

1. K *inscrts* anekāni devatā satāni.

2. B^m K *omit*.

3. B^m sata-sahassāni. K *omits this clause*.

4. B^m Ito kho mārisa ekatiṃse (K-so) kappe (K-po) yaṃ Sikhi bhagavā . . . pa . . . Te mayaṃ mārisa Sikhimhi bhagavati . . . pa . . . Tasmiṃ yeva kho mārisa ekatiṃse kappe Vessabhū bhagavā . . . pa . . . Te mayaṃ mārisa Vessabhumhi bhagavati . . . pe . . . Imasmiṃ yeva kho mārisa bhadda-kappe Kakusandho, Koṇāgamano, Kassapo bhagavā . . . pe . . . Te mayaṃ mārisa Kakusandhamhi, Koṇāgamanamhi, Kassapamhi bhagavati brāhmacariyaṃ caritvā kāmesu kāmaccandaṃ virājetvā idhūpapannā ti. Tasmiṃ yeva kho bhikkhave (*as at beginning of § 32*).

5. *Not in SS ; repeat as in § 30.*

6. The Cy. interprets as active:—na kañci sattaṃ tapentūti—they torment no one.

7. Paraphrased as 'lovely to look at, beautiful, charming.'

8. Paraphrased as 'because they see vividly the beautiful vision of the former.'

33. 'Iti kho bhikkhave Tathāgatass' ev' esā¹ dhamma-dhātu suppaṭividdhā yassā yassā dhamma-dhatuyā suppaṭividdhattā Tathāgato atīte Buddhhe parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādiṇṇa-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: "Evāṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā evaṃ-gottā evaṃ-sīlā evaṃ-dhammā evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti."²

Idam avoca Bhagavā. Attamanā te bhikkhū Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti.

33. 'Thus, brethren, through his clear discernment of that principle of the Truth, is the Tathāgata able to remember the Buddhas of old, who attained final completion, who cut off obstacles, who cut down barriers, who have ended the cycle., who have escaped from all sorrow,—so that he can remember as to their birth, their names, their families, the span of life usual in their time, their pair of disciples, and their congregations of disciples, and can say:—"Of such was the birth of those Exalted Ones, such were their names, their families, such were their morals, their doctrines, their wisdom ; how they lived and how they gained emancipation." '

Thus spake the Exalted One. And the brethren, pleased at heart, rejoiced at the word of the Exalted One.

Mahāpadāna-suttaṃ samattam.³

Here endeth the Mahāpadāna-Suttaṃ

1. B^m Sum eva sā.

2. B^m K add : Devatā pi Tathāgatassa etam atthaṃ ārocesuṃ, yena Tathāgato atīte pubbe⁴ parinibbute chinna-papañce chinna-vaṭume pariyādiṇṇa-vaṭṭe sabba-dukkha-vītivatte jātito pi anussarati, nāmato pi anussarati, gottato pi anussarati, āyuppamāṇato pi anussarati, sāvaka-yugato pi anussarati, sāvaka-sannipātato pi anussarati: "Evāṃ-jaccā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-nāmā, evaṃ-gottā, evaṃ-sīlā, evaṃ-dhammā, evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī, evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti.

3. So Sⁱ, S^d Mahā-Padhāna; S^d (by accident) Mahā-Nidāna; B^m Mahā-Padhāna-suttaṃ nitthitaṃ. K Mahāpadāna - Suttaṃ nitthitaṃ 59 which has Mahāpadāna.

4. K Buddhhe.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Mahā-Nidāna Sutta

The Mahānidāna Sutta explains fully the doctrine of paṭiccasamuppāda (dependent origination) and discusses Soul, seven kinds of beings, and kind of vimokkhas¹. Besides, it treats of cause of jāti (birth), Jarā (old age) and maraṇa (death). In this Sutta, Ven. Ānanda said to the Blessed One, "It is strange that the Dhamma (Dharma) which is deep and profound appears to me to be very easy". Buddha told Ānanda not to say so and said that on account of ignorance and non-realisation of his Dharma, people were entangled in this word and could not overcome hell.

In this Sutta the doctrine of Paṭiccasamuppāda or dependent Origination finds the fullest exposition accorded to it throughout the pitakas. The Dīghabhāṇakas (reciters of long discourse) excluded the first two of the twelve nidānas (chapters), viz., avijja (ignorance) and Saṃkhāra (conceptions) and that in the Paccayākāra-vibhaṅga of the Abhidhamma Pitaka the formula is reiterated and analysed with greater variety of presentation. But in this Sutta the doctrinal contents are more fully worked out. Although the formula as expounded in this Sutta ends in the usual way- 'Such is the uprising of the whole body of III' the burden of the dialogue is in no way directly concerned with III, pain or sorrow. In certain other passages where the nidāna chain occurs, dukkha occupies the foreground.

1. The eight vimokkhas or stages of emanication are the following:— the condition of rūpa, arūpa, Saññi (rūpi is nearly always combined and contrasted with arūpi formless, incorporeal) recognition of subha, realisation of ākāśānañcāyatana (infinity of space), of viññānānañcāyatana (infinitude of life force or mind matter) of ākiñcaññāyatana (realm or sphere of nothingness), of neva - Saññiāsaññāyatana (neither perception nor non-Perception), of Saññavedayitavirodha (Consation of consciousness and sensation).

XV. Mahā-Nidāna Sutta

(The great Discourse on Causation)

1. *Evam me sutam. Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā kurūsu viharati Kammāssa-dhammaṃ¹ nāma Kurūnaṃ nigamo. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca :*

'Acchariyaṃ bhante abbhutaṃ bhante yāva gambhīro cāyaṃ bhante paṭicca-samuppādo gambhīrāvabhāso ca. Atha ca pana me uttānakuttānako viya khāyatīti.'

Mā h'evaṃ Ānanda avaca, mā h'evaṃ Ānanda avaca. Gambhīro cāyaṃ Ānanda² paṭicca-samuppādo gambhīrāvabhāso ca. Etassa Ānanda dhammassa ananubodhā appativedhā evam eyaṃ pajā tantākulaka-jatā gulā-guṇṭhika-jātā³ muñja-babbaja⁴-bhūtā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ saṃsāraṃ nātivattati.

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once dwelling among the Kurus⁵. Now a township of that country is named Kammāssadamma. And the venerable Ānanda came to where the Exalted One was, bowed in salutation before him, and

1. SS and Sum Kammāssa- ; B^m K Kammāsa- . S^t Sum B^m and K in note -dham^o; S^d K -dam^o. See M. i. 532; S. ii. 92, 107; A. v. 29; Thig. A. 87, 89; Divy. 515.

2. K omits.

3. B^m kulā-; K guṇa-guṇṭhika-jātā.

4. S^d B^m pabbaja; K (text) pabbaja ; note, bab^o.

5. The Kurus occupied the country of which Indraprastha, close to the modern Delhi, was the capital. See Rh. D. 'Buddhist India,' p. 27.

took a seat on one side. And so seated he said to the Exalted One:— ‘Wonderful, lord, and marvellous it is, that whereas this doctrine of events as arising from causes is so deep and looks so deep¹, to me it seems as clear as clear can be !’

‘Say not so, Ānanda, say not so! Deep is this doctrine of events as arising from causes, and it looks deep too. It is through not understanding this doctrine, through not penetrating it, that this generation² has become a tangled skein, a matted ball of thread³, like to munja-grass and rushes⁴, unable to overpass the doom of the Waste⁵, the Woeful Way, the Downfall, the Constant Round [of transmigration]⁶.

1. Water, muses the Cy., may be shallow and look deep like a pool black with the rotten leaves beneath the surface; it may be deep and look shallow, like the jewel-like translucence of Ganges water; it may be and look shallow, like the contents of a basin; it may be and look deep, like the ocean at the foot of Mount Sineru. But this doctrine is ever and only deep both in substance and appearance.
2. The Greek γέννημα of the Gospels has much the same vague meaning as pajā—offspring, here rendered ‘generation.’
3. A more literal rendering than Warren’s picturesque ‘entangled warp . . . ensnarled web.’ The similes are drawn from weaving cloth and making nets. The tangle is due to bad workmanship or the teeth of mice; the matting, to grease (kañjiyasuttam), the ball resembling a bird’s nest. Both similes are to illustrate the confused state of the popular mind, lost in fallacies of opinion, prejudice and superstition e.g. among the sixty-two heresies of the first Sutta (Vol. I). Cy.
4. When these are withering and cut in autumn, if gathered up in sheaves wherever they fall, it becomes difficult to extricate stalk from stalk and lay them in parallel order. (Cy.)
5. Apāya. For the concrete meaning see above, Vol. I, p. 125. In the secondary sense the word is often—quite wrongly, rendered ‘hell.’ There is no hell, i.e. no existence of *unending* torment, in Indian thought.
6. These four terms all refer to a change for the worse in rebirth, i.e. to one or other of the four infra-human grades of existence—purgatory, animal kingdom, shades or ghosts, and asuras or fallen angels.

2. ‘ “Atthi idappaccayā jarā-maraṇaṃ ti ?” iti puttḥena

satā Ānanda, “Atthîti” ’ssa vacanīyaṃ.¹ “Kim paccayā jarā-maraṇam to” ? iti ce vedeyya, “Jāti-paccayā jarā-maraṇan ti” icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

‘ “Atthi idappaccayā jātîti ?” iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, “Atthîti” ssa vacanīyaṃ. “Kim paccayā jātîti ?” iti ce vedeyya, “Bhava-ppaccayā jātîti” icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

‘ “Atthi idappaccayā bhavo ti ?” iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, “Atthîti” ssa vacanīyaṃ. “Kim paccayā bhavo ti ?” iti ce vedeyya, “Upādāna-paccayā bhavo ti” icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

‘ “Atthi idappaccayā upādānan ti ?” iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, “Atthîti” ’ssa vacanīyaṃ. “Kim paccayā upādānan ti ?” iti ce vedeyya, “Taṇhā-paccayā upādānan ti” icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

‘ “Atthi idappaccayā taṇhā ti ?” iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, “Atthîti” ’ssa vacanīyaṃ. “Kim paccayā taṇhā ti ?” iti ce vedeyya, “Vedanā-paccayā taṇhā ti” icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

‘ “Atthi idappaccayā vedanā ti ?” iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, “Atthîti” ’ssa vacanīyaṃ. “Kim paccayā vedanā ti?” iti ce vedeyya, “Phassa-paccayā vedanā ti” icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

‘ “Atthi idappaccayā phasso ti ?” iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, “Atthîti” ’ssa vacanīyaṃ. “Kim paccayā phasso ti?” iti ce vedeyya, “Nāmarūpa-paccayā² phasso ti” icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

‘ “Atthi idappaccayā nāma-rūpan ti ?” iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, “Atthîti” ’ssa vacanīyaṃ. “Kim paccayā nāma-rūpan ti ?” iti ce vedeyya, “Viññāṇa-paccayā nāma-rūpan ti” icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

‘ “Atthi idappaccayā viññāṇan ti ?” iti puṭṭhena satā Ānanda, “Atthîti” ’ssa vacanīyaṃ. “Kim paccayā viññāṇan ti ?” iti ce vedeyya, “Nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇan ti” icc assa vacanīyaṃ.

1. B^m vacaniyaṃ *always* ;S^d *often* vacaniyyaṃ.

2. So SS B^m K Gr and Sum *omitting* saḷayatana.

2. ‘ If ‘you, Ānanda, were asked :— “Is old age and death

due to a particular cause ?" you should say :— "It is." And to the question :— "From what cause is old age and death ?" you should say :— "Birth is the cause of old age and death."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is birth due to a particular cause ?" [56] you should say :— "It is." And to the question:— "From what cause is birth ?" you should say :— "Becoming¹ is the cause of birth."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is becoming due to a particular cause ?" you should say :— "It is." And to the question:— "From what cause is becoming?" you should say : "Grasping is the cause of becoming."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is grasping due to a particular cause ?" you should say:— "It is." And if the question:— "From what cause is grasping ?" you should say :— "Craving is the cause of grasping?"

'If you, Ānanda, were asked : "Is craving due to a particular cause ?" you should say :— "It is." And to the question :— "From what cause is craving ?" you should say :— "Sensation is the cause of craving."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is sensation due to a particular cause?" you should say:— "It is." And to the question:— "From what cause is sensation?" you should say :— "Contact is the cause of sensation."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is contact due to a particular cause?" you should say:— "It is." And to the question :— "From what cause is contact ?" you should say:— "Name-and-form is the cause of contact."

'If you, Ānanda, were asked :— "Is name-and-form due to a particular cause ?" you should say :— "It is." And to the question:— "From what cause is name-and-form ?" you should say :— "Cognition is the cause of name-and-form."

1. The Cy. is at no pains to explain here the staple terms in the chain of causation, the author having expounded them after his fashion in the Visuddhi Magga.

3. 'Iti kho Ānanda nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇaṃ, viññāṇa-paccayā nāmarūpaṃ, nāmarūpa-paccayā phasso, phassa-paccayā vedanā, vedanā-paccayā taṇhā, taṇhā-paccayā upādānaṃ, upādāna-paccayā bhavo, bhava-paccayā jāti, jāti-paccayā jarā-maraṇaṃ, jarā-maraṇa-paccayā¹ soka-parideva-dukkha-domanassupāyāsā sambhavanti, Evam etassa kevalassa dukkhakkhandhassa samudayo hoti.

3. 'Thus then is it, Ānanda, that cognition, with name-and-form as its cause ; name-and-form, with cognition as its cause ; contact, with name-and-form as its cause ; sensation with contact as its cause ; craving, with sensation as its cause ; grasping, with craving as its cause; becoming, with grasping as its cause ; birth, with becoming as its cause ; old age and death, with birth as its cause ; grief, lamentation, ill, sorrow and despair, all come into being. Such is the coming to pass of this whole body of Ill.

4. ' "Jāti-paccayā jarā-maraṇaṃ ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathā jāti-paccayā jarā-maraṇaṃ. Jāti va hi² Ānanda nābhavissa³ sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbam kassaci kimhici, seyyathādevānaṃ vā devattāya, gandhabbānaṃ vā gandhabbattāya, yakkhānaṃ vā yakkhattāya, bhūtānaṃ vā bhūtattāya, manussānaṃ vā manussattāya, catuppādānaṃ vā catuppadattāya, pakkhīnaṃ vā pakkhattāya, sirīṃsapānaṃ vā sirīṃsapattāya,⁴ tesam tesam va⁵ hi Ānanda sattānaṃ tathattāya jāti nābhavissa, sabbaso jātiyā asati jāti-nirodhā api nu kho jarā-maraṇaṃ paññāyethāti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidanaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo jarā-maraṇassa, yadidaṃ jāti.

4. 'I have said that birth is the cause of old age and death. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after

1. B^m K Gr omit.

2. B^m K Gr jāti ca hi throughout, and so S^d sometimes.

3. S^d frequently na bhavissa.

4. B^m sarisapānaṃ vā sarisapattāya; Gr sīrisapānaṃ vā sīrisap^o.

5. B^m K ca throughout.

this manner. Were there no birth of any sort or kind whatever of any one anywhere—that is to say, of gods to godhood, of Gandharvas¹ after their kind, of Yakshas after their kind, of goblins² after their kind, of humans to humanity, of quadrupeds to the animal kingdom, of birds to winged things, or of insects to the insect-world—were there no birth after the several kind of every one of these classes of beings, then, there being no birth whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of birth, be any appearance of old age and death?

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, that is the basis, that is the genesis, that is the cause of old age and death, to wit, birth.

5. ‘“Bhava-paccayā jāṭīti” iti kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathā bhava-paccayā jāti. Bhavo va hi Ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbhaṃ sabbathā sabbhaṃ kassaci kimhici, seyya-thīdaṃ kāma-bhavo rūpa-bhavo arūpa-bhavo vā,³ sabbaso bhavo asati bhava-nirodhā api nu kho jāti paññāyethāti?’

‘No h’etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo jāṭiyā, yadidaṃ bhavo.

5. ‘I have said that becoming⁴ is the cause of birth. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this

1. The Cy., following S. III, 250, speaks of these beings as fairies residing in the perfumes given out by roots and other parts of trees and flowers, saying nothing of their ‘celestial musician-ship’ (see Hardy, ‘Manual of Buddhism,’ 43), or of Sakka as their king (see Jāt. VI, 260).
2. Bhūtā.
3. B^m K *hare vā after each bhavo.*
4. Tattha bhavatīti bhavo. ‘Here bhavo means one becomes’ (so the Vis. Mag. opens its comment)—not *atthi*, one is. Burnouf, Oldenberg, Warren all choose ‘existence.’ Winternitz (‘Religions-geschichtliches Lesebuch,’ p. 236) has *Dasein*. But the mobile, plastic, evolutionary thing, ever in progress, that life appears as conceived by the Indian, fits ill in the more rigid Western

manner. Were there no becoming of any sort or kind whatever of any one anywhere, that is to say, no coming to be of any sentient, formed, or formless being¹, then there being no becoming whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of becoming, be any appearance of birth ?

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, that is the basis, the genesis, the cause of birth, to wit, becoming.

6. ‘*“Upādāna-paccayā bhavo ti” iti kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathā upādāna-paccayā bhavo. Upādānaṃ va hi Ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, seyyathidaṃ kāmūpādānaṃ² vā diṭṭhūpādānaṃ vā sīlabbatūpādānaṃ vā attavādūpādānaṃ vā, sabbaso upādāne asati upādāna-nirodhā api nu kho bhavo paññāyethāti ?*

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo bhavassa, yadidaṃ upādānaṃ.

6. ‘I have said that grasping³ is the cause of becoming. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no grasping of any sort or kind whatever by any one at anything— that is to say, no grasping at the

metaphysic of Being. As Buddhist sponsors, possibly also as philosophers, we lost much when we dropped *weorthan* for *becumen*, and may envy our German colleagues with their *Werden* (see Mrs. Rh. D. in ‘Buddhism,’ March, 1904, pp. 389, 390; Rangoon). Moreover, according to the Vibhanga (p. 137) the bhava which is the cause of birth is not only *uppattibhavo*,—the becoming which is ‘coming into sentient being’ of some sort—but also *kammabhavo*, or the generating of effective actions, effective in good or bad results, or in result which is ‘beyond good and bad,’ viz. meritorious activity, demeritorious activity, and ‘unmoved’ or ‘static activity’ (*āneñjabhi-sankhāro*). ‘Existence’ fits here still worse.

1. These three exhausted, for the Buddhist, the living universe. See Dh. S., §§ 1281-6 (Trans., p. 334).
2. S^{dt} B^m Gr kāmup^o, diṭṭhup^o, etc.
3. Upādāna. See preceding Sutta, II, 18, and the note there.

things of sense, no grasping through speculative opinions, no grasping after mere rule and ritual, no grasping through theories of soul—then there being no grasping whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of grasping, be any appearance of becoming ?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of becoming, to wit, grasping.

7. ‘“*Taṇhā-paccayā upādānaṃ ti*” iti kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathā taṇhā-paccayā upādānaṃ. Taṇhā va hi Ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbathā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, seyyathidaṃ rūpa-taṇhā sadda-taṇhā gandha-taṇhā rasa-taṇhā phoṭṭhabba-taṇhā dhamma-taṇha, sabbaso taṇhāya asati taṇhā-nirodhā api nu kho upādānaṃ paññāyethāti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo upādānassa, yadidaṃ taṇhā.

7. ‘I have said that craving¹ is the cause of grasping. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no craving of any sort or kind whatever by any one for anything—that is to say, no craving for sights, sounds, odours, tastes, tangibles or ideas—then there being no craving whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of craving, be any appearance of grasping ?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, that is the basis, the genesis, the cause of grasping, to wit, craving.

8. ‘“*Vedanā-paccayā taṇhā ti*” iti kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā iminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ yathā vedanā-paccayā taṇhā. Vedanā va hi Ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbaṃ sabbatthā sabbaṃ kassaci kimhici, seyyathidaṃ cakkhu-samphassajā vedanā, sota-samphassajā

1. Tanhā. Usually translated ‘thirst,’ but not used to express *physical* thirst in the Pitakas. Dr. Neumann sometimes uses the equivalent (to craving)—*Begier*. Winternitz has *Gier*.

vedanā ghāna-samphassajā vedanā jivhā-samphassajā vedanā kāya-samphassajā vedanā mano-samphassajā vedanā, sabbaso vedanāya asati vedanā-nirodhā api nu kho taṇhā paññāyethāti?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ananda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo taṇhāya, yadidaṃ vedanā.

8. ‘I have said that sensation¹ is the cause of craving. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no sensation of any sort or kind whatever in any one for anything, that is to say, no sensations born of impressions received by way of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, or imagination,—then there being no sensation whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of sensation, be any appearance of craving?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of craving, to wit, sensation.’

9. ‘Iti kho² Ānanda vedanaṃ paṭicca taṇhā, taṇhaṃ paṭicca pariyesanā, pariyesanaṃ paṭicca lābho, lābhaṃ paṭicca vinicchayo, vinicchayaṃ paṭicca chanda-rāgo, chanda-rāgaṃ paṭicca ajjhosānaṃ, ajjhosānaṃ paṭicca pariggaho, pariggahaṃ paṭicca macchariyaṃ, macchariyaṃ paṭicca

1. Vedanā, which is usually, in the Pitakas, resolved into feeling, pleasurable, painful, neutral, is here explained in terms of sense-reaction to contact. Now the term ‘feeling,’ in its widest psychological meaning (namely, as consisting essentially in our *bring affected* or *acted upon*), is able to bear this connotation as well as the more emotional aspect. But since we have the alternative term ‘sensation,’ since Buddhaghosa himself emphasizes the different aspect: dvārato vedanā vuttā (‘the vedanā mentioned refers to sense,’ Vis. Mag.),—and since other translators are unanimous in using ‘sensation,’ this rendering is followed here. In Sum. Vil., Buddhaghosa characterizes the term in this passage as vipāka-vedanā, ‘resultant vedanā.’
2. B^m Gr K and pan’ etaṃ.

ārakkho,¹ ārakkhādhikaraṇaṃ daṇḍādāna-satthā-dāna-kalaha-viggaha-vivāda-tuvaṃtuva-pesuṇṇa-musāvādā aneke pāpakā akusalā dhammā sambhavanti.

9. 'Thus it is. Ānanda, that craving² conies into being because of sensation, pursuit because of craving, gain because of pursuit, decision³ because of gain, desire and passion⁴ because of decision, tenacity because of desire and passion, possession because of tenacity, avarice⁵ because of possession, watch and ward because of avarice, and many a bad and wicked state of things arising from keeping watch and ward over possessions:—blows and wounds, strife, contradiction and retort, quarrelling⁶, slander and lies.

10. '“Ārakkhādhikaraṇaṃ daṇḍādāna-satthādāna-kalaha-viggaha-vivāda-tuvaṃtuva-pesuṇṇa-musā-vādā aneke pāpakā akusalā dhammā sambhavantīti” iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā ārakkhādhikaraṇaṃ daṇḍādāna-satthādāna-kalaha-viggaha-vivāda-tuvaṃtuva-pesuṇṇa-musā-vādā aneme pāpakā akusalā dhammā sambhavanti. Ārakkho va hi Ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbam sabbathā sabbam kassaci,

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1. K adds ārakkhaṃ paticca. and runs on as at 10, omitting all the first passage.
 2. This and the nine following sections constitute a digression in the exposition of the chain which is thus explained by the Cy. Craving may be considered under two aspects:—There is the primordial craving which is the root or base of transmigration (vatta-mūla-bhūtā purima-tanhā), and there is craving as manifested in conduct (samudācāra-tanhā). The former, with the remaining links, is now put aside, 'as if one were putting a clamorous person out of the road, hitting him on the back and seizing his hair.' And the latter is discussed under the twofold subdivision of craving in the quest, and craving in the found quarry—seeking and gloating over.
 3. Vinicchayo, explained as deciding what to do with one's gains.
 4. Chandarāgo. From these selfish considerations volitions both weak and strong arise. Chando is weak passion (or lust, rāgo).
 5. Macchariram; the not suffering others to share.
 6. On tuvaṃtuvam, see E. Müller, 'Pali Grammar,' p. 38.

sabbaso ārakkhe asati ārakkha-nirodhā api nu kho daṇḍādāna-satthādāna-kalaha-viggaha-vivāda-tuvaṃtuva-pesuñña-musāvādā aneke pāpakā akusalā dhammā sambhaveyyun ti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo daṇḍādāna-satthādāna-kalaha-viggaha-vivāda-tuvaṃtuva-pesuñña-musāvādānaṃ anekesaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ sambhavāya, yadidaṃ ārakkho.

10. ‘I have said that many a bad and wicked state of things arising from keeping watch and ward over possessions, blows and wounds, quarrelling and the like, come into being. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no watch and ward of any sort or kind whatever by any one over anything, then there being no watch and ward whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of watch and ward, be any coming into being of those many bad and wicked states of things ?

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of blows and wounds, of strife, contradiction and retort, of quarrelling, slander and lies, to wit, the guarding of property.

11. ‘Macchariyaṃ paṭicca ārakkho ti’ itī kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā macchariyaṃ paṭicca ārakkho. Macchariyaṃ va hi Ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbam sabbathā sabbam kassaci kimhici, sabbaso macchariye asati macchariya-nirodhā api nu kho ārakkho paññā-yethāti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih¹ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo ārakkhassa, yadidaṃ macchariyaṃ.

1. S^d tvaṃtuva.

11. 'I have said that watch and ward is because of avarice. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no avarice of any sort or kind whatever in any one about anything, then there being no avarice whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of avarice, be any appearance of watch and ward ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of watch and ward, to wit, avarice.

12. "Pariggahaṃ paṭicca macchariyaṇaṃ" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā pariggahaṃ paṭicca macchariyaṃ. Pariggaho va hi ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbhaṃ sabbathā sabbhaṃ kassaci kimhici, sabbaso pariggahe asati pariggaha-nirodhā api nu kho macchariyaṃ paññāyethāti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

'Tasmāt ih' ānanda es' eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo macchariyassa, yadidaṃ pariggaho.

12. 'I have said that avarice is because of possession. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no possession of any sort or kind whatever by any one of anything, then there being no possessing whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of possession, be any appearance of avarice ?'

'There would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of avarice, to wit, possession.

13. "Ajjhosānaṃ paṭicca pariggaho ti" iti kho pan' etaṃ vuttaṃ, ta ānanda iminā p' etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā ajjhosānaṃ paṭicca pariggaho. Ajjhosānaṃ va¹ hi ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbhaṃ sabbathā sabbhaṃ kassaci kimhici, sabbaso ajjhosāne asati ajjhosāna-nirodhā api nu kho pariggaho paññāyethāti ?'

'No h' etaṃ bhante.'

1. S^{cd} Gr omī va ; B^m ca; K -nañ ca.

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo pariggahassa, yadidaṃ ajjhosānaṃ.

13. ‘I have said that tenacity is the cause of possession. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no tenacity of any sort or kind whatever shown by any one with respect to anything, then there being no tenacity whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of tenacity, be any appearance of possession ?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of possession, to wit, tenacity.

14. ‘“Chanda-rāgaṃ paṭicca ajjhosānaṃ ti” iti kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā chanda-rāgaṃ paṭicca ajjhosānaṃ. Chanda-rāgo va hi Ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbam sabbathā sabbam kassaci kimhici, sabbaso chanda-rāge asati chanda-rāga-nirodhā api nu kho ajjhosānaṃ paññā-yethāti?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo ajjhosānaṃ, yadidaṃ chanda-rāgo.

14. ‘I have said that tenacity is because of desire and passion. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no passion or desire of any sort or kind whatever in any one for anything, then there being no passion or desire whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of passion and desire, be any appearance of tenacity ?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of tenacity, to wit, desire and passion.

15. ‘“Vinicchayaṃ paṭicca chanda-rāgo ti” iti kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā vinicchayaṃ paṭicca chanda-rāgo. Vinicchayo va¹ hi Ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbam sabbathā sabbam kassaci kimhici, sabbaso vinicchaye asati vinicchaya-nirodhā api nu kho chanda-rāgo paññā-yethāti?’

1. B^m Gr K ca.

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo chanda-rāgassa, yadidaṃ vinicchayo.

15. ‘I have said that passion and desire is because of decision. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no purpose of any sort or kind whatever devised by any one for anything, then there being no purpose whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of purpose, be any appearance of passion and desire ?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of passion and desire, to wit, decision.

16. ‘“Lābhaṃ paṭicca vinicchayo ti” iti kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā lābhaṃ paṭicca vinicchayo. Lābho va hi Ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbhaṃ sabbathā sabbhaṃ kassaci kimhici, sabbaso lābhe asati lābha-nirodhā api nu kho vinicchayo paññāyethāti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo vinicchayassa, yadidaṃ lābho.

16. ‘I have said that decision is because of gain. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no gain of any sort or kind whatever by any one of anything, then, there being no gain whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of gain, be any appearance of decision ?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of decision, to wit, gain.

17. ‘“Pariyesanaṃ paṭicca lābho ti” iti kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā pariyesanaṃ paṭicca lābho. pariyesanā va hi Ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbhaṃ sabbathā sabbhaṃ kassaci kimhici, sabbaso pariyesanāya asati pariyesanā-nirodhā api nu kho lābho paññāyethāti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo lābhassa, yadidaṃ pariyesanā.

17. ‘I have said that gain is because of pursuit. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no pursuit of any sort or kind whatever by any one after anything, then there being no pursuit whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of pursuit, be any appearance of gain ?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of gain, to wit, pursuit.

18. ‘ “Taṇhaṃ paṭicca pariyesanā ti” kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p’ etaṃ pariyaṇena veditabbaṃ, yathā taṇhaṃ paṭicca pariyesanā. Taṇhā va hi Ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbam sabbathā sabbam kassaci kimhici, seyyathidaṃ kāma-taṇhā bhava-taṇhā vibhava-taṇhā, sabbaso taṇhāya asati taṇhā-nirodhā api nu kho pariyesanā paññāyethāti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo pariyesanāya, yadidaṃ taṇhā.

‘Iti kho Ānanda ime dve¹ dhammā dvayena² vedanāya eka-samosaraṇā³ bhavanti.

18. ‘I have said that pursuit is because of craving. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no craving of any sort or kind whatever by any one for anything— that is to say the lust of the flesh, the lust of life eternal and the lust of the life that now is⁴ —then, there

1. B^m omits.

2. S^c corrected from dveyena ; S^{dt} dveyena.

3. S^c-ṇaṃ.

4. See Rh. D. ‘Buddhist Suttas,’ p. 148, n. 4. On the three kinds the Cy. remarks, that the first, kāmatanhā, means craving for the five classes of sense-objects, the second is the passion characterizing Eternalism; the third, that characterizing Nihilism (see ‘Dialogues,’ I, pp. 27, 46).

being no craving whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of craving, be any appearance of pursuit ?

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of pursuit, to wit, craving.

‘So now, Ānanda, these two aspects [of craving] from being dual become united through the sensation [which conditions them]¹.’

19. ‘“Phassa-paccayā vedanā ti” iti kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā phassa-paccayā vedanā. Phasso va hi Ānanda nābhavissa sabbena sabbam sabbathā sabbam kassaci kimhici, seyyathidaṃ cakkhu-samphasso sota-samphasso ghāna-samphasso jivhā-samphasso kāya-samphasso mano-samphasso, sabbaso phasse asati phassa-nirodhā api nu kho vedanā paññāyethāti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo vedanāy yadidaṃ phasso.

19. ‘I have said that contact is the cause of sensation. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were there no contact of any sort or kind whatever between any one and anything whatever,—that is to say, no reaction² of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch or imagination—then, there being no contact whatever, would there, owing to this cessation of contact, be any appearance of sensation ?

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of sensation, to wit, contact.

20. ‘“Nāmarūpa-paccayā phosso ti” iti kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ, tad Ānanda iminā p’ etaṃ pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā nāmarūpa-paccayā phasso. Yehi Ānanda ākārehi yehi liṅgehi yehi nimittehi yehi uddesehi nāma-kāyassa paññātti

1. ‘These two aspects’ (dhammā), i.e. according to the Cy., the two aspects of craving specified above, p. 55. n. 1.

2. Samphasso.

hoti, tesu ākāresu tesu līngesu tesu nimittesu tesu uddesesu asati, api nu kho rūpa-kāye abhivacana-samphasso paññāyethāti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Yehi Ānanda ākārehi yehi līngehi yehi nimittehi yehi uddessehi rūpa-kāyassa paññatti hoti, tesū ākāresu tesu līngesu tesu nimittesu tesu uddesesu asati, api nu kho nāma-kāye paṭigha-samphasso paññāyethāti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Yehi Ānanda ākārehi yehi līngehi yehi nimittehi yehi uddessehi nāma-kāyassa ca rūpa-kāyassa ca paññatti hoti, tesu ākāresu tesu līngesu tesu nimittesu tesu uddesesu asati, api nu kho adhivacana-samphasso vā paṭigha-samphasso vā paññāyethāti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Yehi Ānanda ākārehi yehi līngehi yehi nimittehi yehi uddessehi nāma-rūpassa paññatti hoti, tesu ākāresu tesu līngesu tesu nimittesu tesu uddesesu asati, api nu kho phasso paññāyethāti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo phassassa, yadidaṃ nāma-rūpaṃ.

20. ‘I have said that name-and-form is the cause of contact. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Those modes, features, characters, exponents, by which the aggregate called ‘name’ manifests itself,—if all these were absent, would there be any manifestation of a corresponding verbal impression in the aggregate called [bodily] form ?’

1. Rūpakāye adhivacanasamphasso. This and its complement the paṭighasamphasso in ‘name’ (rendered ‘impression of sense-reaction’) occur in the Vibhanga, p. 6, as two modes of sañña, or perception, the former being described as refined, subtle, delicate, the latter as gross, coarse, thick. If the psychological comments of Buddhaghosa on these two expressions in the Sammoha-Vinodanī and the Sumangala Vilāsinī be a correct guide to the Buddha’s

‘There would not, lord.

‘Those modes, features, characters, exponents, by which the aggregate called [bodily] form manifests itself—if all these were absent, would there be any manifestation of an impression of sense-reaction¹ in the aggregate called name ?

‘There would not, lord.’

‘And if all those modes, etc., of both kinds were absent, would there be any manifestation of either verbal or sensory impression ?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘So that, if all those moods, etc., by which name-and-form manifests itself were absent, there would be no manifestation of contact ?’

‘There would not, lord.

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of contact², to wit, name-and-form.

utterance, then the passage under consideration reveals what would now be called a psycho-physiological standpoint of much interest. The ‘modes . . . exponents’ of ‘name’ are not physical expressions, but the processes of subjective consciousness,—feelings, perceptions, etc. The consciousness, bent back upon itself—*pitthivattakā hutvā—refoulée sur soi-même*—gives the name to what it finds. The modes, etc., of ‘form’ are the modes of sensation, by which ‘form manifests itself to the mind,— ‘at the mind-door,’ as the Cy. has it.

1. See Dh. S., translation, p. 172, *n.* 1, 183, *n.* 1.
2. i. e. of this twofold contact, as the Cy. points out, of mental object with mind-activity or mind, and of sense-object with sense-organ. Cf. Dh. S., §§ 3-5, and translation, p. 5, *n.* 2. The former mode of contact is there called *ceto-samphasso*, *manoviññānadhātu-samphasso*.

The Cy. sums up the relation between *nāmarūpa* and *phasso* as follows :—In the channels of the five senses, sight, hearing, etc., by means of visual and other objects, are the ‘form,’ while the [other four] *skandhas*, brought into relation therewith, are the ‘name.’ Thus in a fivefold way is name-and-form the cause of contact. Moreover in the channel of the sixth sense (*mano*, ideation) its

21. ‘ “Viññāṇa-paccayā nāma-rūpan ti” iti kho pan’ etam vuttam tad Ānanda iminā p’ etam pariyāyena vedittabham yathā viññāṇ- paccayā nāma-rūpaṃ. Viññāṇaṃ va hi Ānanda mātu kucchim¹ na okkamissatha, api nu kho nāma-rūpaṃ mātu kucchismiṃ samucchissathāti ?’

‘No h’ etam bhante.’

‘Viññāṇaṃ va hi Ānanda mātu kucchim² okkamitvā vokkamissatha, api nu kho nāma-rūpaṃ uttgattāya abhinibbattissathāti ?’

‘No h’ etam bhante.’

‘Viññāṇaṃ va hi Ānanda daharass’ eva sato vocchijjissatha kumārassa³ vā kumārikāya vā, api nu kho nāma-rūpaṃ vuddhim⁴ virūlhim vepullam āpajjissa-thāti ?’

‘No h’ etam bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etam nidānam esa samudayo esa paccayo nāma-rūpassa, yadidaṃ viññāṇaṃ.

21. ‘I have said that cognition is the cause of name-and-form. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were cognition not to descend⁵ into the

physical basis,— the heart—as well as such corporeal form as becomes its mental object, constitute ‘form,’ while the related states of consciousness induced, as well as such incorporeal form as becomes its mental object, constitute incorporeal form. Thus in saying that name-and-form is the cause of contact, we must also include contact that is mental (i.e. of ideas). Name-and-form is therefore in many ways the cause of contact. (On the heart, see Dh. S., translation, p. lxxviii; Pras. Up. III, 5.)

1. So SS. B^m Gr K kucchismiṃ.

2. B^m Gr K kucchismiṃ.

3. K kumārakassa.

4. K vuddhim.

5. The animistic implication adhering to this term (okkamissatha; ava, down + √kram, stride) would of course have no significance for Buddhist doctrine. Accordingly it is, in the Cy., paraphrased as follows :— ‘having entered, so to speak, and staying (vattamānaṃ = the Latin idiom, *versatum est*), by means of conception, were not to keep going on.’ The contradictory term, vokkamissatha,

mother's womb, would name-and-form become constituted therein¹ ?'

'It would not, lord.'

'Were cognition, after having descended into the mother's womb, to become extinct, would name-and-form come to birth in this state of being ?'

'It would not, lord.'

'Were cognition to be extirpated from one yet young, youth or maiden, would name-and-form attain to growth, development, expansion ?'

It would not, lord.'

'Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of name-and-form, to wit, cognition.

22. '“ Nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇan ti” iti kho pan' etam vuttam, tad Ānanda iminā p' etam pariyāyena veditabbaṃ, yathā nāmarūpa-paccayā viññāṇaṃ. Viññāṇaṃ va hi Ānanda nāma-rūpe patiṭṭhaṃ nālabhissatha² api nu kho āyati³ jāti-jarā-maraṇa⁴-dukkha-samudaya⁵-sambhavo paññāyethāti ?'

'become extinct,' rendered by Warren 'go away again,' is paraphrased nirujjhissatha, and only signifies that the advent is in some way annulled. There is no conception of cognition, as a unity, descending from outside into the womb like a ball into a bag. At Samyutta V, 283 we are told of happiness descending on a man, and at Mil. 299 of drowsiness descending into or on to a man. So okkantikā pīti is a standing expression for a particular sort of joy. In each of these cases the bliss, or drowsiness, or joy is supposed to develop from within ; and so also here of cognition.

1. Samucchissatha, derived by Dr. Konow (J.P. T.S., 1908) from sam + ✓murch, to thicken, and by him and Warren rendered 'to be consolidated.' So also Oldenberg 'Buddha⁵,' p. 259; and Windisch, Buddha's Geburt,' p. 39. The Cy. has kalalādi-bhāvena . . . missibhūtam hutvā, 'become mixed with the embryo in its different stages.'
2. B^m na labh^o.
3. B^m K āyatiṃ.
4. B^m Gr maraṇaṃ.
5. S^c Gr samudayo

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda es’ eva hetu etaṃ nidānaṃ esa samudayo esa paccayo viññāṇassa, yadidaṃ nāmarūpaṃ.

‘Ettāvatā kho Ānanda jāyetha¹ vā jīyetha² vā mīyetha³ vā cavetha vā uppajjetha⁴ vā, ettāvatā⁵ adhiva-cana-patho, ettāvatā nirutti-patho, ettāvatā paññatti-patho, ettāvatā paññāvacataṃ, ettāvatā vaṭṭaṃ vaṭṭati itthattaṃ paññāpanāya, yadidaṃ nāma-rūpaṃ saha viññā-ṇena.⁶

22. ‘I have said that name-and-form is the cause of cognition. Now in what way that is so, Ānanda, is to be understood after this manner. Were cognition to gain no foothold in name-and-form, would there then, in the coming years, be manifested that concatenation of birth, old age, death and the uprising of Ill?’

‘There would not, lord.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, just that is the ground, the basis, the genesis, the cause of cognition, to wit, name-and-form.

‘In so far only, Ānanda, can one be born, or grow old, or die, or dissolve, or reappear, in so far only is there any process⁷ of verbal expression, in so far only is there any process of explanation, in so far only is there any process of manifestation, in so far only is there any sphere of knowledge, in so far only do we go round the round of life up to our appearance amid the conditions of this world⁸—in as far as this is, to wit, name-and-form together with cognition.’

1. S^c jāyatha jāyatha.

2. S^d jīye; B^m jiyetha.

3. B^m miyetha.

4. B^m uppajjetha.

5. K adds kho.

6. S^c adds aññamaññaṃ paccayatāya vattati ; B^m adds aññamañña paccayatā pavattati.

7. Patho, literally, course, path.

8. Itthattaṃ paññāpanāya, lit. for the making manifest thus-ness. Warren’s rendering:—‘And it is all that is reborn to appear in the present shape,’—is beside the point, as well as free. Barely stated, the summary amounts to this:— ‘Only through cognition, language

23. 'Kittāvatā ca Ānanda attānaṃ paññāpento¹ paññāpeti ? Rūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda parittaṃ attānaṃ paññā-pento, paññāpeti "Rūpī me paritto attā ti." Rūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda anantaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento, paññāpeti "Rūpī me ananto attā ti." Arūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda parittaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento, paññāpeti "Arūpī me paritto attā ti"; arūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda anantaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento, paññāpeti "Arūpī me ananto attā ti."

23. 'Now with declarations concerning the soul, Ānanda, how many such declarations are there²? Either the soul is declared to have form and to be minute, in the words :— "My soul has form and is minute." Or the soul is declared to have form and to be boundless, in the words :— "My soul has form and is boundless." Or the soul is declared to be formless and minute, in the words :— "My soul is formless and minute." Or the soul is declared to be formless and boundless, in the words :— "My soul is formless and boundless."

24. 'Tatr' Ānanda yo so rūpiṃ parittaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, etarajo vā so rūpiṃ parittaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, tattha³-bhāviṃ vā so rūpiṃ parittaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, "Atathaṃ va pana

and bodily form do we live and express ourselves.' The little paragraph contains a great part of modern psychology in the germ-state.

1. K pannap^o *throughout*.
2. The doctrine of origin by way of cause having now been set forth, the following is, according to the Cy., an illustration of how 'this generation has become a tangled skein,' etc., as asserted above (§ 1). These different impressions as to the nature of the attā (āīman), soul, or mannikin, are, according to the Cy., deductions from Jhāna experience. For instance, in the first 'declaration,' 'he who, on gazing at a particular kasina' (one of ten kinds of objects for inducing meditative rapture), 'gets hold of an after-image where there is no expansion (avaddhitam), and of a consciousness that "it is the soul," declares that it, the soul, has form and is minute' —and so on. Comp. on the whole exposition above Vol. I, pp. 45 foll.
3. K tathā *throughout*.

santaṃ tathattāy upakappessāmīti” iti vā pan’ assa hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda rūpiṃ¹ parittattānudiṭṭhi anuseṭīti icc alaṃ² vacanāya.

‘Tatr’ Ānanda yo so rūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, etarahi vā so rūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, tattha-bhāviṃ vā rūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, “Atathaṃ vā pana santaṃ tathattāy upakappessāmīti” iti vā pan’ assa hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda rūpiṃ anantattānudiṭṭh anuseṭīti icc alaṃ vacanāya.

‘Tatr’ Anada yo so arūpiṃ parittaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, etarai vā so arūpiṃ parittaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, tattha-phāviṃ vā so arūpiṃ parit-taṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti.

... pe ... tattha-bhāviṃ vā so arūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti, “Atathaṃ vā pana santaṃ tathattāy upakappessāmīti” iti vā pan’ assa hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda arūpiṃ anantattānudiṭṭhi anuseṭīti icc alaṃ vacanāya.

‘Ettāvatā kho Ānanda attānaṃ paññāpento paññāpeti.
24. ‘And in each case, Ānanda, he who makes the declaration, makes it with regard either to the present life, or to the next life, or else his idea is :— “My soul not being like that, I will refashion it into that likeness.” That being so, Ānanda, we have said enough about the case of one who is given to the theories that the soul has form and is minute, . . . has form and is boundless, and so on.

‘In so many ways, Ānanda, are declarations made concerning the soul.

25. ‘Kittāvatā ca Ānanda attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti ? Rūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda parittaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti “Rūpī me paritto attā ti” ; rūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda anantaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti “Rūpī me ananto attā ti”; arūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda

1. B^m rūpī (arūpī) throughout.

2. B^m K iccālaṃ throughout.

parittam attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti “Arūpī me paritto attā ti”; arūpiṃ vā hi Ānanda anantaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti “Arūpī me ananto attā ti.”

25. ‘And in how many ways, Ānanda, when no declaration concerning the soul is made¹, is such declaring refrained from ? Either the soul is not declared to have form and to be minute, in the aforesaid formula, or the soul is not declared to have form and to be boundless, in the aforesaid formula, or the soul is not declared to be formless and minute, in the aforesaid formula, or the soul is not declared to be formless and boundless, in the aforesaid formula.

26. ‘Tatr’ Ānanda yo so rūpiṃ parittam attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, etarahi vā so rūpiṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, tattha-bhāviṃ vā so rūpiṃ patittam attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, “Atatham vā pana santaṃ tathattāya upakappessāmīti” iti vā pan’ assa na hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda rūpiṃ parittattānudiṭṭhi nānusetīti icc alam vacanāya.

‘Tatr’ Ānanda yo so rūpiṃ parittam attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, etarahi vā so rūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, tattha-bhāviṃ vā so rūpiṃ patittam attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, “Atatham vā pana santaṃ tathattāya upakappessāmīti” iti vā pan’ assa na hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda rūpiṃ anantattānudiṭṭhi nānusetīti icc alam vacanāya.

‘Tatr’ Ānanda yo so arūpiṃ parittam attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, etarahi vā so arūpiṃ parittam attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, tattha-bhāviṃ vā so arūpiṃ patittam attānaṃ na paññāpeto na paññāpeti, “Atatham vā pana santaṃ tathattāya upakappessāmīti” iti vā pan’ assa na

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1. ‘Who are they,’ asks the Cy., ‘who refrain ? All ariya-puggalā—noble-minded persons, learned persons:—those who know the Three Pitakas (by heart), or two, or one, or even only one of the Nikāyas, and can discourse thereon, and are of alert insight. These take the kasinas for what they are, and, for them, the constituents of mind (the four khandhas) are such and no more.’

hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda arūpiṃ parittattānudiṭṭhi nānuseṭṭhi icc alaṃ vacanāya.

‘Tatr’ Ānanda yo so arūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, etarahi vā so arūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti, tattha-bhāviṃ vā so arūpiṃ anantaṃ attānaṃ na paññāpeto na paññāpeti, “Atathaṃ vā pana santaṃ tathattāya upakappessāmīti” iti vā pan’ assa na hoti. Evaṃ santaṃ kho Ānanda arūpiṃ anantattānudiṭṭhi nānuseṭṭhi icc alaṃ vacanāya.

‘Ettāvatā kho Ānanda attānaṃ na paññāpento na paññāpeti.

26. ‘And in each case, Ānanda, he who refrains from making the declaration, does not make it with regard either to the present life, or to the next life, nor is it his idea:— “My soul not being like that, I will refashion it into that likeness.” That being so, Ānanda, we have said enough about the case of those who are not given to theories respecting the form and dimensions of the soul.

‘In so many ways, Ānanda, is there a refraining from declarations concerning the soul.’

27. ‘Kittāvatā ca Ānanda attānaṃ samanupassamāno samanupassati ? Vedanaṃ vā hi Ānanda attānaṃ samanupassamāno samanupassati. “Vedanā me attā” ti. “Na h’eva kho me vedanā attā, appaṭisaṃvedano me attā” ti, iti vā hi Ānanda attānaṃ samanupassamāno samanupassati. “Na h’eva kho me vedanā attā, no pi appaṭisaṃvedano me¹ attā, attā me vediyati² vedanā-dhammo hi me attā” ti iti vā hi Ānanda attānaṃ samanupassamāno samanupassati.

27. ‘And under how many aspects, Ānanda, is the soul regarded ? The soul is regarded³ either as feeling, in the words:—

1. S^{ct} omit. So Do SS in the repetition, § 31.

2. K vedayati throughout.

3. These three forms of the ‘individuality-heresy’ amount to an interesting and metaphysically more discriminating statement of the oft-quoted theories identifying the soul or mannikin with one or other of the five Khandhas. (See Vin. I, 13 (‘Vin. Texts,’ I, 100);

“My soul is feeling”—or the opposite, in the words :— “Nay, my soul is not feeling, my soul is not sentient” ; or again :— “Nay, my soul is not feeling, nor is it non-sentient; my soul *has* feelings, it has the property of sentience.” Under such aspects as these is the soul regarded.

28. ‘Tatr’ Ānanda yo so evam āha “Vedanā me attā” ti, so evam assa vacanīyo “Tisso kho imā āvuso vedanā, sukhā vedanā dukkhā vedanā adukkha-m-asukhā vedanā. Imāsaṃ tvam¹ tissannaṃ vedanānaṃ katamaṃ attano samanupassasīti²?”

‘Yasmiṃ Ānanda samaye sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, n’eva tasmīṃ samaye dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, na adukkha-m-asukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, sukhaṃ yeva tasmīṃ samaye vedanaṃ vedeti. Yasmiṃ Ānanda samaye dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, n’eva tasmīṃ samaye sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, na adukkha-m-asukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, dukkhaṃ yeva tasmīṃ samaye vedanaṃ vedeti. Yasmiṃ Ānanda samaye adukkha-m-asukhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, n’eva tasmīṃ samaye sukhaṃ vedeti, na dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vedeti, adukkha-m-asukhaṃ yeva tasmīṃ samaye vedanaṃ vedeti.

28. ‘Herein, Ānanda, to him who affirms :— “My soul is feeling”—answer should thus be made :— “My friend, feeling is of three kinds. There is happy feeling, painful feeling, neutral feeling. Of these three feelings, look you, which do you consider your soul is ?”

‘When you feel a happy feeling, Ānanda, you do not feel a painful feeling, or a neutral feeling ; you feel just a happy feeling. And when you feel a painful feeling, you do not feel a happy feeling, or a neutral feeling, but just a painful feeling. And

M. I, 138, 300; S. III, 66; IV, 34, etc.) According to the Cy., the second assertion is the identification with the body (rūpakkhanda-vatthukā), which is usually placed first; the third assertion includes identification of the soul with the other three Khandhas—with, let us say, thinking and volition.

1. B^m Gr K imāsaṃ kho tvam; S^{cd} omit tvam.
2. S^{cd}-passasīti.

when you feel a neutral feeling, you do not then feel a happy feeling or a painful feeling ; you feel just a neutral feeling.

29. 'Sukhā pi kho Ānanda vadanā aniccā saṃkhatā paṭiccasamuppannā khaya-dhammā vaya-dhammā virāga-dhammā nirodha-dhammā. Dukkā pi pho Ānanda vedanā aniccā saṃkhatā paticcasamuppannā khaya-dhammā vaya-dhammā virāga-dhammā nirodha-dhammā Adukkha-m-asukhā pi kho Ānanda vedanā aniccā saṃkhatā paticcasamu-pannā khaya-dhammā vaya-dhammā virāga-dhammā nirodha-dhammā. Tassa sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamānassa¹ "Eso me attā" ti hoti, tassā yeva sukhāya vedanāya nirodhā "Vyāgā² me attā" ti hoti. Dukkhaṃ vedana'ṇ vediyamānassa "Eso me attā ti" hoti, tassā yeva dukkhāya vedanāya nirodhā "Vyāgā me attā" ti hoti. Adukkha-m-asukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamānassa "Eso me attā" ti hoti, tassā yeva adukkha-m-asukhāya vedanāya nirodhā "Vyāgā me attā" ti hoti.

'Iti so diṭṭhe va dhamme aniccaṃ sukha-dukkha-vokiṇṇaṃ uppāda-vaya-dhammaṃ attānaṃ samanupassa-māno samanupassati yo so evam āha "Vedanā me attā" ti. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda etena p' etaṃ nakkhamati "Vedanā me attā" ti samanupassitum.

29. 'Moreover, Ānanda, happy feeling is impermanent, a product³, the result of a cause or causes, liable to perish, to pass away, to become extinct, to cease. So too is painful feeling. So too is neutral feeling. If when experiencing a happy feeling one thinks :— "This is my soul,"—when that same happy feeling ceases, one will also think :— "My soul has departed." So too when the feeling is painful, or neutral. Thus he who says :—

1. K vedaya^o.

2. B^m K byāgā.

3. Saṅkhata, con-fected, composite, the resultant of conditions. The soul, according to the then current animism, was considered to be unique, not a product, not causally modifiable through temporal or spatial conditions. The commentary explains saṅkhata as 'that which, having- through such and such causes (lit. doings) come to-gether, is made.

“My soul is feeling,”—regards, as his soul, something which, in this present life, is impermanent, is blended of happiness and pain, and is liable to begin and to end. Wherefore, Ānanda, it follows that this aspect :— “My soul is feeling” —does not commend itself.

30. ‘Tatr’ Ānanda yo so evam āha “Na h’eva kho me vedanā attā, appaṭisaṃvedano me attā” ti, so evam assa vacanīyo “Yattha pan’ āvuso sabbaso vedayitaṃ n’atthi,¹ api nu kho tattha ‘Asmîti’ siyâti?”

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’²

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda etena p’ etaṃ nakkhamati “Na h’ eva kho ke³ vedanā attā, appaṭisaṃvedano me attā” ti samanupassitaṃ.

30. ‘Herein again, Ānanda, to him who affirms :— “Nay, my soul is not feeling, my soul is not sentient,” —answer should thus be made :— “My friend, where there is no feeling of anything, can you there say:— ‘I am’ ?” ’

‘You cannot, lord⁴.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, it follows that this aspect:— “Nay, my soul is not feeling, my soul is not sentient,”

—does not commend itself.

31. ‘Tatr’ Ānanda yo so evam āha “Na n’eva kho me vedanā attā, no pi appaṭisaṃvedano me⁵ attā, attā me vediyati, vedanā-dhammo hi me attā” ti, so evam assa vacanīyo “Vedanā va hi āvuso sabbena sabbam sabbathā sabbam aparisesā nirujjheyyaṃ, sabbaso vedanāya asati vedanā-nirodhā api nu kho tattha ‘Ayam⁶ aham asmîti’ siyâti ?”

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante’

1. K atthi

2. So all MSS. K Sum.

3. S^{cd} omit

4. All the MSS. agree in putting- this answer in the mouth of Ānanda, instead of in that of the soul-theorist. And it would be quite like him to rush in, in this way, with his opinion. And so also below.

5. SS omit (See § 27).

6. K omits ayam.

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda etana p’ etaṃ nakkhamati “Na h’eva kho me vedanā attā, no pi appaṭisaṃvedano¹ attā, attā me vedivati, vedanā-dhammo hi me attā” ti samanupassitum.

31. ‘Herein again, Ānanda, to him who affirms :— “Nay, my soul is not feeling, nor is it non sentient; my soul has feelings, it has the property of sentience,”—answer should thus be made :— “My friend, were feeling of every sort or kind to cease absolutely, then there being, owing to the cessation thereof, no feeling whatever, could one then say :— ‘I myself am’ ?” ’

‘No, lord, one could not.’

‘Wherefore, Ānanda, it follows that this aspect:— “Nay, my soul is not feeling, nor is it non-sentient ; my soul has feelings, it has the property of sentience,”— does not commend itself.

32. ‘Yato kho Ānanda bhikkhu n’eva vedanaṃ attānaṃ samanupassati, no pi appaṭisaṃvedanaṃ attānaṃ samanupassati, no pi “Attā me² vediyati, vedanā-dhammo hi me attā” ti samanupassati, so evaṃ asamanupassanto³ na kiñci loke upādiyati,⁵ anupādiyaṃ⁶ na paritassati, aparitassaṃ paccattaṃ yeva parinibbāyati,⁷ “Khīṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, kataṃ karaṇiyaṃ, nāparaṃ itthattāyāti” pajānāti. Evaṃ vimutta-cittaṃ,⁸ kho Ānanda bhikkhuṃ yo evaṃ vadeyya “Hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā” ti,⁹ iti ’ssa¹⁰ diṭṭhīti tad akallaṃ. “Hoti ca na ca hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā” ti,⁹ iti ’ssa diṭṭhīti tad akallaṃ. “N’eva hoti na na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā”⁹ iti ’ssa diṭṭhīti tad akallaṃ. “N’eva

1. B^m inserts me.

2. MSS. K. omit me.

3. B^m na sam^o.

4. S^t B^m add ca.

5. K upādiy^o.

6. K -yañ ca.

7. B^m -yissati.

8. SS vimuttaṃ ; K omits cittaṃ.

9. B^m K omits ti.

10. K omits sã, and onwards.

hoti na na hoti Tathāgato param maraṇā” ti, iti ’ssa diṭṭhī ti tad akallaṃ. ¹Taṃ kissa hetu ? Yāvat’ Ānanda adbhivacanaṃ yāvatā adbhivacana-patho, ²yāvatā nirutti² yāvatā nirutti-patho, yāvatā paññatti yāvatā paññatti-patho, yāvatā paññā³ yāvatā paññāvacaraṃ, yāvatā vaṭṭaṃ⁴ yāvatā vaṭṭaṃ⁵ vaṭṭati,⁶ tad abhiññā vimutto bhikkhu, tad abhiññā vimutto bhikkhu⁷ na jānāti na passati iti ’ssa diṭṭhīti tad akallaṃ.

32. ‘Now when a brother, Ānanda, does not regard soul under these aspects,—either as feeling, or as non-sentient, or as having feeling,—then he, thus refraining from such views, grasps at nothing whatever in the world-, and not grasping he trembles not ; and trembling not, he by himself attains to perfect peace.⁸ And he knows that birth is at an end, that the higher life has been fulfilled, that what had to be done had been accomplished, and that after this present world there is no beyond !

‘And of such a brother, Ānanda, whose heart is thus set free, if any one should say :— “His creed is that an Arahant⁹ goes on after death”—that were absurd. Or : “His creed is that an Arahant does not go on . . . does, and yet does not, go on . . . neither goes on nor goes not on after death”—all that were absurd. Why is that ? Because, Ānanda, whatever verbal expres-

1. S^d B^m Gr K taṃ kissa.

2-2. K *omits*.

3. K paññāpanaṃ.

4. S^d vaddhaṃ, K *omits* yāv—taṃ.

5. S^c, B^m *omit* ; S^d vaddhaṃ.

6. S^d vaddhati ; K *adds* tāvatā vaṭṭaṃ vaṭṭati.

7. MSS. -ttaṃ bhikkhum.

8. Parinibbāyati. Usually rendered ‘he attains complete Nirvana’ or ‘attains Parinirvāna,’ or even ‘enters Nirvana.’ The term is applied to the death of an Arahant, but it is also used to express perfected tranquillity, as in the case of a horse (M. I, 446), or of a man (M. I, 251; S. III, 54). Tradition, as represented by the Cy., did not associate the hour of death with the term, for it says, ‘Having thus completely parinibbāna-ed (by extinguishing all evil) he goes on to reflect, “Birth is at an end,”’ etc.

9. Tathāgata; perhaps it merely means ‘mortal.’ See M. I, 542.

sion there is and whatever system of verbal expression, whatever explanation there may be, and whatever system of explanation, whatever communication is possible and whatever system of communication, whatever knowledge there is and whatever sphere of knowledge, whatever round of life and how far the round is traversed,— by mastery over all this that brother is set free. But to say, of a brother who has been so set free by insight :— “He knows not, he sees not” —that were absurd!¹

33. ²“Satta kho imā Ānanda viññāṇaṭṭhitiyo, dve ca āyatanāni. Katamā satta ? Sant’ Ānanda sattā nānatta-kāyā nānatta-saññino, seyyathā pi manussā ekacce ca devā ekacce ca vinipātikā. Ayaṃ paṭhamāviññāṇaṭṭhiti.

‘Sant’ Ānanda sattā nāntta-kāyā ekatta-saññino, seyyathā pi devā Brahma-kāyikā paṭhamābhiniḃbattā.³ Ayaṃ dutiyā viññāṇaṭṭhiti.

‘Sant’ Ānanda sattā ekatta-kāyā nānatta-saññino, seyyathā pi devā Ābhassarā. Ayaṃ dutiyā viññāṇaṭṭhiti.

‘Sant’ Ānanda sattā ekatta-kāyā ekatta-saññino, seyyathā pi devā Subhakiṇṇā.⁴ Ayaṃ catutthā⁵ viññāṇaṭṭhiti.

‘Sant’ Ānanda satta sabbaso rūpasaññānaṃ samatik-kamā⁶ patigha-saññānaṃ atthagamā⁷ nānatta-saññānaṃ amanasikārā “Ananto ākāso” ti ākāśānañcāyatanūpagā. Ayaṃ pañcamī viññāṇaṭṭhiti.

1. The argument in this paragraph seems to have appealed in a special degree to the early Buddhists, for it has been made the basis of a whole Sutta, the Jāliya (which is itself repeated, occurring first as part of the Mahāli, and then again separately). The main point there emphasized is that the converted man will have gone so far beyond them that all such questions will have ceased to interest him. The two other Suttas have been translated in full in Vol. I; but see especially pp. 200-5.

2. See A. iv. 39.

3. K adds catu-apāyikā sattā ca.

4. K -kiṇṇā. So A. ii. 233 ; iv. 40 ; -kiṇṇā at M. i. 2, 289, 329.

5. B^m -tthi.

6. So SS B^m Gr K ; A. iv. 40 -kamma.

7. B^m K A. iv. 40 atthaṅg^o (and below).

‘Sant’ Ānanda satta sabbaso ākāśānañcāyatanam sam-
atikkamma¹ “Anataṃ viññāṇan” ti viññāṇaṇcāyatanūpagā.
Ayaṃ chaṭṭhā² viññāṇaṭṭhiti.

‘Sant’ Ānanda sattā sabbaso viññāṇaṇcāyatanam sam-
atikkamma “N’atthi kiñcīti” ākiñcaññāyatanūpagā. Ayaṃ
sattamī³ viññāṇaṭṭhiti.

‘Asaññasattāyatanam⁴ nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatanam eva
dutiyaṃ.

33. ‘There are seven resting-places for Cognition⁵, Ānanda,
and two Spheres⁶. Which are the seven ?

‘There are beings differing in body and differing in intel-
ligence⁷, for instance, human beings and certain of the gods and
some of those in purgatory. This is the first resting-place for
Cognition.

‘There are beings differing in body but of uniform intel-
ligence, for instance, the gods of the Brahma-heaven who are

1. So SS B^m Gr K.

2. B^m chaṭṭhī.

3. K -mā.

4. S^{dt} Gr asaṇñā^o; Kasaṇñī^o, with asaṇñā^o in note.

5. The Sangīti Sutta (‘Dialogues,’ III) and A. IV, 39, 40 also name
seven. S. III, 54 gives only four.

6. The Pāli thus rendered is thiti and āyatanam respectively. The Cy.
paraphrases the first by ‘this is an equivalent for a setting-up
(patitthāna) of viññāṇa.’ Patitthānam is the affording of a standing-
place, resting-place, *locus standi*, or foothold for. *Thiti* again is the
term for the central, static moment in any process, contrasting with
two others in the same category, viz. inception and dying-out. ‘Rest’
is not satisfactory, but no English term suggests itself which ex-
actly meets the requirement. For ‘sphere’ the paraphrase is sim-
ply:— ‘nivāsanatthānam,’ dwelling-place, . . . ‘These are included
to exhaust [the contents] of the Cycle (samsāra), for the Cycle goes
not on merely by way of viññāṇa-resting places.’

7. No two human beings, says the Cy., are ever exactly alike; even in
twins that are undistinguishable in likeness of appearance and com-
plexion, there will be some difference in look, speech, gait or
carriage.

there reborn by means of the First [Jhāna]¹. This is the second resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings uniform in body and differing in intelligence, for instance, the Luminous Gods². This is the third resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings uniform in body and of uniform intelligence, for instance, the All-Lustrous Gods³. This is the fourth resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings who, by having passed wholly beyond all consciousness of form, by the dying out of the consciousness of sense-reaction, by having turned the attention away from any consciousness of the manifold, and become conscious only of "space as infinite," are dwellers in the realm of infinite space⁴. This is the fifth resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings who, by having passed wholly beyond the realm of infinite space, and become conscious only of "cognition as infinite," are dwellers in the realm of infinite cognition. This is the sixth resting-place for Cognition.

'There are beings who, by having passed wholly beyond the realm of infinite cognition, and become conscious only that "there is nothing whatever," are dwellers in the realm of nothingness. This is the seventh resting-place for Cognition.

'The Sphere of beings without consciousness⁵.

'Next to that, the Sphere of beings who neither have consciousness nor yet have it not⁶.

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1. Cf. Dh. S., §§ 160 ff., 266 ff.; transl., pp. lxxxvii-ix, 43 ff., 72 ff.
 2. Ranking sixth in the heavens of Rūpabrahmaloka.
 3. Ranking ninth in the same.
 4. The Cy. refers the inquirer to the Vis. Mag. for further comment. Cf. next Sutta, and Dh. S., §§ 265-8; trans., pp. 71-5.
 5. Saññā, perhaps awareness would be a better rendering.
 6. The Cy. here includes cognition with awareness, the extreme tenuity or refinement (*sukhumattam*) of both being in this sphere such that it is as a zero point between presence and absence of either. See passage last cited in previous note.

34. ‘Tatra’ Ānanda yāyaṃ paṭhamā viññāṇaṭṭhiti nānatta-kāyā nānatta-saññino, seyyathā pi manussā ekacce ca devā ekacce ca vinipātikā, yo nu kho Ānanda tañ ca panānāti, tassā ca samudayaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca atthagamaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca assādaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca ādīnavaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca nissaraṇaṃ pajānāti, kallaṃ nu kho¹ tena tad abhinanditun ti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

Tatra pe² . . .

‘Tatra’ Ānanda yāyaṃ sattamī viññāṇaṭṭhiti sabbaso viññāṇaṇcāyatanam samatikkamma³ ‘N’atthi kiñcīti’ ākiñcaññāyatanūpagā, yo nu kho Ānanda tañ ca pajānāti, tassā ca samudayaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca atthagamaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca assādaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca ādīnavaṃ pajānāti, tassā ca nissaraṇaṃ pajānāti, kallaṃ nu kho⁴ tena tad abhinanditun ti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tatra’ Ānanda yaṃ idaṃ asaṇṇasattāyatanam,⁵ yo nu kho Ānanda tañ ca pajānāti, tassa ca samudayaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca atthagamaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca assādaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca ādīnavaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca nissaraṇaṃ pajānāti, kallaṃ nu kho⁶ tena tad abhinanditun ti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Tatra’ Ānanda yaṃ idaṃ nevasaṇṇā-nāsaṇṇāyatanam, yo nu kho Ānanda tañ ca pajānāti, tassa ca samudayaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca atthagamaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca assādaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca ādīnavaṃ pajānāti, tassa ca nissaraṇaṃ pajānāti, kallaṃ nu kho⁷ tena tad abhinanditun ti ?’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

1. S^{ct} K omit.

2. B^m pa down to tatr’ Ānanda yaṃ idaṃ (next par).

3. S^{ct} Gr -kamā.

4. SS Gr omit.

5. S^d asaṇṇī^o; S^t Gr asaṇṇā^o.

6. SS omit.

7. SS K omit.

‘Yato kho Ānanda bikkhu imāsañ ca sattannaṃ viñ-
ñāṇaṭṭhitinaṃ imesañ ca dvinnaṃ āyatanānaṃ samudayañ
ca atthagamañ ca assādañ ca ādīnavañ ca nissaraṇaṃ ca
yathābhūtaṃ veditvā anupādā vimutto hoti, ayaṃ vuccati
Ānanda¹ bhikkhu paññā-vimutto.

34. ‘Now there, Ānanda—in that first resting-place for Cognition, of differing bodies and differing intelligences,—to wit, human beings and certain of the gods and certain of those in purgatory—think you that he who both knows what that state is, and how it comes to be, and how it passes away,—knows too the pleasures of it, and the miseries² of it, and the way of escape from it, —think you that it were fitting for such an one to take delight in it ?’

‘Nay, lord.’

‘And in those other six resting-places for Cognition, and in those two Spheres,—think you that he who both knows them for what they are, how they come to be, and how they pass away, knows too the pleasures of them, and the miseries of them, and the way of escape from them,—think you that it were fitting for such an one to take delight in them ?’

‘Nay, lord.’

‘But, Ānanda, when once a brother has understood as they really are the coming to be and the passing away, the pleasures and the miseries of, and the way of escape from, these seven resting-places for Cognition, and these two Spheres, that brother,

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1. B^m pa down to tatr’ Ānanda yam idaṃ (*nest par.*)
 2. Or the peril of it (ādīnava), i.e. the thought of its impermanence, changeableness, etc. Cy.
 3. This standpoint of insight into the limitations of all sentient experience when estimated according to its emotional or hedonistic values is claimed by the Buddha as a monopoly of his own doctrine, distinguishing it from other ethical systems. See his graphic exposition in the Great Sutta on the Body of Ill; and the passages quoted under Vathābhūtaṃ in the Samyutta Index (vol. vi).

by being purged of grasping, becomes free. And then, Ānanda, he is called Freed-by-Reason¹.

35. 'Aṭṭha kho ime Ānanda, vimokhā.² Katame aṭṭha ? Rūpī rūpāni passati. Ayaṃ paṭhamo vimokho.

'Ajjhataṃ arūpa-saññī bahiddhā rūpāni passati. Ayaṃ dutiyo vimokho.

'Subhan' t' eva adhimutto hoti. Ayaṃ tatiyo vimokho.

'Sabbaso rūpa-saññānaṃ samatikkamā³ paṭigha-saññānaṃ atthagamā nānatta-saññānaṃ amanasikārā "Ananto ākāso" ti ākāśānañcāyatanam upasampajja viharati. Ayaṃ catuttho vimokho.

'Sabbaso ākāśānañcāyatanam samatikkamma "Anan-taṃ viññānaṃ" ti viññānañcāyatanam upasampajja viharati. Ayaṃ pañcama vimokho.

'Sabbaso viññānañcāyatanam samatikkamma "N'atthi kiñcīti" ākiñcaññāyatanam upasampajja viharati. Ayaṃ chaṭṭho vimokho.

'Sabbaso ākiñcaññāyatanam samatikkamme nevasa-ññānāsaññāyatanam upasampajja viharati. Ayaṃ sattama vimokho.

'Sabbaso nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatanam samatikkamma saññā⁴-vedayita⁵-nirodham upasampajja viharati. Ayaṃ aṭṭhamo vimokho. Ime kho Ānanda aṭṭha vimokhā.

1. Paññā vimutto, i.e. says the Cy. 'emancipated without the aid of the following eight grades of deliverance' —by native insight. So PP. 14, 73. Here, as throughout, when paññā is rendered by 'reason,' it is but a *pis-aller*. Paññā is really intellect as conversant with, engaged upon, general truths, and thus comes out as approximately Kant's *Vernunft*, and Reason as distinct from Understanding, a distinction very general in English and European philosophy. See Dh. S., transl., p. 17, n. 2. By 'emancipated' the Cy. understands 'having effected the non-perpetuity (in rebirths) of name and form.'
2. B^m Gr K vimokkhā, and throughout; SS only kh. Cp. xvi. 3, 33.
3. S^c K-kamma; S^{dt} Childers, M.P.S. p. 30, B^m Gr-kamā (Gr in note-kamma).
4. SS saññam; Child. B^m K saññā.
5. S^t K vedayitam.

35. 'Now these, Ānanda, are the eight stages of Deliverance¹. Which are they ?

'Having one's self external form, one sees [these] forms. This is the first stage.

'Unaware of one's own external form, one sees forms external to one's self. This is the second stage.

' "Lovely!"—with this thought one becomes intent. This is the third stage.

'Passing wholly beyond² perceptions of form, all perceptions of sense-reaction dying away, heedless of all perceptions of the manifold, conscious of space as infinite, one enters into and abides in the sphere of space regarded as infinite. This is the fourth stage.

'Passing wholly beyond the sphere of space regarded as infinite, conscious of reason as infinite, one enters into and abides

1. Vimokhā. See the following Sutta, p. III of the text; A. IV, 306, 349; Dh. S., §§ 248-50; transl., pp. 63-5. Buddhaghosa's comments on the last citation are approximately the same as those on the first three stages here given. Here, too, he explains Release as deliverance from adverse conditions, so that the attention is sustained with all the detachment and confidence felt by the little child borne on his father's hip, his limbs dangling, and no need felt to clutch. In the first stage, Jhāna is induced by intense concentration on the *colour* of some bodily feature. In the second, the kasina is an object external to one's body. In the third, consciousness of an uprising glamour (around or superseding the kasina) of perfectly pure colour or lustre is meant. The *aesthetic* suffusion was held to quicken the sense of emancipation from *morally* adverse conditions analogously to that perception of ethical rapture induced by the Four Divine or Sublime Moods, described in the Mahā Sudassana Sutta. The Patisambhidāmagga is again referred to by the Cy., viz. II, p. 39, in this connexion. The curious thing is that in reply to the question, "How is there release thus :—" "How lovely it is—with this thought he becomes intent ?"—the reply is simply and solely the Formula of the Four Sublime Moods.
2. The 4th-7th stages were afterwards known as the Four Āruppa Jhānas, or the four Jhānas to be cultivated for attaining to the Formless Heavens (see Dh. S., §§ 265 ff.).

in the sphere of cognition regarded as infinite. This is the fifth stage

‘Passing wholly beyond the sphere of reason regarded as infinite, conscious of there being nothing whatever, one enters into and abides in the sphere of nothingness. This is the sixth stage.

‘Passing wholly beyond the sphere of nothingness, one enters into and abides in the sphere of “neither-consciousness-nor-unconsciousness.” This is the seventh stage.

‘Passing wholly beyond the sphere of “neither-ideation-nor-non-ideation,” one enters into and abides in a state of suspended perception and feeling. This is the eighth stage.

‘These, Ānanda, are the eight stages of Deliverance.

36. ‘Yato kho Ānanda bhikkhu ime aṭṭha vimokhe anulomam pi samāpajjati, paṭilomam pi samāpajjati, anu-loma-paṭilomam pi samāpajjati, yatth’ icchakaṃ yad icchakaṃ yāvad¹ icchakaṃ samāpajjati pi vuṭṭhāti pi,² āsavānaṃ ca khayā anāsavaṃ cetovimuttiṃ paññ-vimuttiṃ diṭṭhe va dhamme sayama bhiññā bhikkhu ubhato-bhāga-vimutto, imāya ca Ānanda ubhato-bhāga-vimuttiyā aññā ubhato-bhāga-vimutti uttaritarā vā paṇītatarā vā n’ atthīti.’

Idam avoca Bhagavā. Attamano āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandīti.

36. ‘Now when once a brother, Ānanda, has mastered these eight stages of Deliverance in order, and has also mastered them in reverse order, and again, in both orders consecutively, so that he is able to lose himself in, as well as to emerge from, any one of them, whenever he chooses, wherever he chooses, and for as long as he chooses—when too, by rooting out the Taints, he enters into and abides in that emancipation of heart, that emancipation of the intellect which he by himself, here in this present world, has come to know and realize—then such a brother,

1. B^m K yāvat.

2. S^d samāpajjātīpi uṭṭhātīpi; B^m vuṭṭhāya tiṭṭhati pi.

Ānanda, is called “Free-in-both-ways¹.” And, Ānanda, any other Freedom-in-both-ways higher and loftier than this Freedom-in-both-ways there is not!’

Thus spake the Exalted One. Glad at heart the Venerable Ānanda delighted in his words.

Maha-Nidāna-Sutta²

Here endeth the Mahā-Nidāna-Sutta

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1. Ubhato-bhāga-vimutto, i.e. freed both by Reason and also by the intellectual discipline of the Eight Stages. According to a scholastic elaboration of the term, emanating from the Giri-vihāra of the great Loha-pāsāda (or Brazen Palace), ‘both ways’ meant the Four Jhānas and the Āruppa-jhānas. How this can be reconciled with this paragraph—confirmed by PP. 14 and 73 and by M. I, 477-8—is not stated. ‘Taints’ are the Four Asavas, rendered ‘Intoxicants’ above, p. 28, n. 2.
 2. B^m adds *niṭṭhitam dutiyaṃ ; K- suttaṃ niṭṭhitam dutiyaṃ.*

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta

The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta is One of the most important suttas as it furnished us with a highly interesting historical narrative of the peregrination of the Buddha during the last year of his mortal existence. The several sets of the conditions or welfare of a community taught by the Buddha to the mendicants bespeak the developed ideas of perfect organisations, in the history of social, political or religious thought at the time of Gautam Buddha. In the third chapter of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, Buddha gives us a description of his visit to vaisālī. The figurative expressions as used by the Buddha, have become a fruitful soil for the outgrowth of superstitions and misunderstandings.

The Sixth chapter of the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta records the most important of all events affecting the fate of Buddhism. In it we find the passing away of the founder of the faith. The wailing, described in chapter five, of men and women of countries for and near on hearing that the exalted one would pass away too soon, and the hower with which the relics of the Buddha were received and cairns made over them, as sound in chapter six, get to show how deeply were the people moved by preaching and personality of the Buddha. The last word of the Tālāgata viz., "Decay is inherent in all component things. Work out your salvation with diligence," strikes the key note of the Buddha's philosophy and mission.

This Sutta further deals with Vassakāra Brāhmaṇa's visit to the Buddha, seven conditions of welfare of the Bhikkhusaṅgha,

lineage of faith eight causes of earth quakes, eight causes of subduing others, Buddha's visit to cunda, four places of pilgrimage of any faithful householder, efficiency of erecting dhātucaityas, former greatness of kusināra, visit to subhadra to Buddha and his conversation with the Lord, passing away of the Lord, homage of the mallas, cremation of the Buddha's dead body, quarrel over the relics, the amicable distribution of relics by Dona and erecting the stūpas over them. It further narrates the fact that when the Blessed one heard that Ajatasattu of Magadha determined to approach the Vajjians, he remarked that so long as the Vajjians fulfilled the seven conditions of welfare, there would not be any danger for them. The Buddha then went to Ambalaṭṭhikā. Here there were talks about Sīla, Samādhi, etc. The Master then went to Nālandā where he stayed as long as he liked. Sāriputta met him here.

The upāsakas (lay disciples) of Pāṭaligāma received the Buddha cordially. The Buddha mentioned the five disadvantages for not observing the precepts by householders and also five advantages for observing precepts by householders. The Blessed one accepted the invitation of two ministers of Magadha, Sunīdha and vassakāra, who fed him together with the assembly of monks. He then went to kotigāma and addressed the monks on the four Noble Truths. Further he proceeded to Nādikā where he dwelt at the Ginjakā abode. He then came to vesālī where he accepted the invitation of the famous courtesan, Ambapālī. While the Buddha was passing through vesālī on his way back from alms-seeking, he gazed at vesālī with an elephant look and then addressed venerable Ānanda and said, "This will be the last time that the Tathāgata will behold Vesālī". Buddha then visited velura and the following caityas, Udena, Gatama, Sattambaka, Bahuputtaka, Sāranadada, and Cāpāla. At Bhaṇḍagāma the Buddha delivered a discourse on meditation, emancipation, precepts, wisdom, etc. He spoke of Dhamma and vinaya. The Master dwelt at bhonagara and then at Pāvā. Here at pāvā the Master took shelter in the mango-grove of cunda, the son of a blacksmith. Buddha ac-

cepted the invitation of Cunda and after having taken food at Cunda's place, he got an attack of dysentery. He then went to kusīnārā, a township of the Mallas where the Buddha passed away between the twin Sāla trees. As narrated before, as soon as the Mallas heard of the news of the death of the Tathāgata, they, both males and females, began to cry and paid homage to the departed. Kassapa saluted the feet of the Buddha whose relics were distributed amongst the Moriyas of Pippalivans, Ajātasattu of Magadha, Licchavis of Vaiśālī, Sākyas of Kapilavastu, Bulis of Allakappa, Koliyas of Rāmagāma, a brahmin of Veṭṭhādīpa¹, Mallas of Pavā and kusīnārā who built stūpas over them.

The Sutta introduced to a renowned religious teacher named Ālāra kālāma who had as his disciple a caravan merchant named Pukkusa, a young Mallian. Pukkusa used to speak highly of the spiritual attainments of his preceptor whose ecstatic trace, as declared by Pukkusa, was so very deep and profound that a long train of heavily laden carts passed by unperceived by him. The Sutta also records that the Buddha described Parisā or assemblies of the gods which were the assembly of the Cātummahārājikas gods, the assembly of the Tāvātimsa gods, the assembly of Māra and the assembly of Brāhma.

1. In Beal's *Si Yu-ki* Veṭṭhādīpa has been stated to be situated on the way from Masār in the Shahabad district to Vaiśālī. It may be assumed that Allakappa belonging to the Bulis by met may vary far from Veṭṭhādīpa.

xvi. Mahā-Parinibbāna-sutta¹

The Book of the Great Decease

CHAPTER I

1.1. Evam me sutam. Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Gijjhakūṭe pabbate. Tena kho pana samayena rājā Māgado Ajātasattu Vedehiputto vajja¹ abhiyātu-kāmo hoti. So evam āha : ‘Ahañhi’ me² Vajjī evaṃ-mahiddhike evaṃ-mahānubhāve, ucchejjāmi³ Vajjī⁴ vināsessāmi Vajjī⁵ anaya-vyasanam āpādessāmi Vajjī⁶ ti’.

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once dwelling in Rājagaha, on the hill called the Vulture’s Peak. Now at that time Ajātasattu, the son of the queen-consort of the Videha clan⁷, the king of Magadha, had made up his mind to attack the

1. K Vajjim.

2. B^m K ahaṃ hi me; SS childers and Hardy ahaṃ ime. *Comp.* A.iv.; 17 note 16; M.i. 545; Vin. i. 363; J. iv. 395.

3. S^{dt} uccheccāmi; ucchijjāmi (S^c K and Sum ucchej-jami), *here and below.*

4. K Vajjin.

5. Ajātasattu Vedehiputto. The first word is not a personal name but an official epithet, ‘he against whom there has arisen no (worthy or equal) foe’ (so already in the Rig Veda but Sum. 131 different). The second gives us the maiden family, or tribal (not personal) name of his mother. Her name, according to a Tibetan authority quoted by Rockhill, ‘Life of the Buddha,’ p. 63, was Vāsavī.

Vajjians; and he said to himself, 'I will strike at these Vajjians, mighty and powerful¹ though they be, I will root out these Vajjians, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin !'

2. **Atha kho rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Vassakāraṃ brāhmaṇaṃ Magadha-mahāmattaṃ āmantesi:**

'Ehi tvaṃ brāhmaṇa yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamitvā mama vacanena Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandādhi, appābādham appātaṅkaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ phāsu-vihāraṃ puccha "Rājā bhante Māgadho Ajāta-sattu Vedehiputto Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandati, appābādham appātaṅkaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ balaṃ phāsu-vihāraṃ pucchatīti," evañ ca vadehi: "Rājā bhante Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Vajjī abhiyātu-kāmo. So evam āha: 'Āhañhi' me Vajjī evaṃ-mahiddhike evaṃ-mahānu-bhāve, ucchejjāmi Vajjī vināsessāmi Vajjī anāya-vyasaṇaṃ āpādessāmi Vajjī ti' " ; yathā ca te Bhagavā vyākaroṭi taṃ sādhuṃ uggahetvā mamaṃ āroceyyāsi, na hi Tathāgatā vitathaṃ bhaṇantīti.

2. So he spake to the brahmin Vassakāra (the Rainmaker), prime-minister of Magadha, and said :—

Persons of distinction are scarcely ever mentioned by name in Indian Buddhist books, a rule applying more especially to kings, but extended not unfrequently to private persons. Thus Upatissa, the disciple whom the Buddha himself declared to be 'the second founder of the kingdom of righteousness,' is referred to either as Dhamma-senāpali or as Sāriputta ; epithets of corresponding origin to those in the text. See above, Vol. I, pp. 193-5.

By the Jains Ajātasattu is called Kūnika or Konika, which again is probably not the name given to him at the rice-eating (the ceremony corresponding to infant baptism), but a nickname acquired in after-life.

1. Evammahiddhike evammahānu-bhāve. There is nothing magical or supernatural about the iddhi here referred to. Etena tesam samagga-bhāvaṃ kathesi says the commentator simply: thus referring the former adjective to the power of union, as he does the second to the power derived from practice in military tactics (hatthisippādhi). See above, Vol. I, p. 273.

‘Come now, brahmin, do you go to the Exalted One, and bow down in adoration at his feet on my behalf, and inquire in my name whether he is free from illness and suffering, and in the enjoyment of ease and comfort and vigorous health. Then tell him that Ajātasattu, son of the Vedehi, the king of Magadha, in his eagerness to attack the Vajjians, has resolved, “I will strike at these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will root out these Vajjians, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin!” And bear carefully in mind whatever the Exalted One may predict, and repeat it to me. For the Buddhas speak nothing untrue !’

3. ‘Evaṃ bho ti’ kho Vassakāro brāhmaṇo Magadha-mahāmatto rañño. Māgadhasa Ajātasattussa Vedehi-puttassa paṭissutvā, bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā,¹ bhaddaṃ² yānaṃ abhirūhitvā, bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi Rājagahamhā niyyāsi, yena Gijjhakūṭo pabbato tena pāyāsi, yāvatikā yānassa³ bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattiko va yena³ Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Vassakāro brāhmaṇ Magadhamahāmatto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

‘Rājā bho Gotama Māgadho Ajātasattu Vededi-putto bhoto Gotamassa pāde sirasā vandati, appābādham appātaṅkaṃ lahuṭṭhānaṃ balaṃ bhāsu-vihāraṃ pucchati.⁴ Rājā dho Gotama Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto Vajjī abhiyātu-kāmo. So evaṃ āha: “Āhañhi ‘me Vajjī evaṃ-mahiddhike evaṃ-mahānubhāve, ucchejjāmi Vajjī vināsessāmi Vajjī anaya-vyasaṇaṃ āpādessāmi Vajjī ti.”

3. Then the brahmin Vassakāra, the Rainmaker, hearkened to the words of the king, saying, ‘Be it as you say.’ And ordering a number of state carriages to be made ready, he mounted

1. So SS; B^m K yojetvā.

2. B^m K bhaddaṃ bhaddaṃ bhaddaṃ.

3. Hardy omits from the first bhaddāni down to yena.

4. SS add evaṃ ca vadeti.

one of them, left Rājagaha with his train, and went to the Vulture's Peak, riding as far as the ground was passable for carriages and then alighting and proceeding on foot to the place where the Exalted One was. On arriving there he exchanged with the Exalted One the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, sat down respectfully by his side (and then delivered to him the message even as the king had commanded¹).

4. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato piṭṭhito ṭhito hoti Bhagavantam vījamāno.² Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantam Ānandam āmantesi :

‘Kin ti te Ānanda sutam, Vajjī abhiñham³ sannipātā sannipāta-bahulāti ?’

‘⁴Sutam me tam⁴ bhante Vajjī abhiñham sannipātā sannipāta-bahulāti.’

‘Yāvakīvañ⁵ ca Ānanda Vajjī abhiñham sannipātā sannipāta-bahulā bhavissanti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnam pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Kin ti te Ānanda sutam, Vajjī samaggā sannipatanti samaggā vuṭṭhahanti samaggā Vajjī-karaṇīyāni karontīti?’

‘Sutam me tam bhante Vajjī samaggā sannipatanti samaggā vuṭṭhahanti samaggā Vajjī-karaṇīyāni karontīti.

‘Yāvakīvañ ca Ānanda Vajjī samaggā sannipatissanti samaggā vuṭṭhahissanti samaggā Vajjī-karaṇīyāni karissanti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda vijjīnam pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni. Kin ti te Ānanda sutam Vajjī appaṇṇattaṃ, na paṇṇāpenti, paṇṇattam na samucchindanti, yathā paṇṇatte parāṇe Vajjī-dhamme samādāya vattantīti ?’

‘Sutam me tam bhante Vajjī appaṇṇattam na paṇṇāpenti, paṇṇattam na samucchindanti, yathā paṇṇatte porāṇe Vajjī-dhamme samādāya vattantīti.’

1. The wording of § 2 is here repeated.

2. B^m vījayamāno ; K vījiyamāno.

3. K abhiñhā.

4-4. B^m sutam etam, and below.

5. B^m-kiv^o, and below.

‘Yāvakīvañ ca Ānanda Vajjī appaṇṇattaṃ na pañhāpessanti, pañṇattaṃ na samucchindissanti, yathā pañṇatte porāṇe Vajji-dhamme samādāya vattissanti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikañkhā no parihāni. Kin ti te Ānanda suttaṃ Vajjī ya te Vajjīnaṃ Vajjī-mahallakā te sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti tesaṃ ca sotabbaṃ mañṇantīti?’

‘Suttaṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī ye te Vajjīnaṃ Vajjī-mahallakā te sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti tesaṃ ca sotabbaṃ mañṇantīti.’

‘Yāvakīvañ ca Ānanda Vajjī ye te Vajjīnaṃ Vajjī-mahallakā te sakkarissanti garukarissanti mānessanti pūjessanti tesaṃ ca sotabbaṃ mañṇissanti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ yā tā kulitthiyo kula-kumāriyo tā na okkassa pasayha vāsentīti?’

‘Sitā me taṃ bhante Vajjī yā tā kulitthiyo kula-kumāriyo tā na okkassa pasayha vāsessanti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikañkhā no parihāni. Kin ti te Ānanda suttaṃ Vajjī yāni tāni Vajjīnaṃ Vajjī-cetiyaṇi abbhantarāni c’eva bāhirāni ca tāni sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti tesaṃ ca dinna-pubbaṃ kata-pubbaṃ dhammikaṃ no parihāpentīti?’

‘Suttaṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjī yāni tāni Vajjīnaṃ Vajjī-cetiyaṇi, abbhantarāni c’eva bāhirāni ca, tāni sakkaronti garukaronti mānenti pūjenti, tesaṃ ca dinna-pubbaṃ kata-pubbaṃ dhammikaṃ baliṃ no parihāpentīti.

‘Yāvakīvañ ca Ānanda Vajjī yāni Vajjīnaṃ Vajjī-cetiyaṇi, abbhantarāni c’eva bāhirāni ca, tāni sakkarissanti garukarissanti mānessanti pūjessanti, tesaṃ ca dinna-pubbaṃ kata-pubbaṃ dhammikaṃ baliṃ no parihāpessanti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikañkhā no parihāni. Kin ti te Ānanda suttaṃ Vajjīnaṃ arahantesu dhammikârakkhâvaraṇa-gutti susaṃvihitā, kin ti anāgatā ca arahanto vijitaṃ āgaccheyyūṃ āgatā ca arahanto vijite phāsum¹ vihareyyun ti?’

‘Suttaṃ me taṃ bhante Vajjīnaṃ arahantesu dhammikârakkhâvaraṇa-gutti susaṃvihitā, kin ti anāgatā ca

1. S^d B^m -su, and below.

arahanto vijitaṃ āgaccheyyumaṃ āgatā ca arahanto vijite phāsumaṃ vihareyyun ti.'

'Yāvakīvaṇ ca Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ arahantesu dhammikārakkhāvaraṇa-gutti samaṃvihitā bhavissati,¹ kin' ti anāgatā ca arahanto vijitaṃ āgaccheyyumaṃ āgatā ca arahanto vijite phāsumaṃ vihareyyun ti, vuddhi yeva Ānanda Vajjīnaṃ pātikaṅkhā no parihānīti.'

4. Now at that time the venerable Ānanda was standing behind the Exalted One, and fanning him. And the Blessed One said to him :— 'Have you heard, Ānanda, that the Vajjians foregather often and frequent the public meetings of their clan ?'

'Lord, so I have heard,' replied he.

'So long, Ānanda,' rejoined the Blessed One, 'as the Vajjians foregather thus often, and frequent the public meetings of their clan; so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper.'

(And in like manner questioning Ānanda, and receiving a similar reply, the Exalted One declared as follows the other conditions which would ensure the welfare of the Vajjian confederacy².)

'So long, Ānanda, as the Vajjians meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out their undertakings in concord—so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians, as established in former days—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction—so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines³ in town or country, and allow not the proper offerings and rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude—so long as the rightful protection, defence, and

1. In the text there is a question, answer, and reply with each clause.

2. Cetiyaṇi, which Sum. Vil. explains as Yakkha-cenyāni.

3. S^{cd} B^m -santi.

support shall be fully provided for the Arahants among them, so that Arahants from a distance may enter the realm, and the Arahants therein may live at ease—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

5. *Atha kho Bhagavā Vassakāraṃ brāhmaṇaṃ Magadha-mahāmattaṃ āmantesi:*

‘*Ekam idāhaṃ brāhmaṇa samayaṃ Vesāliyaṃ vi-harāmi Sārandade cetiye, tatrāhaṃ Vajjīnaṃ ime satta aparihāniye dhamme desesiṃ, yāvakīvaṃ ca brāhmaṇa ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā Vajjīsu ṭhassanti, imesu ca sattasu aparihāniyesu dhammesu Vajjī sandissanti, vuddhi yeva brāhmaṇa Vajjīnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihānīti.*’

Evam vutte Vassakāro Brāhmaṇo Magadha-mahāmatto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

‘*Ekamekena pi bho Gotama aparihāniyena dhammena samannāgatānaṃ Vajjīnaṃ vuddhi vuddhi yeva pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni, ko pana vādo sattahi aparihāniyehi dhammehi? Akaraṇī va¹ bho Gotama Vajjī raññā Māgadheṇa Ajāta-sattunā Vedehiputtēna yadidaṃ yuddhassa aññatra upalāpa-nāya aññatra mithu-bhedā². Handa ca dāni mayaṃ bho Gotama gacchāma, bahukiccā mayaṃ bahu-karaṇīyā ti.*’

‘Yassa dāni tvaṃ brāhmaṇa kālaṃ maññasīti.

Atha kho Vassakāro brāhmaṇo Magadha-mahāmatto Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā utthāy’ āsanā pakkāmi.

5. Then the Exalted One addressed Vassakāra the brahmin and said :—

‘When I was once staying, O brahmin, at Vesālī at the Sārandada Shrine³, I taught the Vajjians these conditions of welfare ; and so long as these conditions shall continue to exist

1. B^m K ca.

2. B^m K -dāya.

3. The commentator adds that this was a vihara erected on the site of a former shrine of the Yakkha Sārandada. The teaching referred to is set out in full at A. IV, 16, but the persons taught are there called Licchavis.

among the Vajjians, so long as the Vajjians shall be well instructed in those conditions, so long may we expect them not to decline, but to prosper.'

'We may expect then,' answered the brahmin, 'the welfare and not the decline of the Vajjians when they are possessed of any one of these conditions of welfare, how much more so when they are possessed of all the seven. So, Gotama, the Vajjians cannot be overcome by the king of Magadha ; that is not in battle, without diplomacy or breaking up their alliance¹. And now, Gotama, we must go ; we are busy and have much to do.'

'Whatever you think most fitting, O brahmin,' was the reply. And the brahmin Vassakāra, the Rainmaker, delighted and pleased with the words of the Exalted One, rose from his seat, and went his way.

6. Atha kho Bhagavā acira-pakkante Vassa kāre brāhmaṇe Magadha-mahāmatte āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: 'Gaccha tvaṃ Ānanda yāvatikā bhikkhū Rājagahaṃ upanissāya viharanti, te sabbe upaṭṭhāna sālāyaṃ sannipātethi.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā yāvatikā bhikkhū Rājagahaṃ upanissāya viharanti te sabbe upaṭṭhāna-sālāyaṃ sannipādetvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi, ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca : 'Sannipatito bhante bhikkhusaṃgho, yassa dāni bhante Bhagavā kālaṃ maññasīti.'

Atha kho Bhagavā uṭṭhāy' āsanā yena upaṭṭhāna-sālātem' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

-
1. 'Overcome' is literally 'done' (karaṇīya), but the word evidently has a similar sense to that which 'done' occasionally has in colloquial English. Upalāpana, which I have only met with here, must mean 'humbug, cajolery, diplomacy;' see the use of the verb upalāpeti, at S. I, 102 ; Vin. II, 119; IV, 139; Jāt. II, 266, 267; IV, 56. Sum. Vil. explains it, at some length, as making an alliance, by gifts, with hostile intent, which comes to much the same thing. The root, I think, is *lī*.

1'Satta vo bhikkhave aparihāniye dhamme desessāmi,² taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasi-karotha bhāsissāmīti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato pac-cassosum. Bhagavā etad avoca:

'Yāvakīvaṇ ca³ bhikkhave bhikkhū abhiñhaṃ sannipātā sannipāta-bahulā bhavissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū samaggā sannipatis-santi samaggā vuṭṭhahissanti samaggā saṅgha-karaṇīyāni karissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū appaṇṇattaṃ na paṇṇāpessanti, paṇṇattaṃ na samucchindissanti, yathā-paṇṇattesu sikkhā-padesu samādāya vattissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū ye te bhikkhū therā rataṇṇū cira⁴-pabbajitā saṅgha-pitaro⁵ saṅgha-parināyakā te sakkarissanti garukarissanti⁶ mānessanti pūjessanti tesaṇ ca sotabbaṃ maññissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhāno parihāni.

'Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū uppannāya taṇhāya ponobhavikāya⁷ na vasaṃ gacchanti,⁸ vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

'Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū āraṇṇakesu⁹ senā-sanesu sāpekhā bhavissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

"Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū paccattaṃ yeva

1. = A. iv. 21.

2. S^{cd} B^m *sometimes* desissāmi.

3. S^{cd} *add* kho.

4. S^c *ciraṃ*.

5. B^m *omits*.

6. B^m *garuṃ kar^o*.

7. B^m K *ponobbhavikāya*.

8. K *gacchissanti*.

9. S^{cd} *ar^o*.

satiṃ upaṭṭhāpessanti,¹ kin ti anāgatā ca pesalā sabrahmacārī āgaccheyyūṃ āgatā ca pesalā sabrahmacārī phāsuṃ² vihareyyun ti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihaṇi.

‘Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāṇiyā dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca sattasu aparihāṇiyesu dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihaṇi.

6. Now soon after he had gone the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:— ‘Go now, Ānanda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the brethren³ as live in the neighbourhood of Rājagaha.’

And he did so; and returned to the Exalted One, and informed him, saying :—

‘The company of the brethren, lord, is assembled, let the Exalted One do as seemeth to him fit.’

1. B^m upaṭhap^o ; K upaṭṭhap^o.

2. B^m phāsu.

3. The word translated ‘brethren’ throughout is in the original bhikkhu, a word most difficult to render adequately by any word which would not, to Christians and in Europe, connote something different from the Buddhist idea. A bhikkhu, literally ‘beggar,’ was a disciple who had joined Gotama’s order; but the word refers to their renunciation of worldly things, rather than to their consequent mendicancy ; and they did not really beg in our modern sense of the word.. Hardy has ‘priests;’ I have elsewhere used ‘monks’ and sometimes ‘beggars’ and ‘members of the order.’ This last is, I think, the best rendering; but it is too long for constant repetition, as in this passage, and too complex to be a really good version of bhikkhu. The members of the order were not priests, for they had no priestly powers. They were not monks, for they took no vow of obedience, and could leave the order (and constantly did so and do so still) whenever they chose. They were not beggars, for they had none of the mental and moral qualities associated with that word. ‘Brethren’ connotes very much the position in which they stood to one another; but I wish there were a better word to use in rendering bhikkhu.

And the Exalted One arose, and went to the Service Hall; and when he was seated, he addressed the brethren, and said :—

‘I will teach you, O mendicants, seven conditions of the welfare of a community. Listen well and attend, and I will speak.’

‘Even so, lord,’ said the brethren, in assent, to the Exalted One; and he spake as follows :—

‘So long, O mendicants, as the brethren foregather oft, and frequent the formal meetings of their Order—so long as they meet together in concord, and rise in concord, and carry out in concord the duties of the Order—so long as the brethren shall establish nothing that has not been already prescribed, and abrogate nothing that has been already established, and act in accordance with the rules of the Order as now laid down—so long as the brethren honour and esteem and revere and support the elders of experience and long standing, the fathers and leaders of the Order, and hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words—so long as the brethren fall not under the influence of that craving which, springing up within them, would give rise to renewed existence—so long as the brethren delight in a life of solitude—so long as the brethren so train their minds in self-possession that good men among their fellow-disciples shall come to them, and those who have come shall dwell at ease—so long may the brethren *be* expected, not to decline, but to prosper. So long as these seven conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren, so long as they are well-instructed in these conditions, so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

7. ‘*Apare pi kho¹ bhikkhave satta aparihāniye dhamme desessāmi, taṃ suṇātha, sādhukaṃ manasi-karotha, bhāsissāmīti.*’

‘*Evaṃ bhante’ ti’ kho te bhikkhu Bhagavato paccasouṃ, Bhagavā etad avoca:*

²Yāvakiṇvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na kammāmā bhavissanti na kamma-ratā na kammārāmatāṃ anuyuttā,

1. K vo; A. iv. 22 satta vo bh^o (so throughout).

2. A iv. 22; comp. iii. 309. 310, 329.

vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhū bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na kammāmā bhavissanti na bhassa-ratā na bhassārāmatāṃ anuyuttā, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na niddārāmā bhavissanti na niddā-ratā na niddārāmatāṃ anuyuttā, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na pāpicchā bhavissanti na pāpikānaṃ icchānaṃ vasaṃ gatā vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na pāpa-mittā bhavissanti na pāpa-sahāyā na pāpa-sampavaṇkā,¹ vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū na oramattakena visesādhigamena antarā vosānaṃ āpajjissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāniyā dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca satiasu aparihāyinesu dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

7. 'Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.'

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

'So long as the brethren shall not engage in, or be fond of, or be connected with business—so long as the brethren shall not be in the habit of, or be fond of, or be partakers in idle talk—so long as the brethren shall not be addicted to, or be fond of, or indulge in slothfulness—so long as the brethren shall not frequent, or be fond of, or indulge in society—so long as the brethren shall neither have, nor fall under the influence of, wrong desires²—so long as the brethren shall not become the friends,

1. B^m °vaṇkatā; K °vaṇkarā.

2. The blundering misstatement that Buddhism teaches the suppression of desire (not of wrong desire) is still occasionally met with. The question is fully discussed in Mrs. Rhys Davids's article on 'The Will in Buddhism' (J.R.A.S., 1898).

companions, or intimates of evildoers—so long as the brethren shall not come to a stop on their way (to Nirvana in Arahantship¹) because they have attained to any lesser thing—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

8. ‘*Apare pi kho bhikkhave satta aparihāṇiye dhamme desessāmi, taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha, bhā-sissāmīti.*’

‘*Evam bhante*’ *ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccasosum, Bhagavā etad avoca:*

2. ‘*Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū saddhā bhavissanti,*³ *hirimanā*⁴ *bhavissanti, ottāpī*⁵ *bhavissanti, bahussutā bhavissanti, āraddha-viriyā bhavissanti, upaṭṭhita-satī*⁶ *bhavissanti, paññāvanto*⁷ *bhavissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ paṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.*

‘*Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāṇiye dhammā bhikkhūsu thassanti, imesu ca sattasu aparihāṇiyesu dhammesu bhikkhū sabdussabtam vyddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ paṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.*

8. ‘Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

1. This is an interesting analogue to Philippians iii. 13:— ‘I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark,’ &c. See also below, Chap. V, § 68.

2. = A. iv. 23.

3. B^m adds *pa*.

4. S^d *hirīmanā* ; K. . . *pe* . . . *hirimatā*.

5. B^m K *ottappī*.

6. A. *satimanto*.

7. B^m KA. *paññāvō*.

‘So long as the brethren shall be full of faith, modest in heart, afraid of wrong doing¹, full of learning, strong in energy, active in mind, and full of wisdom—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

9. ‘Apare pi kho bhikkhave satta aparihāṇiye dhamme desessāmi, taṃ suṇātha, sādhukam manasikarotha, bhāssissāmīti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccasouṃ, Bhagavā etad avoca:

² ‘Yāvakīvaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū sati-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvēssanti,³ dhammavicaya-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvēssanti, viriya-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvēssanti, pīti-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvēssanti, passaddhi-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvēssanti, sam-ādhi-sambojjhaṅgaṃ bhāvēssanti, upekkhā - sambojjhaṅgaṃ⁴ bhāvēssanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhumāṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihaṇi.

‘Yāvakīvaṃ ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāṇiye dhammā bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca sattasu aparihāṇiyesu dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhāno parihaṇi.

9. ‘Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

1. The exact distinction between hiri and ottappa is here explained by Buddhaghosa as loathing sin as contrasted with fear of sin. But this is rather a gloss than an exact and exclusive definition. Ahirikā is shamelessness, anotappam frowardness. At Jāt. I, 207 we find hiri described as subjective, and ottappa as objective, modesty of heart as contrasted with decency in outward behaviour. See further Mrs. Rhys Davids in ‘Buddhist Psychology,’ p. 20.

2. A. iv. 23.

3. B^m inserts pa. K pe.

4. B^m K apekkhā-

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

‘So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the sevenfold higher wisdom, that is to say, in mental activity, search after truth, energy, joy, peace, earnest contemplation, and equanimity of mind—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

10. ‘Apare pi kho bhikkhave satta aparihāṇiye dhamme desessāmi, taṃ suṇātha sādhukaṃ manasikarotha, bhāsis-sāmīti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccasosum, Bhagavā etad avoca:

¹ ‘Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū anicca-saññaṃ bhāvēssanti,² anatta-saññaṃ bhāvēssanti, asubha-saññaṃ bhāvēssanti, ādīnava-saññaṃ bhāvēssanti, pahāna-saññaṃ bhāvēssanti, virāga-saññaṃ bhāvēssanti, nirodha-saññaṃ bhāvēssanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭi-kaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave ime satta aparihāṇiyā dhamma bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti, imesu ca sattasu aparihāṇiyesu dhammesu bhikkhū sandissanti, vuddhi vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

10. ‘Other seven conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren. Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

‘So long as the brethren shall exercise themselves in the realization of the ideas of the impermanency of all phenomena, bodily or mental, the absence [in them of any abiding principle] of any “soul,” of corruption, of the danger of wrong thoughts, of the necessity of getting rid of them, of purity of heart, of Nirvana

1. A iv. 24.

2. B^m adds pa: K pe.

—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline but to prosper.

11. ‘Cha bhikkhave¹ aparihāniye dhamme desessāmi, taṃ suṇātha sādhu kaṃ manasikarotha, bhāssissāmīti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosum, Bhagavā etad avoca:

‘Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū mettaṃ kāya-kammaṃ paccupaṭṭhāpessanti sabrahmacārīsu āvī² c’eva raho ca, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūvaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

Yāvakīvaṇca bhikkhave bhikkhūmettaṃ vacī-kammaṃ paccupaṭṭhāpessanti sabrahmacārīsu . . . pe . . . mettaṃ mano-kammaṃ paccupaṭṭhāpessanti sabrahmacārīsu āvī c’eva raho ca, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭi-kaṅkhā no parihāni.

‘Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū ye te lābhā dhammika-dhamma-laddhā antamaso patta-pariyāpanna-mattam pi tathārūpehi lābhehi appṭivibhatta bhogī³ bhavissanti sīlavantehi sabrahmacārīhi sādharma-bhogī,⁴ vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

‘Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū yāni tāni sīlāni akhaṇḍāni acchiddāni asabalāni akammāsāni bhujissāni viññūpasatthāni aparāmaṭṭhāni samādhi-saṃvattanikāni tathārūpesu sīlesu sīla-sāmañña-gatā viharissanti sabrahmacārīhi āvī c’eva raho ca, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

‘Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhū yā ’yaṃ diṭṭhi ariyā

1. K apare pi vo bh^o cha.

2. S^{cd} K āvī; S^t B^m āvī.

3. S^c bhogī; S^d appaṭivittabhogi; B^m apaṭi^o-bhogi; S^t -bhoji; K na appaṭi^o. 4.

B^m -gi.

niyyānikā niyyāti takkarassa sammā-dukkhakkhayāya¹
tathārūpāya diṭṭhiyā diṭṭhi-sāmañña-gatā viharissanti
sabrahmacārīhi āvī c'eva raho ca, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave
bhikkhūnaṃ pāṭikaṅkhā no parihāni.

‘Yāvakīvaṇ ca bhikkhave ime cha aparihāniyā dhammā
bhikkhūsu ṭhassanti imesu ca chasu aparihāniyesu dham-mesu
bhikkhū sandissanti, vuddhi yeva bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ
pāṭikaṅkhā no parihānīti.’

11. ‘Six conditions of welfare will I teach you, O brethren.
Listen well, and attend, and I will speak.’

And on their expressing their assent, he spake as follows:—

‘So long as the brethren shall persevere in kindness of
action, speech, and thought towards their fellow-disciples, both
in public and in private—so long as they shall divide without
partiality, and share in common with their upright companions,
all such things as they receive in accordance with the just pro-
visions of the Order, down even to the mere contents of a beg-
ging-bowl—so long as the brethren shall live among the saints
in the practice, both in public and in private, of those virtues
which [unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished] are productive
of freedom², and praised by the wise ; which are untarnished [by
the desire of future life, or by the belief in the efficacy of out-
ward acts]³; and which are conducive to concentration of heart—
so long as the brethren shall live among the saints, cherishing,
both in public and in private, that noble and saving insight which

1. S^d sammādukkakkhayā.

2. Buddhaghosa takes this in a spiritual sense. He says:— ‘These
virtues are bhujissāni because they bring one to the state of a free
man by delivering him from the slavery of craving.’

3. The commentator explains:— ‘These virtues are called aparā-
matthāni because they are untarnished by craving or delusion, and
because no one can say of him who practises them, “you have been
already guilty of such and such a fault.” Craving is here the hope
of a future life in heaven, and delusion the belief in the efficacy of
rites and ceremonies (the two nissayas), which are condemned as
unworthy inducements to virtue. At A. III, 132 these five qualities
are called phāsu-vihārā, states of bliss.

leads to the complete destruction of the sorrow of him who acts according to it—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.

‘So long as these six conditions shall continue to exist among the brethren—so long as they are instructed in these six conditions—so long may the brethren be expected not to decline, but to prosper.’

12. *Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharanto Gijjhukūte pabbate etad eva bhulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti: Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi iti paññā, sīlaparibhāvito samādhi mahappalo hoti mahānisamsa, samādhi-paribhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahānisamsā, paññā-paribhāvitaṃ cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati, seyyathīdaṃ kāmāsavā bhavāsavā diṭṭhāsavā¹ avijjāsavā ti.*

12. Now it was while the Exalted One was staying there at Rājagaha on the Vulture’s Peak that he held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:— ‘Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance².’

1. K omits, but gives in a not.

1. This paragraph is spoken of as if it were a well-known summary, and it is constantly repeated below. The word I have here rendered ‘earnest contemplation’ is samādhi, which occupies in the Five Nikāyas very much the same position as faith does in the New Testament ; and this section shows that the relative importance of samādhi, paññā, and sīla played a part in early Buddhism just as the distinction between faith, reason, and works did afterwards in Western theology. It would be difficult to find a passage in which the Buddhist view of the relation of these conflicting ideas is stated with greater beauty of thought,

13. Atha kho Bhagavā Rājagahe yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: ‘Āyāṃ’ Ānanda yena Ambalatthikā ten’ upasaṃkamissāmāti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato pacassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Ambalatthikā tad avasari.

13. Now when the Exalted One had sojourned at Rājagaha as long as he thought fit, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— ‘Come, Ānanda, let us go to Ambalatthikā.’

‘So be it, lord!’ said Ānanda in assent, and the Exalted One, with a large company of the brethren, proceeded to Ambalatthizikā.

14. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Ambalatthikāyaṃ viharati Rājāgārake. Tatra pi¹ sudaṃ Bhagavā Ambalatthikāyaṃ viharanto Rājāgārake etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti: Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi iti paññā, sīla-paribhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahāni-saṃso, samādhi-paribhāvita paññā mahapphalā hoti mahānisamsā, paññā-paribhāvitaṃ cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathidaṃ kāmāsavā bhavāsavā ditthāsavā avijjāsavā ti.

14. There the Exalted One stayed in the king’s house and held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:— ‘Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it

or equal succinctness of form. See further Rhys Davids’s ‘The Yogāvacara’s Manual of Indian Mysticism,’ pp. xxv foil., and above; Vol. I, p. 156. Also E. W. West, ‘Pahlavi Texts,’ III, 37 ; Anguttara I, 233 ; Itivuttaka, No. 59.

The expression ‘set round with’ is in Pāli paribhāvita. In a constantly recurring simile (M. I, 104; S. III, 153) eggs are said to be paribhāvitaṇi by a brooding hen. In medicine the word means ‘charged with, impregnated with.’ See Jāt. I, 380; IV, 407 ; and compare Mil. 361, 382, 394. Comp. Bhag. Gītā III, 38 for this simile.

1. S^d K omit. See § 18 and p. 91.

is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

15. *Atha kho Bhagavā Ambalaṭṭhikāyaṃ yathābhiraṇaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi : 'Āyāmaṃ Ānanda yena Nālandā ten' upasaṃkamissāmāti.'*

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Nālandā tad avasari. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Nālandāyaṃ viharati Pāvārikambavane.

15. Now when the Exalted One had sojourned at Ambalaṭṭhikā as long as he thought fit, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Nālandā¹.'

'So be it, lord!' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Nālandā; and there, at Nālandā, the Exalted One stayed in the Pāvārika mango grove.

16. *Atha kho āyasmā Sāriputto yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Sāriputto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :*

'Evaṃ-pasanno ahaṃ bhante Bhagavati na cāhu na ca bhavissati na c'etarahi vijjati añño samaṇo vā brāmaṇo vā Bhagavatā bhiyyo 'bhiññātaro² yadidaṃ sambodhiyaṃ' ti.

Ulārā kho te ayaṃ Sāriputta āsabhī³ vācā bhāsita, ekaṃso gahito siha-nādo nadito: "Evaṃ-pasanno ahaṃ bhante Bhagavati na cāhu na ca bhavissati na c'etarahi vijjati añño samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā Bhagavatā bhiyyo bhiññātaro

1. Afterwards the seat of the famous Buddhist University for so many centuries the centre of learning in India.

2. K bhiyyobhiññātaro.

3. B^m asambhī, and below; K āsahhi-.

yadidaṃ sambodhiyaṃ” ti. Kin nu Sāriputta ye te ahesuṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, sabbe te Bhagavanto, cetasā ceto paricca viditā “Evaṃ-sīlā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pi, evaṃ-dhammā evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto ahesuṃ iti pīti?” ’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Kiṃ pana Sāriputta ye te bhavissanti anāgatam addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, sabbe te Bhagavanto cetasā ceto paricca viditā “Evaṃ-sīlā te Bhagavanto bhavissanti iti pi, evaṃ-dhammā evaṃ-paññā evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimuttā te Bhagavanto bhavissanti iti pīti ?” ’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Kiṃ pana Sāriputta ahaṃ te¹ etarahi arahāṃ sammā-sambuddho cetasā ceto paricca vidito “Evaṃ-sīlo Bhagavā iti pi, evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-pañño evaṃ-vihārī evaṃ-vimutto Bhagavā iti pīti ?” ’

‘No h’ etaṃ bhante.’

‘Etth’ eva hi² te Sāriputta atītānāgata-paccuppannesu arahantesu sammā-sambuddhesu ceto-pariya³-ñāṇaṃ n’atthi. Atha kiṃ carahi⁴ te ayaṃ Sāriputta ulārā āsabhi vācā bhāsītā ekaṃso gahito sīha-nādo nadito, “Evaṃ-pasanno ahaṃ bhante Bhagavati na cāhu na ca bhavissati na c’etarahi vijjati añño samaṇo vā brāmaṇo vā Bhagavatā bhiyyo ’bhiññataro yadidaṃ sambodhiyaṃ” ti ?”

16. ²Now the venerable Sāriputta came to the place where the Exalted One was, and having saluted him, took his seat

1. B^m omits ; K te ahaṃ.

2. B^m ettha carahi; K ettha ca hi.

3. B^m pariyāya, and blow; K -pariññāya.

4. K kiñcetarahi.

5. The following conversation is also given at length in the Sampasadāniya Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya, and a third time in the Satipatthāna Samyutta of the Samyutta Nikāya (S. V, 159). It was evidently a very popular passage, and is quite possibly the one referred to in Asoka’s Bhabra Edict as the ‘Question of Upatissa,’ that is, of Sāriputta.

respectfully at his side, and said :— ‘Lord! such faith have I in the Exalted One, that methinks there never, has been, nor will there be, nor is there now any other, whether wanderer or brahmin, who is greater and wiser than the Exalted One, that is to say, as regards the higher wisdom.’

‘Grand and bold are the words of thy mouth, Sāriputta : verily, thou hast burst forth into a song of ecstasy! of course then thou hast known all the Exalted Ones who in the long ages of the past have been Able, Awakened Ones¹, comprehending their minds with yours, and aware what their conduct was, what their wisdom, what their mode of life, and what the emancipation they attained to ?’

‘Not so, O lord’

‘Of course then thou hast perceived all the Exalted Ones who in the long ages of the future shall be Able Awakened Ones comprehending [in the same manner their whole minds with yours] ?’

‘Not so, O lord !’

‘But at least then, O Sāriputta, thou knowest me as the Able Awakened One now alive, and hast penetrated my mind [in the manner I have mentioned] ?’

‘Not even that, O lord !’

‘You see then, Sāriputta, that you know not the hearts of the Able Awakened Ones of the past and of the future. Why therefore are your words so grand and bold ? Why do you burst forth into such a song of ecstasy ?’

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1. Arahant Buddhas. The meaning of these words must have been very present to the minds of those who used them at the time of the rise of what we call Buddhism; and there was little or no difference between the connotation of the two terms. As time went on the two were more and more differentiated, and hardened into technical terms. See *Samyutta* III, 65 on the difference between the two : and see *Samyutta* I, 233; III, 160; IV, 175 for very old explanations of *Arahā*, and *Patisambhidā* I, 172 for an ancient commentary on the meaning of Buddha.

17. 'Na kho me bhante atītānāgata-paccuppannesu arahantesu sammā-sambuddhesu ceto-pariya-nānaṃ atthi. Api ca dhammanvayo vidito. Seyyathā pi bhante rañño paccantimaṃ nagaraṃ dalhuddāpaṃ¹ dalha-pākāra-toraṇaṃ eka-dvāraṃ, tatṛ' assa dovāriko paṇḍito viyatto medhāvī aññātānaṃ nivāretā nātānaṃ pavesetā. So tassa nagarassa samantā anupariyāya pathaṃ anukkamamāno na passeyya pākāra-sandhiṃ vā pākā-vivaraṃ vā antamaso bilāra-nissakkana-mattam² pi. Tassa evaṃ assa, ye kho keci oḷārikā pāṇā imaṃ nagaraṃ pavisanti vā nikkhamanti vā, sabbe te iminā va³ dvārena pavisanti vā nikkhamanti vā ti. Evaṃ eva kho me bhante dhammanvayo vidito. Ye te bhante ahesuṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, sabbe te⁴ Bhagavanto pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalīkaṇe⁵ catusu⁶ satipaṭṭhānesu supatiṭṭhita-cittā satta bojjhaṅge yathābhūtaṃ bhāvetvā anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambujjhimsu. Ye pi te bhante bhavissanti anāgataṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, sabbe te Bhagavato pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalīkaṇe catusu satipaṭṭhānesu supatiṭṭhita-cittā satta bojjhaṅge yathābhūtaṃ bhāvetvā anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambujjhissanti. Bhagavā pi bhante etarahi araham sammā-sambuddho pañca nīvaraṇe pahāya cetaso upakkilese paññāya dubbalīkaṇe catusu sati-paṭṭhānesu supatiṭṭhita-citto satta bojjhaṅge yathābhūtaṃ bhāvetvā anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambuddho' ti.

17. 'O lord! I have not the knowledge of the hearts of the Able Awakened Ones that have been, and are to come, and now are. I only know the lineage of the faith.

'Just, lord, as a king might have a border city, strong in its

1. K dalhadvāraṃ.
2. B^m K nikkhamana.
3. S^{cd} ca ; K omits.
4. B^m vata.
5. S^c B^m dubbalik^o.
6. B^m K catū^cu.

foundations, strong in its ramparts and towers, and with only one gate; and the king might have a watchman there, clever, expert, and wise, to stop all strangers and admit only men well known. And he, on patrolling in his sentry walks over the approaches all round the city, might not so observe all the joints and crevices in the ramparts of that city as to know where even a cat could get out. He might well be satisfied to know that all living things of larger size that entered or left the city, would have to do so by that gate. Thus only is it, lord, that I know the lineage of the faith.

‘I know that the Able Awakened Ones of the past, putting away all hankering after the world, ill-will, sloth, worry and perplexity—those five Hindrances, mental faults which make the understanding weak ;— training their minds in the four kinds of mental activity; thoroughly exercising themselves in the seven-fold higher wisdom, received the full fruition of Enlightenment. And I know that the Able Awakened Ones of the times to come will [do the same]. And I know that the Exalted One, the Able Awakened One of to-day, has [done so] now¹.’

18. Tatra pi² sudam Bhagavā Nālandāyaṃ viharanto Pāvārikambavane etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ katham karoti: Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi iti paññā, sīlaparibhāvito

1. The tertium quid of the comparison is the completeness of the knowledge. Sāriputta acknowledges that he was wrong in jumping to the wide conclusion that his own lord and master was the wisest of all the teachers of the different religious systems that were known to him. So far—after the cross-examination by the Buddha—he admits that his knowledge does not reach. But he maintains that he does know that which is, to him, after all the main thing, namely, that all the Buddhas must have passed through the process here laid down as leading up to the Enlightenment of Arahantship.

All the details he gives are details, not of Buddhahood, but of Arahantship. He makes no distinction between the two states of attainment. This is most important for the history of that Buddhology, which, in after centuries, was the main factor in the downfall of Buddhism.

2. SS omit, but B^m K have the pi here. See § 14.

samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahānisaṃso, samādhi-paribhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahānisaṃsā, paññā-paribhāvitam cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathidaṃ kāmāsavā bhavāsavā diṭṭhāsavā avijjāsavā ti.

18. There too at Nālandā in the Pāvārika mango grove the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying :— ‘Such arid such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.’

19. Atha kho Bhagavā Nālandāyaṃ yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: ‘Āyāṃ’ Ānanda yena Pāṭaligāmo ten’ upasaṃkamissāmāti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato pacassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Pāṭaligāmo tad avasari.

19. Now when the Exalted One had sojourned as long as he thought fit at Nālandā, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— ‘Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Pāṭaligāma.’

‘So be it, lord!’ said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Pāṭaligāma.

20. ¹Assosum kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā ‘Bhagavā kira Pāṭaligāmaṃ anuppatto’ ti. Atha kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkamaṃsu, upasaṃ-kamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. Ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavantaṃ etad

1. From here to the end of the chapter = Udāna viii. 6 = Vin. i. 226. Comp. also M i. 354; S iv. 183.

avocum: 'Adhivāsetu no¹ bhante Bhagavā āvasathâgāran' ti. Adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṇhī-bhāvena.

20. Now the disciples at Pāṭaligāma heard of his arrival there, and they went on to the place where he was, took their seats respectfully beside him, and invited him to their village rest-house. And the Exalted One signified, by silence, his consent.

21. Atha kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavato adhivāsanam veditvā, utthāy' āsanā, Bhagavantam abhivādetvā, padakkhinam katvā, yena āvasathâgāram ten' upasamkamimsu, upasamkamitvā sabba-santharim āvasathâgāram santharitvā āsanāni paññāpetvā udaka-maṇim² patiṭṭhāpetvā telappadīpaṃ āropetvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasamkamimsu, upasamkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivā-detvā ekamantam aṭṭhamisu. Ekamantam ṭhitā kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavantam etad avocum:

'Sabba-santharim santhataṃ bhante āvasathâgāram, āsanāni paññattāni, uaka-maṇiko patiṭṭhāpito, teleppadīpo āropito, yassa dāni bhante Bhagavā kalam maññatīti.'

21. Then the Pāṭaligāma disciples seeing that he had accepted the invitation, rose from their seats, and went away to the rest-house, bowing to the Exalted One and keeping him on their right as they passed him. On arriving there they strewed all the rest-house with fresh sand, placed seats in it, set up a water-pot, and fixed an oil lamp. Then they returned to the Exalted One, and saluting him they stood beside him. and told him what they had done and said :— 'It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.'

22. Atha kho Bhagavā³ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya saddhim bhikkhu-samghena yena āvasathâgāram ten' upasamkami, upasamkamitvā pāde pakkhāletvā āvasathâgāram pavisitvā majjhimam thambham nissāya puratthā-

1. S^{cd} omit.

2. B^m K Ud. maṇikam; cp. below.

3. B^m adds sāyaṇha-samaye; K and Ud. add pubbaṇha-samayaṃ.

bhimukkho¹ nisīdi. Bhikkhu-saṃgho pi kho pāde pakkhāletvā āvasathāgāraṃ pavisitvā pacchimaṃ bhittiṃ nissāya puratthābhimukho nisīdi Bhagavantam yeva purakkhatvā². Pāṭaligāmiyā pi kho upāsakā pāde pakkhā-letvā āvasathāgāraṃ pavisitvā puratthimaṃ bhittiṃ nissāya pacchābhimukhā³ nisīdiṃsu Bhagavantam yeva purakkhatvā.

22. And the Exalted One robed himself, took his bowl and other things, went with the brethren to the rest-house, washed his feet, entered the hall, and took his seat against the centre pillar, with his face towards the east. And the brethren also, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats round the Exalted One, against the western wall, and facing the east. And the Pāṭaligāma disciples too, after washing their feet, entered the hall, and took their seats opposite the Exalted One, against the eastern wall, and facing towards the west.

23. Atha kho Bhagavā Pāṭaligāmiye upāsake āmantesi: 'Pañc' ime gahapatayo ādīnavā dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā. Katame pañca ?

'Idha gahapatayo dussīlo sīla-vipanno pamādādhikaraṇaṃ mahatiṃ bhoga-jāniṃ nigacchati.⁴ Ayaṃ paṭhamo ādīnavo dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā.

'Puna ca paraṃ gahapatayo dussīlassa sīla-vipannassa pāpako kitti-saddo abbhuggacchati. Ayaṃ duttiyo ādīnavo dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā.

'Puna ca paraṃ gahapatayo dussīlo sīla-vipanno yaṃ yad eva parisam upasaṃ kamati, yadi khattiya-parisaṃ yadi brāhmaṇa-parisaṃ yadi gahapati-parisaṃ yadi samaṇa-parisaṃ, avisārado uapasaṃkamati maṅku-bhūto. Ayaṃ tatiyo ādīnavo dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā.

'Puna ca paraṃ gahapatayo dussīlo sīla-vipanno sam-mūlho kālaṃ karoti. Ayaṃ catuttho ādīnavo dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā.

1. B^m puratthimābhi^o, and below.

2. B^m -khitvā, and below.

3. B^m pacchimābhi^o.

4. B^m gacchati.

‘Puna ca param gahapatayo dussīlo sīla-vipanno kāyassa bheda param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ uppajjati.¹ Ayaṃ pañcama ādīnavo dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā. Ime kho gahapatayo pañca ādīnavā dussīlassa sīla-vipattiyā.

23. Then the Exalted One addressed the Pātaligāma disciples, and said :— ‘Fivefold, O householders, is the loss of the wrong-doer through his want of rectitude. In the first place the wrong-doer, devoid of rectitude, falls into great poverty through sloth ; in the next place his evil repute gets noised abroad ; thirdly, whatever society he enters—whether of nobles, brahmins, heads of houses, or men of a religious order—he enters shyly and confused ; fourthly, he is full of anxiety when he dies ; and lastly, on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some unhappy state of suffering or woe². This, O householders, is the fivefold loss of the evil-doer!

24. ‘Pañc’ ime gahapatayo ānisaṃsā sīlavato sīla-sampadāya. Katame pañca ?

‘Idha gahapatayo sīlavā sīla-sampanno appamāda-dhikaraṇaṃ mahantaṃ bhogakkhandhaṃ adhigacchati. Ayaṃ paṭhamo ānisaṃso sīlavato sīla-sampadāya.

‘Puna ca param gahapatayo sīla-sampannassa kalyāṇo kitti-saddo abbhuggacchati. Ayaṃ duttiyo ānisaṃso sīlavato sīla-sampadāya.

‘Puna ca param gahapatayo sīlavā sīla-sampanno yaṃ yad eva pariyaṃ upasaṃkamati, yadi khattiya-pariyaṃ yadi brāhmaṇa-pariyaṃ yadi gahapati-pariyaṃ yadi samaṇa-pariyaṃ, visārado upasaṃkamati amaṅku-bhūto. Ayaṃ tatiyo ānisaṃso sīlavato sīla-sampadāya.

1. B^m K Ud. upap^o, and below.

2. Four such states are mentioned, apāya, duggati, vinipāto, and nirayo, all of which are temporary states. The first three seem to be synonyms. The last is one of the four divisions into which the first is usually divided, and is often translated hell; but not being an eternal state, and not being dependent or consequent upon any judgment, it cannot be accurately so rendered. See p. 51.

‘Puna ca param gahapatayo sīlavā sīla-sampanno asam-
mūlho kālaṃ karoti. Ayaṃ catuttho ānisaṃso sīlavato sīla-
sampadāya.

‘Puna ca param gahapatayo sīlavā sīla-sampanno
kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjati.
Ayaṃ pañcama ānisaṃso sīlavato sīla-sampa-dāya. Ime kho
gahapatayo pañca ānisaṃsā sīlavato sīla-sampadāyāti.’

24. ‘Fivefold, O householders, is the gain of the well-doer
through his practice of rectitude. In the first place the well-doer,
strong in rectitude, acquires great wealth through his industry; in
the next place, good reports of him are spread abroad ; thirdly,
whatever society he enters—whether of nobles, brahmins, heads
of houses, or members of a religious order—he enters confident
and self-possessed ; fourthly, he dies without anxiety; and lastly,
on the dissolution of the body, after death, he is reborn into some
happy state in heaven. This, O householders, is the fivefold gain
of the well-doer.’

25. Atha kho Bhagavā Pāṭaligāmiye upāsake bahud
eva rattiṃ dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā
samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā uyyojesi, ‘Abhikkantā kho
gahapatayo ratti, yassa dāni¹ kālaṃ maññathāti.’ ‘Evam
bhante’ ti kho Pāṭaligāmiyā upāsakā Bhagavato patissutvā²
utthāya’ āsanā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā padak-khiṇaṃ
katvā pakkamiṃsu. Atha kho Bhagavā acira pakkantesu
Pāṭaligāmiyesu³ upāsakesu suññāgāraṃ pāvisi.

25. When the Exalted One had thus taught the lay dis-
ciples at Pāṭaligāma, and incited them, and roused them, and
gladdened them, far into the night with religious discourse, he
dismissed them, saying :— ‘The night is far spent, O household-
ers. It is time for you to do what you deem most fit.’ ‘Even so,
lord !’ answered the disciples of Pāṭaligāma, and they rose from

1. B^m K add thumbhe.

2. Vin. paṭisuttivā

3. B^m -kesu.

their seats, and bowing to the Exalted One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they departed thence.

And the Exalted One, not long after the disciples of Pātali-gāma had departed thence, entered into his private chamber¹.

26. Tena kho pana samayena Sunīdha²-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Pāṭaligāme nagaraṃ māpentī Vajjīnaṃ paṭibāhāya. Tena kho pana³ samayena sambahulā devatāyo sagassass' eva Pāṭaligāme vatthūni parigaṇhanti.⁴ Yamim padese mahesakkhā devatā vatthūni parigaṇhanti, mahesak-khānaṃ tattha raññaṃ⁵ rāja-mahā-mattānaṃ cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetuṃ. Yas-mim padese majjhimā devatā vatthūni parigaṇhanti, majjhimānaṃ tattha raññaṃ rāja-mahāmattānaṃ cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetuṃ. Yas-mim padese nīcā devatā vatthūni parigaṇhanti, nīcānaṃ tattha raññaṃ rāja-mahāmattānaṃ cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetuṃ.

26. At that time Sunīdha and Vassakāra, the chief ministers of Magadha, were building a fortress at Pāṭaligāma to repel the Vajjians, and there were a number of fairies who haunted in thousands the plots of ground there. Now, wherever ground is so occupied by powerful fairies, they bend the hearts of the most powerful kings and ministers to build dwelling-places there, [and fairies of middling and inferior power bend in a similar way the hearts of middling or inferior kings and ministers⁶.]

1. Compare Vinaya III, 93.

2. K Vin. Sunidha.

3. B^m omits kho pana. Vin. omits from tena to parigaṇhanti, and puts the following sentences into § 27. Ud. has them in both §§.

4. B^m K parigg^o and below.

5. Vin. rajūnaṃ thrice.

6. The curious popular belief as to good and bad fairies haunting the sites of houses gave rise to a quack science, akin to astrology, called vatthu-vijjā, which Buddhaghosa explains here at some length, and which is frequently condemned elsewhere in the Five Nikāyas. See, for instance, I of the Mahā-silam, translated above, Vol. I, p. 18. The belief is turned to ridicule in the edifying legend, No. 40, in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 326-34.

27. Addasā kho Bhagavā dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena¹ tā devatāyo sahaṣṣaṣ' eva Pāṭaligāme vatthūni parigaṇhantiyo. Atha kho Bhagavā rattiyaṃ paccusa-samayaṃ paccuṭṭhāya āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi :

'Ko² nu kho Ānanda Pāṭaligāme nagaraṃ māpetīti ?'

'Sunīdha-Vassakārā bhante Magadha-mahāmattā Pāṭaligāme nagaraṃ māpenti Vajjīnaṃ paṭibāhāyāti.'

27. And the Blessed One, with great and clear vision, surpassing that of ordinary men, saw thousands of those fairies haunting Pāṭaligāma. And he rose up very early in the morning, and said to Ānanda:— 'Who is it then, Ānanda, who is building a fortress at Pāṭaligāma ?'

'Sunidha and Vassakāra, lord, the chief ministers of Magadha, are building a fortress there to keep back the Vajjians.'

28. 'Seyyathā pi Ānanda devehi Tāvatiṃsehi saddhiṃ mantetvā, evaṃ eva kho Ānanda Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Pāṭaligāme nagaraṃ māpenti Vaj-jīnaṃ paṭibāhāya. Idhāhaṃ³ Ānanda addasaṃ dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkanta-mānusakena sambahulā devatāyo sahaṣṣaṣ' eva Pāṭaligāme vatthūni parigaṇhantiyo. Yasmiṃ padese mahesakkhā vathūni parigaṇhanti, mahesakkhānaṃ tattha raññaṃ rāja-mahāmattānaṃ cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetuṃ. Yasmiṃ padese majjhimā devatā vatthūni parigaṇhanti, majjhimānaṃ tattha raññaṃ rāja-mahāmattānaṃ cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetuṃ. Yasmiṃ padese nīcā devatā vatthūni parigaṇhanti, nīcānaṃ tattha raññaṃ rāja-mahāmattānaṃ cittāni namanti nivesanāni māpetuṃ. Yāvata⁴ ānanda ariyaṃ āyatanāṃ yāvata vaṇippa-tho⁴ idaṃ agga-nagaraṃ bhavissati Pāṭaliputtaṃ Pāṭaliputtaṃ puṭa-bhedanaṃ Pāṭaliputtassa kho Ānanda tayo antarāyā bhavissanti, aggito vā udakato vā mithubhedā⁵ va' ti.

1. B^m mānuss^o.

2. Vin. ke . . . māpetīti.

3. S^{cdt} Childers imāham.

4. S^d vanipphato.

5. S^c bhedato; S^d bhedo; Vin. abbhantarato mithubhedā.

28. 'They act, Ānanda, as if they had consulted with the Tāvātimsa angels.' [And telling him of what he had seen, and of the influence such fairies had, he added]:— 'And as far, Ānanda, as Aryan people resort, as far as merchants travel, this will become the chief city, Pātali-putta, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares, But three dangers will hang over Pātali-putta, that of fire, that of water, and that of dissension among friends¹.'

29. **Atha kho Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahānattā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamim̐su, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodim̐su, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sāraṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ckamantaṃ at̐thaṃsu. Ekamantaṃ thitā kho Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Bhagavantaṃ etad avocaṃ :** 'Adhivāsetu no bhavaṃ Gotamojjatanāya bhattaṃ saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena². Adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṇhi-bhāvena.

29. Now Sunīdha and Vassakāra, the chief ministers of Magadha, proceeded to the place where the Exalted One was. And when they had come there they exchanged with the Exalted One the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and stood there respectfully on one side. And, so standing, Sunīdha and Vassakāra, the chief ministers of Magadha, spake thus to the Exalted One :—

'May the venerable Gotarna do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the company of the brethren, at our house to-day.' And the Exalted One signified, by silence, his consent.

30. **Atha kho Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Bhagavato addivāsanaṃ veditvā² yena sako āvasatho ten'**

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1. This paragraph is of importance to the orthodox Buddhist in proving the Buddha's power of prophecy and the authority of the Buddhist scriptures. To those who conclude that such a passage must have been written after the event that is prophesied (if any), it may be valuable evidence of the age both of the Vinaya and of this Mahā Parinibbāna Sutta. See the note at 'Vinaya Texts,' II. 102.
 2. Vin. omits.

upasaṃkamim̐su, upasaṃkamitvā sake āvaathe¹ paṇītaṃ

khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ patiyadāpetvā Bhagavato kālaṃ ārocāpesuṃ 'Kālo bho Gotama niṭṭhitaṃ bhattan ti.'

Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇḍa-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena Sunīdha-Vassakārānaṃ Magadha-mahāmattānaṃ āva-satho² ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi.³ Atha kho Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Buddha-pamukhaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ pañītena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesuṃ sampavāresuṃ. Atha kho Sunīdha-Vassakārā Magadha-mahāmattā Bhagavantaṃ bhuttāvaṃ oṇīta-patta-pāṇiṃ aññataraṃ nīcaṃ āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu.

30. Then when Sunīdha and Vassakāra, the chief ministers of Magadha, perceived that he had given his consent, they returned to the place where they dwelt. And on arriving there, they prepared sweet dishes of boiled rice, and cakes ; and informed the Exalted One, saying :—

'The hour of food has come, O Gotama, and all is ready.'

And the Exalted One robed himself early, took his bowl with him, and repaired, with the brethren, to the dwelling-place of Sunīdha and Vassakāra, and sat down on the seat prepared for him. And with their own hands they set the sweet rice and the cakes before the brethren with the Buddha at their head, and waited on them till they had had enough. And when the Exalted One had finished eating his meal, the ministers brought a low seat, and sat down respectfully at his side.

31. Ekamantaṃ nisinne kho Sunīdha - Vassakāre Magadha-mahāmatta Bhagavā imāhi gāthāhi anumodī:

Yasmiṃ padese kappeti vāsaṃ paṇṇita-jātiko⁴
Sīlavant' ettha bhojetvā saññate brahmacāraye.⁵

1. Vin. omits.

2. Vin. parivesanā.

3. Vin. adds saddhiṃ bhikkhusaṃghena.

4. B^m K Vin. Ud. -yo.

5. S^d K -riyo; B^m Vin. -riye.

Yā tattha devatā assu¹ tāsam dakkhiṇam ādise,
Tā pūjitā pūjayanti mānitā mānayanti naṃ
Tato naṃ anukampanti² mātā puttam va orasam
Devatānukampito poso sadā bhadraṇi passatīti.³

Atha kho Bhagavā Sunīdha-Vassakāre Magadha-mahā-
matte imāhi gāthāhi anumoditvā utṭhāy' āsanā pakkāmi.

31. And when they were thus seated the Exalted One gave thanks in these verses :—

'Wheresoe'er the prudent man shall take up his abode
Let him support the brethren there, good men of self-
control,
And give the merit of his gifts to the deities who haunt the
spot³.
Revered, they will revere him: honoured, they honour him
again ;
Are gracious to him as a mother to her own, her only son.
And the man who has the grace of the gods, good fortune
he beholds.'

32. Tena kho pana samayena Sunīdha-Vassakārā
Magadha-mahāmattā Bhagavantam piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anu-baddhā
honti, 'Yen' ajja samaṇo Gotamo dvārena nikkhamissati taṃ
Gotama-dvāraṃ nāma bhavissati, yena titṭhena Gaṅgam nadiṃ
tarissati taṃ Gotama-titthaṃ bhavissatī.' Atha kho Bhagavā
yena dvārena nikkhami taṃ Gotama-dvāraṃ nāma ahosi.

32. And when he had thanked the ministers in these verses
he rose from his seat and departed thence. And they followed
him as he went, saying, 'The gate the Samana Gotama goes out
by to-day shall be called Gotama's gate, and the ferry at which
he crosses the river shall be called Gotama's ferry.' And the gate
he went out at was called Gdtama's gate.

1. B^m K Vin. Ud. āsum.

2. B^m -penti.

3. Tāsam dakkhiṇam ādise. See Therī Gāthā 307, 311; Mil. 294.

33. Atha kho Bhagavā yena Gaṅgā nadī ten' upasamkami. Tena kho pana samayena Gaṅgā nadī pūrā hoti samatittikā¹ kākaṭṭhā. App ekacce manussā² nāvaṃ pariyesanti app ekacce uḷumpaṃ pariyesanti app ekacce kullaṃ bandhanti aparāparaṃ³ gantu-kāmā. Atha kho Bhagavā seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evaṃ evaṃ Gaṅgāya nadiyā orima-tīre antarahito pārimatīre⁴ paccutthāsi saddhiṃ bhikkhu saṃghena.

33. But the Exalted One went on to the river. And at that time the river Ganges was brimful and overflowing ; and wishing to cross to the opposite bank, some began to seek for boats, some for rafts of wood, whilst some made rafts of basket-work. Then the Exalted One as instantaneously as a strong man would stretch forth his arm, or draw it back again when he had stretched it forth, vanished from this side of the river, and stood on the further bank with the company of the brethren.

34. Addasā kho Bhagavā te manusse app ekacce nāvaṃ pariyesante app ekacce uḷumpaṃ pariyesante app ekacce kullaṃ bandhante aparāparaṃ pariyesante app ekacce kullaṃ bandhante aparāparaṃ gantu-kāme.⁵ Atha kho Bhagavā etaṃ atthaṃ viditvā, tāyaṃ velāyaṃ imaṃ udānaṃ udānesi :
'Ye taranti aṇṇavaṃ⁶ saraṃ setuṃ katvāna⁷ visajja pallalāni,

Kullaṃ hi jano pabandhati,⁸ tiṇṇā⁹ medhāvino janā¹⁰ ti.

1. Scd tiyā; B^m Vin. -titthikā.

2. Vin. Manussā aññe n.p. aññe u.p. aññe k.b. orā pāraṃ.

3. K pāra pāraṃ, with aparāparaṃ in a note.

4. K orime t.a. pārima tīre.

5. Vin. omits this sentence.

6. Sc annāvaṃ.

7. B^m katvā.

8. Sc sambandhati; K kullaṃ jano ca bandhati; Vin. k.hi.j. bandhati.

9. B^m nittiṇṇā.

10. Sc jātā.

34. And the Exalted One beheld the people who wished to cross to the opposite bank looking some of them for boats and some of them for rafts of wood, and some of them for rafts of basket-work ; and as he beheld them he brake forth at that time into this song :—

‘They who have crossed the ocean drear
Making a solid path across the pools—
Whilst the vain world ties its basket rafts—
These are the wise, these are the saved indeed!’¹

Paṭhamaka-Bhāṇavāraṃ.²

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

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1. That is, those who cross the ‘ocean drear’ of tanhā, or craving; avoiding by means of the ‘dyke’ or causeway of the Aryan Path, the ‘pools’ or shallows of lust, and ignorance, and delusion (comp. Dh. 91), whilst the vain world looks for salvation from rites, and ceremonies, and gods,— ‘these are the wise, these are the saved indeed I’
 2. B^m K paṭhama-.

CHAPTER II

2.1. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āman-
tesī: 'Āyāṃ' Ānanda yena Kaṭigāmo ten' upasaṃkamissā-
māti.' 'Evaṃ bhante ti' kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato
paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃ-ghena
saddhiṃ yena Koṭigāmo tad avasari. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā
Koṭigāme viharati.

1. Now the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda,
and said :— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Koṭigāma.'

'So be it, lord !' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted
One.

The Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the
brethren to Koṭigāma ; and there he stayed in the village itself¹.

2. Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi :

'Catunnaṃ bhikkhave ariya-saccānaṃ ananubodhā ap-
paṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhānaṃ
saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca. Katamesaṃ
catunnaṃ? Dukkassa bhikkhave ariya-saccassa ananubodhā
appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ
saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca.

'Dukkha-samudayassa bhikkhave ariya-saccassa ananu-
bodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhā-
vitaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca.

'Dukkha-nirodhassa bhikkhave ariya-saccassa . . .

1. As will be observed from the similar passages that follow, there is
a regular sequence of clauses in the set descriptions of the Buddha's
movements. The last clause should specify the particular grove or
house where the Exalted One stayed ; but it is also (in this and one
or two other cases) inserted with due regularity even when it adds
nothing positive to the sense.

pe . . . Dukkha-nirodha-gāminiyā paṭipadāya bikkhave ariya-saccassa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīgham addhānaṃ sandhāvitaṃ saṃ mamañ c'eva tumhākañ ca. Tayidaṃ bhikkhave dukkhaṃ ariya-saccaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, dukkha-samudayaṃ ariyasaccaṃ anubuddhaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, dukkha-nirodhaṃ ariya-saccaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, dukkha-nirodhagāminī paṭipadā ariya-saccaṃ anubuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, ucchinnā bhava-taṇhā, khīṇā bhava-netti, n'atthi dāni punabbhavo' ti.

2. And at that place the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said :— 'It is through not understanding and grasping four Aryan Truths, O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration, both you and I !

'And what are these four ?'

'The Aryan truth about sorrow ; the Aryan truth about the cause of sorrow; the Aryan truth about the cessation of sorrow; and the Aryan truth about the path that leads to that cessation. But when these Aryan truths are grasped and known the craving for future life is rooted out, that which leads to renewed becoming is destroyed, and then there is no more birth!'¹

3. Idamavoca Bhagavā, idaṃ vatvā² Sugato athâparam etad avoca Satthā:

'Catunnaṃ ariya-saccānaṃ yathānabhūtaṃ adassanā Saṃsitā³ dīgham addhānaṃ tāsū tās eva⁴ jātisu.

Tāni⁵ etāni diṭṭhāni bhava-netti⁶ samūhatā

Ucchinna⁷ mūlaṃ dukkhassa n'atthi dāni punabbhavo' ti.⁸

1. Compare below, Chapter IV, §§ 2. 3; p. 131.

2. K vatvāna.

3. B^m K saṃsaritaṃ.

4. B^m K Feer Old tāsveva.

5. Feer, yāni.

6. S^d bhagavanteti; S^t bhavanteti.

7. SS ucchinna-.

8. = S v. 431 = Vin. i. 231.

3. Thus spake the Exalted One ; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the Teacher said:—

‘By not seeing the Aryan Truths as they really are, Long is the path that is traversed through many a birth ;

When these are grasped, the cause of rebirth is removed,

The root of sorrow uprooted, and then there is no more birth.’

4. Tatra pi sudam̐ Bhagavā Kotigāmo viharanto etad eva bahulam̐ bhikkhūnam̐ dhammiṃ katham̐ karoti:¹ Iti sīlam̐ iti samādhi iti paññā, sīla-paribhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahānisaṃso, samādhi-paribhāvitā paññā mahapphalā hoti mahānisaṃsā, paññā-paribhāvitam̐ cittam̐ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathīdam̐ kāmāsavā bhavā diṭṭhāsavā² avijjāsavā ti.

4. There too, while staying at Kotigāma, the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:— ‘Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.’

5. Atha kho Bhagavā Kotigāme yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi :

‘Āyāma’ Ānanda yena Nādikā³ ten’ upasaṃkamis-sāmāti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

1. SS here only katheti. Sec 1. 12; 2. 10, 20.

2. S^t K omit.

3. So all MSS K and Sum. See §§ 6, 7.

Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Nādikā tad avasari. Tatra¹ sudam Bhagavā Nādi-ke viharati Giṇṇakāvasathe.

5. Now when the Exalted One had remained as long as he thought fit at Kotigāma, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:— ‘Come, Ānanda, let us go on to the Nādikas.’

‘So be it, lord!’ said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

And the Exalted One proceeded to the Nādikas with a great company of the brethren; and there, at Nādika, the Exalted One stayed in the Brick Hall².

6. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca:

‘Sāḷho nāma bhante bhikkhu Nādi-ke kālakato,³ tassa kā gati ko abhisamparāyo ?⁴ Nandā nāma bhante bhikkhunī Nādi-ke kālakatā, tassā kā gati ko abhisamparāyo ? Sudatto

1. B^m adds *pi*.

2. At first Nādika is (twice) spoken of in the plural number (a clan-name); but then, thirdly, in the last clause, in the singular (a local name derived from the clan-name). Buddhaghosa explains this by saying that there were two villages of the same name on the shore of the same piece of water. The ‘Brick Hall’ was the public resting-place for travellers, and the name is noteworthy as almost all build-ings, were then of wood.

The expression used here is an idiomatic phrase descriptive of the arrival of travellers at a place:— ‘and there, at X. so and so stayed in Y.’ where X. is the name of the town or village, and Y. is the lodging-place the traveller occupies. (See just above in § 1 for a good instance.) The first name, the name X, is always the name of the town, and never an adjective in agreement with the second name. It seems simple enough; but even the best Sanskrit-ists appear sometimes to be unfamiliar with the force of this Pāli idiom.

3. B^m *kālaṃ kato, and onwards*.

4. *Comp. Vin. i. 293.*

nāma bhante upāsako Nādi ke kālakato, tassa kā gati ko abhisamparāyo ? Sujātā nāma bhante upāsikā Nādi ke kālakatā, tassā kā gati ko abhisamparāyo ? Kakudho¹ nāma bhante upāsako Nādi ke kālakato, tassa kā gati ko abhisamparāyo ? Kālingo² nāma bhante upāsako ... pe ... Nikato nāma bhante upāsako ... Kaṭṭissabho nāma bhante upāsako ... Tuṭṭho nāma bhante upāsako ... Santuṭṭho nāma bhante upāsako ... Bhaddo³ nāma bhante upāsako ... Subhaddo⁴ nāma bhante upāsako Nādi ke kālakato, tassa kā gati ko abhisamparāyo' ti ?

6. And the venerable Ānanda went to the Exalted One and paid him reverence and took his seat beside him. And when he was seated, he addressed the Exalted One, and said:— 'The brother named Sālha has died at Nādika, lord. Where has he been reborn, and what is his destiny? The sister named Nandā has died, lord, at Nādika. Where is she reborn, and what is her destiny ?' [And in the same terms he inquired concerning the lay disciple Sudatta, and the devout lady Sugata, the lay disciples Kakudha, and Kālinga, and Nikata, and Katissabha, and Tuttha, and Santuttha, and Bhadda, and Subhadda.]

7. 'Sālho Ānanda bhikkhu āsavānaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ cetto-vimuttiṃ paññā-vimuttiṃ diṭṭhe 'va dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja vihāsi. Nandā Ānanda bhikkhunī pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā tattha-parinibbāyinī anāvatti-dhammā tasmā lokā.⁵ Sudatto Ānando upāsako tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmi sakid eva imaṃ lokam āgantvā dukkhass' antaṃ karissati. Sujāta Ānanda upāsikā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotāpannā

1. S^{ct} K Kakudho; S^d Kakudo *here, but* Kakudho in § 7; B^m Kukkuṭo (*and so below*).
2. B^m Kālimbo; K Kāraḷimbo (Kāliṅgo *as a various reading*). *So also* in § 7.
3. K Bhaṭo (Bhaddo *as var. read.*).
4. K Subhaṭo (Subhaddo *as var. read.*).
5. S^{cdt} insert pe.

avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sambodhi-parāyanā. Kakudho Ānanda upāsako pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko tattha-parinibbāyī anāvatti-dhammo tasmā lokā. Kālīṅgo Ānanda upāsako . . . pe . . . Nikāto Ānanda upāsako . . . Kaṭṭissabho Ānanda upāsako . . . Bhaddo Ānanda upāsako . . . Subhaddo Ānanda upāsako pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātiko tattha-parinibbāyī anāvatti-dhammo tasmā lokā. Paro-paṇṇāsa¹ Ānanda Nādiḱe upāsakā kālakatā pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā tattha-parinibbāyino anāvatti-dhammā tasmā lokā. Sādhikā navuti Ānanda Nādiḱe upāsakā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā sahaḱāgāmino sakid eva hnaṃ lokaṃ aguntva dukkhass' antaṃ karissanti, Sātirekāni² Ānanda pañca satāni Nādiḱe upāsakā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotāpannā avinipātā-dhammā niyatā sambodhi-parāyanā.

7. 'The brother named Sālha, Ānanda, by the destruction of the Intoxications has by himself, and in this world, known and realized and attained to Arahantship, to emancipation of heart and to emancipation of mind. The sister named Nandā, Ānanda, has, by the complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to these lower worlds of lust, become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. The devout Sudatta, Ānanda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction to a minimum of lust, ill-will, and stupidity, has become a Sakadāgāmin, who on his first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. The devout Sugata, Ānanda, by the complete destruction of the three bonds, has become converted, is no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and is assured of hereafter attaining to the enlightenment [of Arahant-ship]³. The devout Kakudha, Ānanda, by the

1. B^m -saṃ.

2. K dasātīr^o.

3. See Rhys Davids's 'Buddhism,' pp. 108-10; above, Vol. I, pp. 190-2; below, at VI, 6, and in the translation of D. II, 201; also Divyāvadāna, pp. 533-4.

complete destruction of the five bonds that bind people to these lower worlds of lust, has become an inheritor of the highest heavens, there to pass entirely away, thence never to return. [The same of Kālinga, Nikata, Katissabha, Tuttha, Santuttha, Bhadda, and Subhadda, and with more than fifty devout men in Nādika.] More than ninety devout men in Nādika, who have died, Ānanda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds, and by the reduction of lust, ill-will and stupidity, become Sakadāgāmins, who on their first return to this world will make an end of sorrow. More than five hundred devout men of Nādika who have died, Ānanda, have by the complete destruction of the three bonds become converted, are no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and are assured of hereafter attaining the enlightenment [of Arahantship].

8. 'Anacchariyaṃ kho paṇ' etaṃ Ānanda yaṃ manussa-bhūto kālaṃ kareyya, tasmim̐ tasmim̐ ce¹ kālakate Tathāgatam upasaṃkamitvā etaṃ atthaṃ pucchissatha, vihesā v' esā Ānanda Tathāgatassa. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda Dhammādāsaṃ nāma dhamma-pariyāyaṃ desessāmi yena samannāgato ariya-sāvako ākaṅkhamāno attanā va attānaṃ vyākareyya: "Khīṇa-nirayo 'mhi khīṇa-tiracchāna-yoniyo² khīṇa-petti-visayo khīṇāpāya-duggati-vinipāto, satāpanno 'ham asmi avinipāta-dhammo niyato sambodhi-parāyano" ti.

8. 'Now there is nothing strange in this, Ānanda, that a human being should die ; but that as each one does so you should come to me, and inquire about them in this manner, that is wearisome to me. I will, therefore, teach you a way of truth, called the Mirror of Truth, which if a disciple of the noble ones possess he may, if he should so desire, himself predict of himself:—"Purgatory is destroyed for me, and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted, I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of hereafter attaining to the enlightenment [of Arahantship]."

1. B^m yeva; K kho.

2. B^m K yoni, and below

9. ‘Katamo ca so Ānando Dhammādāso dhamma-pariyāyo yena samannāgato ariya-sāvako ākaṅkhamāno attanā va attānaṃ vyākareyya “Khīṇa-nirayo ’mhi khīṇa-tiracchāna-yoniyo khīṇa-petti-visayo khīṇāpāya-duggati-vinipāto, sotāpanno ’ham asmi avinipāta-dhammo niyato sambodhi-parāyano” ti? Idh’ Ānanda ariya-sāvako Buddhe aveccappasādena samannāgato hoti : “Iti pi so Bhagavā araham sammā-sambuddho vijjā-caraṇa-sampanno sugato loka-vidū anuttaro purisa-damma-sārathi satthā deva-manussānaṃ Buddho Bhagavā” ti. Dhamme aveccappasādena samannāgato hoti: “Svākkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhīti.” Saṃghe aveccappasā dena samannāgato hoti: “Supaṭipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-saṃgho, uju-paṭipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-saṃgho, nāya-paṭipanno Bhagavato sāvaka-saṃgho, samīci-paṭipanno¹ Bhagavato sāvaka-saṃgho, yadidaṃ cattāri purisa-yugāni atṭha purisa-puggalā esa Bhagavato sāvaka-saṃgho āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo² dakkhiṇeyyo añjali-karaṇīyo anut-taraṃ puññakkhettaṃ lokassāti.” Ariya-kantehi sīlehi samannāgato hoti akhaṇḍehi³ acchiddehi asabalehi akammāsehi bhujisschi⁴ viññuppasatthehi⁵ aparā-matṭhehi samādhi-saṃvattanikehi.

‘Ayaṃ kho so Ānanda dhammādāso dhamma-pariyāyo yena samannāgato ariya-sāvako ākaṅkhamāno attanā va attānaṃ vyākareyya “Khīṇa-nirayo ’mhi, khīṇa-tiracchāna-yoniyo,⁶ khīṇa-petti-visayo, khīṇāpāya-duggati- vinipāto, sotāpanno ’ham asmi avinipāta-dhammo niyato sambodhi-patāyano” ’ ti.

9. ‘What then, Ānanda, is this Mirror of Truth ? [It is the consciousness that] the disciple of the Arahants is in this world

1. B^m sāmici-.

2. S¹ K pāhun^o.

3. K akkh^o.

4. B^m bhūj^o.

5. B^m pasatthehi; K viññūpasatthehi.

6. B^m K yoni.

possessed of faith in the Buddha—believing the Exalted One to be the Arahant, the Fully-enlightened One, Wise, Upright, Happy, World-knowing, Supreme, the Bridler of men's wayward hearts, the Teacher of gods and men, the Exalted and Awakened One. And that he [the disciple] is possessed of faith in the Truth—believing the Truth to have been proclaimed by the Exalted One, of advantage in this world, passing not away, welcoming all, leading to salvation, and to be attained to by the wise, each one for himself. And that he [the disciple] is possessed of faith in the Order—believing the multitude of the disciples of the Exalted One who are walking in the four stages of the noble eightfold path, the righteous, the upright, the just, the law-abiding—believing this church of the Exalted One to be worthy of honour, of hospitality, of gifts, and of reverence ; to be the supreme sowing ground of merit for the world; to be possessed of the virtues beloved by the good, virtues unbroken, intact, unspotted, unblemished, virtues which make men truly free, virtues which are praised by the wise, are untarnished by the desire of future life or by the belief in the efficacy of outward acts, and are conducive to concentration of heart¹.

‘This, Ānanda, is the way, the Mirror of Truth, which if a disciple of the noble ones possess he may, if he should so desire, himself predict of himself:—“Purgatory is destroyed for me; and rebirth as an animal, or a ghost, or in any place of woe. I am converted ; I am no longer liable to be reborn in a state of suffering, and am assured of finally attaining to the enlightenment [of Arahantship].”

10. *Tatra*² *sudam Bhagavā Nidike*³ *viharanto Giñja-kāvasathe*⁴ *eted eva bahulam bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti: Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi itī paññā . . . pe . . . seyyathīdaṃ kāmāsavā bhavāsavā diṭṭhāsavā*⁵ *avijjāsavā ti.*

1. See above, I, 11.

2. B^m K *insert* pi.

3. B^m Nātike.

4. S^d Gijjhak^o; S^t Gijjhañjak^o.

5. S^t K *om.*

10. There, too, at the Brick Hall at Nāḍika the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:— ‘Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.’

11. *Atha kho Bhagavā Nāḍike yathābhiraṇṭaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi* : ‘*Āyāṃ*’ *Ānanda yena Vesālī ten’ upasaṃkamissāti.*

‘*Evam bhante*’ *ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato pac-cassosi.*

Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Vesālī tad avasari. Tatra sudam Bhagavā Vesāliyaṃ viharati Ambapālī-vane.

11. Now when the Exalted One had remained as long as he wished at Nāḍika, he addressed Ānanda, and said :— ‘Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Vesālī.’

So be it, lord!’ said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Vesālī; and there at Vesālī the Exalted One stayed at Ambapālī’s grove.

12. *Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi*:

‘*Sato bhikkhave bhikkhu vihareyya sampajāno, ayaṃ Vo¹ amhākaṃ anusāsani.*

‘*Kathaṃ ca bhikkhave bhikkhu sato hoti ? Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhiññhā-domanassaṃ vedanāsu . . . pe . . . citte . . . pe . . . dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati, ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhiññā domanassaṃ, evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu sato hoti.*

1. S^{cdt} kho; K te.

12. Now there the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said :— ‘Let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and self-possessed ; this is our instruction to you¹.

‘And how does a brother become mindful ?

‘Herein, O mendicants, a brother continues as to the body, so to look upon the body that he remains strenuous, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. [And in the same way as to feelings, moods, or ideas, he continues so to look upon each] that he remains strenuous, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world.

13. ‘Kathañ ca bhikkhave bhikkhu sampajāno hoti ? Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu abhikkante paṭikkante sampajāna-kārī hoti, alokite vilokite sampajāna-kārī hoti, sammiñjite pasārite sampajāna-kārī hoti, saṃghāṭi-patta-cīvara-dhāraṇe sampajāna-kārī hoti, asite pīte khāyite sāyite sampajāna-kārī hoti, uccāra-passāva-kamme sampajāna-kārī hoti, gate ṭhite nisinne sutte jāgarite bhāsīte tuṇhī-bhāve sampajāna-kārī hoti. Evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu sampajāno hoti. Sato bhikkhave bhikkhu vihareyya sampajāno, ayaṃ vo² amhākaṃ anusāsānī³ ti.

13. ‘And how does a brother become self-possessed?

‘He acts, O mendicants, in full presence of mind whatever he may do, in going out or coming in, in looking forward or in looking round, in bending in his arm or in stretching it forth, in wearing his robes or in carrying his bowl, in eating or drinking, in masticating or swallowing, in obeying the calls of nature, in walking or standing or sitting, in sleeping or waking, in talking and in being silent.

‘Thus let a brother, O mendicants, be mindful and self-possessed; this is our instruction to you³.’

1. Quoted Mil. 378.

2. Sctd kho: K te.

3. This doctrine of being ‘mindful and self-possessed’ is one of the lessons most frequently inculcated in the Pāli Pitakas, and is one

14. Assosi kho Ambapālī gaṇikā ‘Bhagavā kira Vesāliyaṃ¹ anuppatto Vesāliyaṃ viharati mayhaṃ amba-vane’ ti. Atha kho Ambapālī gaṇikā bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā, bhaddaṃ² yānaṃ abhirūhitvā bhaddehi bhad-dehi yānehi Vesāliyā niyyāsi, yena sako ārāmo tena pāyāsi. Yāvaticā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā pattikā va yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Ambapālīṃ gaṇikaṃ Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahāsesi.

Atha kho Ampabālī-gaṇikā Bhagavatā dhammiyā kathāya sandassitā samādapitā samuttejitā sampahāsitā Bhagavantam etad avoca:

‘Adhivāsetu me bhante Bhagavā svātanāya bhattam saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghenāti.’

Adhivāsesi Bhagavā tuṇhī-bhāvena. Atha kho Ambapālī-gaṇikā Bhagavato adhivāsaṇaṃ viditvā utṭhay’ āsanā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi.

of the ‘Seven Jewels of the Law.’ It is fully treated of in each of the Nikāyas, forming the subject of the Maha Satippatthāna Sutta in the Dīgha Nikāya, and the Satippatthāna Sutta of the Majjhima Nikāya, and the Satippatthāna Samyutta of the Samyutta Nikāya, as well as of various passages in the Anguttara Nikāya, and of the vibhaṅga. See above, Vol. I, pp. 80, 81; and the translation, below, of pp. 290 foll. of the text. The point is there discussed in detail.

Buddhaghosa has no comment here on the subject itself, reserving what he has to say for the comment on the Suttas devoted entirely to it; but he observes in passing that the reason why the Exalted One laid stress, at this particular time and place, on the necessity of being ‘mindful and thoughtful,’ was because of the imminent approach of the beautiful courtesan in whose grove they were staying. The use of the phrase *sati upatthāpetabbā* below, Chap. V, 9 (text, p. 141), in reference to the way in which women should be treated, is quite in accordance with this explanation. But see the next note.

1. B^m K Vesāliṃ, against S^{cdt} and Ch.
2. B^m K add bhaddaṃ.

14. ¹Now the courtesan Ambapālī heard that the Exalted One had arrived at Vesālī, and was staying there at her mango grove. And ordering a number of state vehicles to be made ready, she mounted one of them, and went forth with her train from Vesālī towards her garden. She went in the carriage as far as the ground was passable for carriages ; there she alighted ; and she proceeded on foot to the place where the Exalted One was, and took her seat respectfully on one side. And when she was thus seated the Exalted One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened her with religious discourse.

Then she—instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened with his words—addressed the Exalted One and said :—

‘May the Exalted One do me the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at my house tomorrow?’

And the Exalted One gave, by silence, his consent. Then when Ambapālī the courtesan saw that the Exalted One had consented, she rose from her seat and bowed down before him, and keeping him on her right hand as she passed him, she departed thence.

15. Assosum kho Vesālikā Licchavī ‘Bhagavā kira Vesālīm’² anuppatto Vesāliyaṃ viharati Ambapālī-vane’ ti. Atha kho te Licchavī bhaddāni bhaddāni yānāni yojāpetvā bhaddaṃ³ yānaṃ abhirūhitvā bhaddehi bhaddehi yānehi Vesāliyā niyyiṃsu.⁴ Tatr’ ekacce Licchavī nīlā honti nīla-vaṇṇā

1. From this point down to the words ‘he rose from his seat,’ in II, 24 is, with a few unimportant variations, word for word the same as Vinaya, Vol. I, pp. 231-3. But the passage there follows immediately after the verses translated above, I, 34, so that the events here (in §§ 14-18) localized at Vesālī, are there localized at Kotigāma. Our section II, 5 is then inserted between our sections II, 18 and II, 19; and our section II, n does not occur at all, the Exalted One only reaching Ambapālī’s grove when he goes there (as in our section II, 19) to partake of the meal to which he had been invited. Buddha-ghosa passes over this apparent discrepancy in silence.
2. SS Vesāliyaṃ. Comp. Vol. i. 87, 111, 127.
3. B^m K add bhaddaṃ.
4. S^d niyyaṃsu; S^t niyyumsu; B^m niyiṃsu. Vin. i. 231 niyyāsum bhagavantaṃ dassanāya.

nīla-vatthā nīlālaṅkāṛā, ekacce Licchavī pītā honti pīta-vaṇṇā pīta-vatthā pītālaṅkāṛā, ekacce Licchavī lohita-¹ honti lohita-vaṇṇā lohita-vatthā lohita-laṅkāṛā, ekacce Licchavī odātā honti odāta-vaṇṇā odāta-vatthā odātālaṅkāṛā.

15. Now the Licchavis of Vesālī heard that the Exalted One had arrived at Vesālī, and was staying at Ambapālī's grove. And ordering a number of state carriages to be made ready, they each mounted one of them and went forth with their train from Vesālī. Some of them were dark, dark in colour, and wearing dark clothes and ornaments : some of them were fair, fair in colour, and wearing light clothes and ornaments : some of them were red, ruddy in colour, and wearing red clothes and ornaments : some of them were white, pale in colour, and wearing white clothes and ornaments.

16. Atha kho Ambapālī-gaṇikā daharānaṃ daharānaṃ Licchavīnaṃ akkhena akkhaṃ cakkena cakkaṃ yugena yugaṃ paṭivattesi.² Atha kho Licchavī Ambapālīṃ gaṇikaṃ etad avocaṃ :

‘Kiñ je Ambapālī daharānaṃ daharānaṃ Licchavīnaṃ akkhena akkhaṃ cakkena cakkaṃ yugena yugaṃ paṭi-vattesi?’

‘Tathā hi pana me ayyaputtā Bhagavā nimantito svātanāya bhattaṃ saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghenāti.’

‘Dehi je Ambapālī etaṃ bhattaṃ sata-sahassenāti.

‘Sace pi me ayyaputtā Vesālīṃ sāhāraṃ dassatha evaṃ mahantaṃ bhattaṃ na dassāmīti.’

Atha kho te Licchavī aṅgulī³ poṭhesuṃ,⁴ ‘Jit’ amhā vata bho ambakāya, vañcit’⁵ amhā vata bho ambakāyāti.’

Atha kho te Licchavī yena Ambapālī-vanaṃ tena pāyimsu.

16. And Ambapālī drove up against the young Licchavis,

1. B^m -tā.

2. Vin. i. 231, 3 differs in this and the following clauses.

3. S^c -ṭhosuṃ.

4. B^m aṅgulīṃ, and so below § 18.

5. B^m jit.’

axle to axle, wheel to wheel, and yoke to yoke, and the Licchavis said to Ambapāli the courtesan :— ‘How is it, Ambapāli, that thou drivest up against us thus ?’

‘My lords, I have just invited the Exalted One and his brethren for their morrow’s meal,’ said she.

‘Ambapāli! give up this meal to us for a hundred thousand,’ said they.

‘My lords, were you to offer all Vesālī with its subject territory, I would not give up so honourable a feast!’

Then the Licchavis cast up their hands, exclaiming :

— ‘We are outdone by this mango girl! we are out-reached by this mango girl!’ and they went on to Ambapāli’s grove.

17. Addasā kho Bhagavā te Licchavī dūrato va āgacchante, disvā bhikkhū āmantesi:

‘Yesaṃ bhikkhave bhikkhūnaṃ devā Tāvatisa aditṭhā.² oloketha bhikkhave Licchavi³ -parisaṃ, avaloketha bhikkhave Licchavi-parisaṃ, upasaṃharatha bhikkhave Licchavi-parisaṃ Tāvatisa-parisaṃ’ ti.

17. When the Exalted One saw the Licchavis approaching in the distance, he addressed the brethren, and said:—

‘O brethren, let those of the brethren who have never seen the Tāvatisa gods, gaze upon this company of the Licchavis, behold this company of the Licchavis, compare this company of the Licchavis— for they are even as a company of Tāvatisa gods⁴.’

18. Atha kho te Licchavī yāvatikā yānassa bhūmi yānena gantvā yānā paccorohitvā, pattikā va yena Bhagavā ten’

1. Literally ‘by this woman.’ But I have tried to reproduce the evident word-play. Ambapāli means mango grower, one who looks after mangoes.

2. K and Vin. i. 232, aditṭha-pubbā. Comp. Mahāvastu i. 262; Sum. i. 310; Rockhill 63.

3. B^m -vī and onwards.

4. The Tāvatisa-devā are the gods in the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, the principal deities of the Vedic Pantheon. See A. III, 239; Sum. I, 310; Mahāvastu I, 262.

upasaṃkamaṃsu, upasaṃkamtivā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdiṃsu. Ekamantaṃ nisinne kho te Licchavī Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassesi samādapesi samuttejesi sampahaṃsesi.

Atha kho te Licchavī Bhagavatā dhammiyā kathāya sandassitā samādapitā samuttejitā sampahaṃsitā Bhagavantam etad avocaṃ:

‘Adhivāsetu no bhante Bhagavā svātanāya bhattam saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghenāti.’

¹‘Adhivuttham kho me Licchavī svātanāya Ambapālīgaṇikāya² bhattan’ ti.

Atha kho te Licchavī aṅgulī poṭhesuṃ : ‘Jit’ amhā vata bho ambakāya, vañcit’ amhā vata bho ambakāyāti.’

Atha kho te Licchavī Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā utṭhāy’ āsanā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇam katvā pakkamaṃsu.

18. And when they had ridden as far as the ground was passable for carriages, the Licchavis alighted there, and then went on foot to the place where the Exalted One was, and took their seats respectfully by his side. And when they were thus seated the Exalted One instructed and roused and incited and gladdened them with religious discourse³.

Then they—instructed and roused and incited and gladdened with his words—addressed the Exalted One, and said :—‘May the Exalted One do us the honour of taking his meal, together with the brethren, at our house to-morrow ?’

1. B inserts atha kho Bhagavā te Licchavi etad avoca. K for adhivuttham reads adhivāsitaṃ. Vin. has adhivuttho mhi.

2. B^m -liyā- throughout.

3. The Malālaṅkāra-vatthu gives the substance of the discourse on this occasion. ‘The princes had come in their finest and richest dress; in their appearance they vied in beauty with the nats (or angels). But foreseeing the ruin and misery that was soon to come upon them all, the Buddha exhorted his disciples to entertain a thorough contempt for things that are dazzling to the eyes, but essentially perishable and unreal in their nature.’—Bigandet, 2nd ed., p. 260.

‘O Licchavis, I have promised to dine to-morrow with Ambapālī the courtesan,’ was the reply.

Then the Licchavis cast up their hands, exclaiming :— ‘We are outdone by this mango girl! we are out-reached by this mango girl’ ! And expressing their thanks and approval of the words of the Exalted One, they rose from their seats and bowed down before the Exalted One, and keeping him on their right hand as they passed him, they departed thence.

19. *Atha kho Ambapālī-gaṇikā tassā rattiyā accayena sake ārāme paṇītaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ paṭiyādāpetvā Bhagavato kālaṃ ārocāpesi* : ‘Kālo bhante niṭṭhi-taṃ bhattaṃ’ ti. *Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-civaraṃ ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena Ambapālī-gaṇikāya parivesanā¹ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Atha kho Ambapālī-gaṇikā Buddha-pamukhaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ paṇītena khādaniyena bhojaniyena sahatthā santappesi sampavā-resi.*

Atha kho Ambapālī-gaṇikā Bhagavantam bhuttāvim onīta-patta-pāṇiṃ aññataram nīcam āsanaṃ gahetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinnā kho Ambapālī-gaṇikā Bhagavantam etad avoca :

‘*Imāhaṃ bhante ārāmaṃ² Buddha-pamukhassa bhikkhu-saṃghassa dammīti.*’

Paṭiggahesi Bhagavā ārāmaṃ. Atha kho Bhagavā Ambapālī-gaṇikaṃ dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samādapetvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā utṭhāya’ āsanā pakkāmi.

19. And at the end of the night Ambapālī the courtesan made ready in her mansion sweet rice and cakes, and announced the time to the Exalted One, saying:— ‘The hour, lord, has come, and the meal is ready!’

And the Exalted One who had dressed himself early in the morning, took his bowl, and his robe, and went with the brethren to the place where Ambapālī’s mansion was : and when he had

1. B^m nivesanaṃ ; K parivesanaṃ.

2. Vin. i. 233 Ambapālīvanaṃ (!).

come there he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And Ambapālī the courtesan set the sweet rice and cakes before the Order, with the Buddha at their head, and waited upon them till they refused any more.

And when the Blessed One had quite finished his meal, and had cleansed the bowl and his hands, the courtesan had a low stool brought, and sat down at his side, and addressed the Exalted One, and said :— ‘Lord, I present this pleasaunce to the order of mendicants, of which the Buddha is the chief.’ And the Exalted One accepted the gift; and after instructing, arid rousing, and inciting, and gladdening her with religious discourse, he rose from his seat and departed thence.¹

20. Tatra pi² sudam Bhagavā Vesāliyam viharanto Ambapālī-vane etad eva bahulam bhikkhūnam dhammim katham karoti: Iti sīlam iti samādhi iti paññā, sīla-paribhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahānisamsa, samādhi-paribhāvita paññā mahapphalā hoti mahāni-samsā, paññā-paribhāvitaṃ cittam sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati seyyathīdam kāmāsavā bhavāsavā ditṭhāsavā³ avijjāsavā ti.

20. While at Ambapālī’s mango grove the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying:— ‘Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation ; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is

1. Bishop Bigandet says:— ‘In recording the conversion of a courtesan named Apapalika, her liberality and gifts to Budha and his disciples, and the preference designedly given to her over princes and nobles, who, humanly speaking, seemed in every respect better entitled to attentions—one is almost reminded of the conversion of ‘a woman that was a sinner,’ mentioned in the Gospels (‘Legend of the Burmese Budha,’ 2nd ed., p. 258).

2. S^d K om.

3. K omits.

set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.'

21. Atha kho Bhagavā Ambapāli-vane yathâbhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

'Āyāṃ' Ānanda yena Beluva-gāmak¹ ten' upasaṃkamissāmāti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato pacassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddiṃ yena Beluva-gāmak¹ tad avasari. Tatra sudam² Bhagavā Beluva-gāmake viharati.

21. Now when the Exalted One had remained so long as he wished at Ambapāli's grove, he addressed Ānanda, and said:— 'Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Beluva².'

'So be it, lord,' said Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

Then the Exalted One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren, to Beluva, and there the Exalted One stayed in the village itself.

22. ³Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

'Etha tumhe bhikkhave, samantā Vesālī⁴ yathā-mittam⁵ yathā-sandiṭṭhaṃ yathā-sambhattaṃ vassaṃ upetha, ahaṃ pana idh' eva Beluva-gāmake vassaṃ upagacchāmāti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paṭissutvā samantā Vesālī⁶ yathā-mittam⁵ yathā-sandiṭṭhaṃ yathā-sambhattaṃ vassaṃ upagañchum,⁷ Bhagavā pana tattha'

1. B^m K Veluva- (and below).

2. The Vinaya (I, 233) says they went to the Great Wood near Vesālī, that is, it skips the context here as far as III, 64. Our sections 27-35 are in the Samyutta V, 152-4.

3. Samyutta va. 152-4.

4. S^{cd} -liyaṃ; Feer -liyā.

5. S^c mattam and below, S^{dt} khittam and below. K yathāmittam in text, yathākhittam in note.

6. S^c-liyaṃ as above.

7. B^m upagacchimsu; K upagacchum.

eva Beluva-gāmake vassaṃ upagañchi.¹

22. Now the Exalted One there addressed the brethren, and said :— ‘O mendicants, do you take up your abode round about Vesālī, each according to the place where his friends, acquaintances, and intimates may live, for the retreat in the rainy season [for vassa]. I shall enter upon the rainy season here at Beluva.’

‘So be it, lord!’ said those brethren, in assent, to the Exalted One. And they entered upon the rainy season round about Vesālī, each according to the place where his friends, acquaintances, and intimates lived : whilst the Exalted One stayed even there at Beluva.

23. Atha kho Bhagavato vassūpagatassa khara ābādho uppajji, bālā² vedanā vattanti³ māraṇantikā. Tā⁴, sudaṃ Bhagavā sato sampajāno adhivāseti⁵ avihaññamāno.

Atha kho Bhagavato etad ahoṣi: “Na kho me taṃ patirūpaṃ yo ‘haṃ⁶ anāmantetvā upaṭṭhāke anapaloketvā bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ parinibbāyeyyaṃ. Yaṃ nunāhaṃ imaṃ ābādhaṃ viriyena paṭippanāmetvā jīvita-saṃkhāraṃ adhiṭṭhāya vihareyyaṃ ‘ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā taṃ ābādhaṃ viriyena paṭippanāmetvā jīvita-saṃkhāraṃ adhiṭṭhāya vihāsi. Atha kho Bhagavato so ābādho paṭippassambhi.⁷

23. Now when the Exalted One had thus entered upon the rainy season, there fell upon him a dire sickness, and sharp pains came upon him, even unto death. But the Exalted One, mindful and self-possessed, bore them without complaint.

Then this thought occurred to the Exalted One:—‘It would not be right for me to pass away without addressing the disciples,

1. B^m K upagacchi.

2. SS pabālā^{hā} as at 4. 20.

3. B^m vattati.

4. S^t B^m K tatra.

5. B^m K -sesi.

6. B^m yvāhaṃ.

7. The Saṃyutta omits this sentence.

without taking leave of the Order. Let me now, by a strong effort of the will, bend this sickness down again, and keep my hold on life till the allotted time be come¹.'

And the Exalted One, by a strong effort of the will, bent that sickness down again, and kept his hold on life till the time he fixed upon should come. And the sickness abated upon him.

24. Atha kho Bhagavā gilānā vuṭṭhito acira-vuṭṭhito gelaññā vihārā nikkhamma vihāra-pacchāyāyaṃ² paññatte āsane nisīdi. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca:

'Ditṭhā³ me bhante Bhagavato phāsu, ditṭham me bhante Bhagavato khamanīyaṃ.⁴ Api hi⁵ me bhante madhuraka-jāto viya kāyo, disā pi me na pakkhāyanti, dhammā pi maṃ na paṭibhanti Bhagavato gelaññena, api ca me bhante ahosi kācid eva assāsamattā, "na tāva Bhagavā parinibbāyissati na yāva Bhagavā bhikkhu-saṃgham ārabha kiñcid eva udāharatīti."'

24. Now very soon after the Blessed One began to recover. And when he had quite got rid of the sickness, he came out from his lodging, and sat down in the shadow thereof on a seat spread out there. And the venerable Ānanda went to the place where the Exalted One was, and saluted him, and took a seat respectfully on one side, and-addressed the Exalted One, and said :— 'I have beheld, lord, how the Exalted One was in health, and I have beheld how the Exalted One had to suffer. And though at the sight of the sickness of the Exalted One my body became weak as a creeper, and the horizon became dim to me, and my faculties

1. Compare Divyāvadāna 203.

2. K viharapp^o; Feer, nikkhamitvā viharapaccā chāy āyaṃ.

3. B^m diṭho. Both B^m and K omit me both times.

4. Feer has Ditṭhā bhante khamanīyaṃ, ditṭhā bhante Bhagavato yāpanīyaṃ.

5. B^m K ca; Feer omits.

were no longer clear¹, yet notwithstanding I took some little comfort from the thought that the Exalted One would not pass away until at least he had left instructions as touching the Order.'

25. 'Kim pan' Ānanda bhikkhu-saṃgho mayi paccā-simsati ?² Desito Ānanda mayā dhammo anantaraṃ abāhiraṃ karitvā, na tatth'³ Ānanda Tathāgatassa dhammesu ācariya-muṭṭhi. Yassa nūna Ānanda evaṃ assa "Ahaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ pariharissāmīti" vā "Mam' uddesiko bhikkhu-saṃgho" ti vā, so nūna Ānanda bhikkhu-saṃgho" ti vā, so nūna Ānanda bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ ārabba kiñcid eva udāhareyya. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda na evaṃ hoti "Ahaṃ bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ pariharissāmīti vā "Mam' uddesiko bhikkhu-saṃgho" ti vā. Kiṃ⁴ Ānanda Tathāgato bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ ārabba kiñcid eva udāharissati ? Ahaṃ kho pan' Ānanda etarahi⁵ jīṇo vuddho mahallako addha-gato vayo anuppatto, asītiko me vayo⁶ vattati. Seyyathā pi Ānanda jara⁷-sakaṭaṃ vegha⁸-missakena yāpeti, evaṃ eva kho Ānada vegha-missakena maññe⁹ Tathāgatassa kāyo yāpeti. Yasmiṃ Ānanda samaye Tathāgato sabba-nimittānaṃ amanasi-kārā ekaccānaṃ vedanānaṃ hirodhā animittaṃ ceto-samādhim upasampajja viharati, phāsukato¹⁰ Ānanda tasmim samaye Tathāgatassa kāyo hoti.

25. 'What, then, Ānanda ? Does the Order expect that of me ? I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine; for in respect of the truths. Ānanda, the Tathāgata has no such thing as the closed

1. Compare A. III, 69.

2. B^m -sīsati.

3. B^m K Feer, n'atth' for na tatth'.

4. K sakim.

5. Feer, Etarahi kho panāham Ānanda.

6. B^m Feer vasso; SS K vayo.

7. S^c jarā; B^m jajjara.

8. B^m vekha; K veḷu; Feer vedha.

9. S^t inserts na.

10. B^m K -karo. Feer phāsutaraṃ and omits kāyo.

fist of a teacher, who keeps some things back¹. Surely, Ānanda, should there be any one who harbours the thought, "It is I who will lead the brotherhood," or, 'The Order is dependent upon me,' it is he who should lay down instructions in any matter concerning the Order. Now the Tathāgata, Ānanda, thinks not that it is he who should lead the brotherhood, or that the Order is dependent upon him. Why then should he leave instructions in any matter concerning the Order ? I too, O Ānanda, am now grown old, and full of years, my journey is drawing to its close, I have reached my sum of days, I am turning eighty years of age; and just as a worn-out cart, Ānanda, can be kept going only with the help of thongs, so, methinks, the body of the Tathāgata can only be kept going by bandaging it up². It is only, Ānanda, when the Tathāgata, by ceasing to attend to any outward thing, becomes plunged by the cessation of any separate sensation in that concentration of heart which is concerned with no material object—it is only then that the body of the Tathāgata is at ease³.

26. 'Tasmāt ih' Ānanda *atta-dīpā viharatha atta-saraṇā anañña-saraṇā, dhamma-dīpā dhamma-saraṇā anañña-saraṇā. Kathañ c' Ānanda bhikkhu atta-dīpo viharati atta-saraṇo anañña-saraṇo, dhamma-dīpo dhamma-saraṇo anañña-saraṇo ?*

1. Compare Jātaka II, 221, 250; Mil. 144.
2. Vegha-missakena, the meaning of which is not clear. The *Malālaṅkāra-vatthu*, as rendered by Bigandet, has 'repairs.' The *Sumangala Vilāsinī* agrees, but in such a way as to throw no light on the derivation of the word. In the *Samyutta Nikāya* (V. 153) the Burmese Phayre MS. reads *vekhamissakena* and another Burmese MS. *vedha*—but SS. all read *vegha*. The Siamese edition has *valu*. My *Dīgha Nikāya* confirms Childers's reading, which no doubt correctly represents the uniform tradition of the Ceylon MSS. On the use of the word *missaka* at the end of a compound see Jātaka II, 8, 420, 433; and compare M.I, 82; Thera-gāthā 143; Mil. 159; and the discussion in 'J.P.T. S.', 1884, pp. 97-101.
3. This is very interesting as giving what is, no doubt, the original meaning of *animitta* as applied to *ceto-samādhi*. See my 'Yogāvacara's Manual of Indian Mysticism,' p. xxvii.

‘Idh’ Ānanda bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjā-domanassaṃ, vedanāsu . . . pe . . . citte . . . pe . . . , dhammesu dhammā-nupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanassaṃ, evaṃ kho Ānanda bhikkhu atta-dīpo viharati atta-saraṇo anañña-saraṇo, dhamma-dīpo dhamma-saraṇo anañña-saraṇo.

‘Ye hi keci Ānanda etarahi vā mamaṃ vā accayena¹ atta-dīpā viharissanti atta-saraṇā anañña-saraṇā, dhamma-dīpā dhamma-saraṇā anañña-saraṇā, tamatagge me te² Ānanda bhikkhū bhavissanti ye keci sikkhā-kāma’ ti

26. ⁴Therefore, O Ānanda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves. And how, Ānanda, is a brother to be a lamp unto himself, a refuge to himself, betaking himself to no external refuge, holding fast to the Truth as a lamp, holding fast as a refuge to the Truth, looking not for refuge to any one besides himself?

‘Herein, O mendicants, a brother continues, as to the body, so to look upon the body that he remains strenuous, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. [And in the same way] as to feelings . . . moods . . . ideas, he continues so to look upon each that he remains strenuous, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world.

1. B^m K mama vā accayena: Feer, mamaccayena vā.

2. B^m p’ete, for me te.

3. B^m Dutiya-bhāṇavāro; K Mahā-Parinibbāne Gāma-Kaṇḍaṃ samattaṃ dutiya-bhāṇvāraṃ.

4. This section recurs at S. V, 163, compare III, 42, and the example given at V, 221.

‘And whosoever, Ānanda, either now or after I am dead, shall be a lamp unto themselves, and a refuge unto themselves, shall betake themselves to no external refuge, but holding fast to the Truth as their lamp, and holding fast as their refuge to the Truth, shall look not for refuge to any one besides themselves—it is they, Ānanda, among my bhikkhus. who shall reach the very topmost Height !—but they must be anxious to learn¹.’

Dutiyaka-Bhāṇavāraṃ niṭṭhitam.³

End of the Second Portion for Recitation.

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1. Buddhaghosa says :— ‘Tamatagge is for tamagge. The “t” in the middle is used for euphony. This word means, “These are the most pre-eminent, the very chief.” Having, as above stated, broken even bond of darkness (tama), those bhikkhus of mine, Ānanda, will be at the very top, in the highest condition. The)’ will be at the very top of whom ? Those bhikkhus who are willing to learn, and those who exercise themselves in the four ways of being mindful and thoughtful, they shall be at the top of all (the rest). Thus does he make Arahant ship the three-peaked height of his discourse’ (compare on this last phrase Nibbānena desanākutam gāhāti, Jātaka I, 275, 393, 401; and see also I, 114). Uttama, the highest (scil. bhava, condition), is used absolutely of Arahantship or Nirvana at Jātaka I, 96 ; Aggaphala occurs in the same sense at Jātaka I, 114; and even Phalagga at Mahāvamsa XV, 209. The last words, ‘but the) must be anxious to learn,’ seem to me to be an afterthought. It is only those who are thoroughly determined to work out their own salvation, without looking for safety to any one else, even to the Buddha himself, who will, whilst in the world, enter into and experience Nirvana. But, of course, let there be no mistake, merely to reject the vain baubles of the current superstitious beliefs is not enough. There is plenty to learn and to acquire, of which enough discourse is elsewhere.

CHAPTER III

3. 1. ¹Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇha-samayam nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya Vesālīm² piṇḍāya pāvisi, Vesāliyam² piṇḍāya caritvā³ pacchābhataṃ piṇḍāpāta-paṭikkanto āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi :

‘Gaṇhāhi Ānanda nisīdanaṃ. Yana Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ ten’ upasaṃkamissāmi⁴ divā-vihārāyāti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā nisīdanaṃ ādāya Bhagavantaṃ piṭṭhito piṭṭhito anubandhi.

1.⁵ Now the Exalted One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl in the robe, went into Vesālī for alms. When, after he had returned from the round for alms, he had finished eating the rice, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— ‘Take up the mat, Ānanda ; I will go and spend the day at the Chāpāla Shrine.’

‘So be it, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One. And taking up the mat he followed step for step behind the Exalted One.

2. Atha kho Bhagavā yena Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Āyasmā pi

1. In the Saṃyutta v. 259 foll.; in the Aṅguttara iv. 308 foll., and in the Udāna vi. Comp. Divy. 200-208, and Windisch, ‘Māra und Buddha’, 35 foll.

2. S^{ct} Ud. -līm both times ; S^d Feer Vesāliyam both times.

3. All MSS. add pannatte āsane nisīdi. But K and all the other texts omit.

4. B^m K Hardy-ssāma.

5. 1-20 recur in A. IV, 308 foll. ; 1-10 in Udāna VI, I. and S. V, 259 foll. Compare Divy., pp. 200-8.

kho Ānando Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca:

‘Ramaṇīyā¹ Ānanda Vesālī, ramaṇīyaṃ Udenaṃ² cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Sattambakaṃ³ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Bahuputtaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Sārandaṃ⁴ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ.

2. So the Exalted One proceeded to the Chāpāla Shrine, and when he had come there he sat down on the mat spread out for him, and the venerable Ānanda took his seat respectfully beside him. Then the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— ‘How delightful a spot, Ānanda, is Vesālī, and how charming the Udena Shrine, and the Gotamaka Shrine, and the Shrine of the Seven Mangoes, and the Shrine of Many Sons, and the Sāranda Shrine and the Chāpāla Shrine⁵!

3. ‘Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā⁶ vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā, so akaṅkha māno kappam vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesam vā. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā. So⁷ ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappam vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesam vā’ ti.

1. B^m rammaṇiyā, and in § 5 (with mm, and i).

2. B^m Udena-, Gotamka-, etc., and so in § 5.

3. B^m Feer Sattamba-, K -baṃ and so in § 5.

4. B^m Sānandara, and so in § 5.

5. Shrines of pre-Buddhistic worship. They were probably trees and harrows; but as no excavations have yet been made at Vesālī the point is uncertain. The Anglo-Indian use of the word Chetiya, as equivalent to our Temple, is quite wrong.

6. B^m yaṇī-katā. S. i. 116, Jāt. ii. 61. Mil. 198 all -ni.

7. Childers, p. 34, says this word should be struck out, having crept in from previous sentence ; and so Windisch, p. 44. S^{cd} B^m K all have it. Steinthal, Feer, and Hardy omit it. Comp. 2. 25, and below 3. 41.

3. 'Ānanda, whosoever has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi¹, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just more fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which has yet to run.'

4. **Evam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavatā oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne nāsakkhi paṭivijjhitaṃ, na Bhagavantam yāci: 'Tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappam, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussāna' ti, yathā tam Mārena pariyuṭṭhita²-citto.**

4. But even though a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given by the Exalted One, the venerable Ānanda was incapable of comprehending them ; and he besought not the Exalted One, saying:— 'Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon ! Live on through the aeon, O Happy One ! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men ! 'So far was his heart possessed by the Evil One³.

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1. Iddhi. The four paths are: —(1) will, (2) effort, (3) thought, and (4) investigation, each united to earnest thought and the struggle against evil. On the Iddhi to be reached by them see above, Vol. I pp. 272, 273; and the translator's 'Buddhism,' pp. 1.74-7. The whole set of participles is used elsewhere of other conditions of mind. So, for instance, of universal love (mettā) at A. V, 342, quoted Jātaka II, 61, Mil. 198. An ancient commentary on them is preserved at Pāṭis = I, 172.
 2. S^d here and S^{cd} below pariyuṭṭhita-.
 3. Yathā tam Mārena pariyuṭṭhitacitto. Here tam is the indeclinable particle, yathā tam introducing an explanation. My MS. of the Dīgha Nikāya and the Tumour MS. of the Sumangala Vilāsinī read pariyuṭṭhita, and either spelling is correct. The fact is that the 'y' or 'v' in such cases is even less than euphonic ; it is an assistance

5. Dutiyam pi kho Bhagavā . . . pe . . . Tatiyam pi kho Bhagavā āyasmantam Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

‘Ramaṇīyā Ānanda Vesālī, ramaṇīyaṃ Idenaṃ cetiyaṃ ramaṇīyaṃ Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Sattambakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Bahuputtaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Sārandaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramaṇīyaṃ Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ.

‘Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulīkatā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susā-māraddhā, so akaṅkhamāno kappamā vā tiṭṭheyya kappā-vasessaṃ vā. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulīkatā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāvaddhā, so akaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappamā vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasessaṃ vā’ ti.

Evam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavatā oḷārike nimित्ते kayiramāne oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne nāsakkhi paṭi-vijjhitum, na Bhagavantaṃ yāci: ‘Tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappamā, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappamā bahujaṇa-hitāya bahujaṇa-sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ’ ti, yathā taṃ Mārena pariyaṭṭhitacitto.

5. A second and a third time did the Exalted One [say the

not to the speaker, but merely to the writer. Thus in the Sinhalese duwanawaâ, ‘to run,’ the spoken word is duanawaâ, and the ‘w’ is written only to avoid the awkward use in the middle of a written word of the initial sign for the sound ‘a’. That the speakers of Paâli found no difficulty in pronouncing two vowels together is abundantly proved by numerous instances. The writers of Paâli, in those cases in which the second vowel begins a word, use without hesitation the initial sign; but in the middle of the word this would be so ungainly that they naturally prefer to insert a consonantal sign *to carry the vowel sign*. The varying readings I have pointed out are a strong confirmation of the correctness of the pronunciation of modern native scholars (in this case pari-utthita); and we may the more readily adopt it as the question is not really one concerning the pronunciation of Paâli, but concerning the use which modern native copyists make of their own alphabet. I would pronounce therefore pari-utthita-citto. See Windisch, ‘Mara und Buddha,’ p. 40; M. I, 433-4; Vin. II, 289; IV. 94, 229.

same thing, and a second and a third time was Ānanda's heart thus hardened].

6. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ āmantesi:

‘Gaccha tvaṃ Ānanda, yassa dāni kālaṃ maññasīti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā uttāhāya’ āsanā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā avidūre aññatarasmiṃ rukkhā-mūle nisīdi.

6. Then the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— ‘You may leave me, Ānanda. awhile, and do whatsoever now seemeth to thee fit.’

‘So be it, lord !’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One, and passing him on the right sat down at the foot of a certain tree not far off thence.

7. Atha kho Māro pāpimā acira-pakkante āyasmante Ānande yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṅkami, upasaṅkamitvā ekamantaṃ atthāsi. Ekamantaṃ tthito kho Māro pāpimā Bhagavantam etad avoca:

‘Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato. Bhasitā kho pan’ esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā: “Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima¹ parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhū na sāvakā bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visāradā² bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammā-nudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cā-rino,³ sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti⁴ paññāpessanti paṭṭhapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni⁵-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahitaṃ⁶ niggaḥetvā sappātihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessantīti.”

1. S^c *always*; S^d *twice* pāpimā.

2. Windisch, Hardy, and Feet (*who says BB omit it*) add throughout pattayogakkhemā. Steinthal has visāradap-pattā yogakkhemā. Divy. omits.

3. Windisch p. 47 adds ye.

4. Hardy, Feer, and Steinthal, desissanti throughout (*but desenti*).

5. B^m -iṃ, and below; K-nī.

6. B^m K -hitam.

7. Now not long after the venerable Ānanda had been

gone, Mara, the Evil One, approached the Exalted One and stood beside him. And so standing there, he addressed the Exalted One in these words :—

‘Pass away now, lord ; let the Exalted One now die. Now is the time for the Exalted One to pass away—even according to the word which the Exalted One spoke when he said¹ :—’ I shall not die, O Evil One! until the brethren and sisters of the Order, and until the lay-disciples of either sex² shall have become true hearers, wise and well trained, ready and learned, carrying the doctrinal books in their memory, masters of the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrine, correct in life, walking according to the precepts—until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear—until they, when others start vain doctrine easy to be refuted by the truth, shall be able in refuting it, to spread the wonder-working³ truth abroad !”

8. ‘Etarahi kho pana bhante⁴ bhikkhū Bhagavato sāvakā viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammānudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhammācārino sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhanti desenti paññāpentī paṭṭhapenti vivaranti vibhajanti uttāni-karonti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desenti. Parinib-bātu dātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato.

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1. The words here quoted were spoken by the Buddha. after he had been enjoying the first bliss of Nirvana, under the goatherd's Nigrodha tree (see below, ch. III, § 34).
 2. The whole paragraph is repeated, here and below, § 35, for each of these classes of persons.
 3. Sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ. (Comp. the opposite idea appatīhīratam bhāsitaṃ, D.I, 193, 239.) The two ideas are contrasted at KV. 561.
 4. Hardy, Etarahi bhante. Feer, Steinthal, Santi kho pana bhante etarahi (throughout).

‘Bhāsītā kho pan’ esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā: “Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhuniyo na sāvikā bhavissanti viyattā vinītā . . . pe . . . yāva me upāsakā na sāvakā bhavissanti vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammānudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cārino, sakaṃ ācariyakam uggaheṭvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭha-pessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessantīti.” Etarahi kho pana bhante upāsakā Bhagavato sāvakā viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammānudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cārino sakaṃ ācariyakam uggaheṭvā ācikkhanti desenti paññāpentī paṭṭhapenti vivaranti vibhajanti uttāni-karonti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sai pāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desenti. Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato.

‘Bhāsītā kho pan’ esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā: “Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me upāsikā na sāvikā bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visāradā bhussutā dhamma-dharā dhammānudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cāriniyo, sakaṃ ācariyakam uggaheṭvā acikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭhapessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappaavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessantīti.” Etarahi kho pana bhante upāsikā Bhagavato sāvikā viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammānudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cāriniyo, sakaṃ ācariyakam uggaheṭvā ācikkhant desenti paññāpentī paṭṭhapenti vivaranti vibhajanti uttāni-karonti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahitaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desenti. Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato.

‘Bhāsītā kho pan’ esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā: “Na

tāvāhaṃ pāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me idaṃ¹ brahmacariyaṃ na iddhañ c'eva bhavissati phītañ² ca vitthārikaṃ bāhu-jaññaṃ puthu-bhūtaṃ, yāvad eva manussehi³ suppakāsitaṃ" ti. Etarahi kho pana bhante Bhagavato⁴ brahmacariyaṃ iddhañ c' eva phītañ ca vitthārikaṃ bāhujaññaṃ puthu bhūtaṃ yāvad eva manussehi suppakāsitaṃ. Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato' ti.

8. 'And now, lord, the brethren and sisters of the order and the lay-disciples of either sex have become [all this], are able to do [all this]. Pass away now therefore, lord; let the Exalted One now die! The time has come for the Exalted One to pass away—even according to the word which he spake when he said, "I shall not die, O Evil One ! until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, wide-spread, and popular in all its full extent—until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed among men." And now, lord, this pure religion of thine has become [all this]. Pass away now therefore, lord ; let the Exalted One now die! The time has come for the Exalted One to pass away !'

9. Evaṃ vutte Bhagavā Māraṃ pāpimantaṃ etad avoca: 'Apposukko tvaṃ pāpima hohi, na ciraṃ Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, ito tiṇṇaṃ māsānaṃ accayena Tathāgato parinibbāyissatīti.'

9. And when he had thus spoken, the Exalted One addressed Mara, the Evil One, and said :— 'O Evil One ! make thyself happy, the death of the Tathāgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will pass away.'

1. B^m Hardy, Feer, and Steinthal and SS below § 36, etc. idaṃ; SS here imaṃ.

2. S^{cd} pītañ ; B^m phitañ, and below.

3. So all MSS. and K, and Feer and Steinthal. Hardy, deva-manussehi. Divy. deva-manuṣyebhyaḥ.

4. K inserts imaṃ. Hardy, Etarahi bhante Bh. br. Feer, Tayidaṃ bhante Bh. br. Steinthal = Dīgha.

10. Atha kho Bhagavā Cāpāle cetiye sato sampajāno āyu-saṃkhāraṃ ossaji,¹ ossatthe ca² Bhagavato³ āyusaṃkhāre mahā-bhūmicālo ahosi bhiṃsanako lomahaṃsano,⁴ deva-
dundubhiyo ca phaliṃsu.⁵ Atha kho Bhagavā etam atthaṃ
viditvā tāyaṃ velāyaṃ imam udānaṃ udānesi :

‘Tulam atulaṇ⁶ ca sambhavaṃ bhava-saṃkhāraṃ
avassaji⁷ muni,⁸

Ajjhattarato samāhito abhida⁹ kavacam iv’ attā-sam-
bhavan’ ti.

10. Thus the Exalted One while at the Shrine of Chāpāla deliberately and consciously rejected the rest of his natural term of life¹⁰. And on his so rejecting it there arose a mighty earthquake, awful and terrible, and the thunders of heaven burst forth. And when the Exalted One beheld this, he broke out at that time into this hymn of exultation :—

‘His sum of life the sage renounced,
The cause of life immeasurable or small;

1. K Ud. and Wind. ossajji.

2. Hardy omits. Feer, pana.

3. B^m K Hardy and Feer, -tā.

4. B^m Hardy and SS twice below salomahaṃso; K, Feer, Steinthal, lomahaṃso, SS here lomahaṃsano.

5. Feer, caliṃsu, and so S^c the second time only.

6. So all MSS. and K, A S and Udāna. But B^m in the Udāna has ū . . . ū. Wind. 50.

7. S^t oss^o; S^{cd}-khāra ossaji; K Steinthal, avassajji; B^m Sum. Hardy and Feer, avassaji.

8. B^m K Hardy and feer, muni.

9. B^m abhinda. K Hardy and Feer, abhindi.

10. Āyu-saṃkhāraṃ ossaji. The difficult term Āyu-saṃkhāra must here have the meaning in which it is used at Majjhima I, pp. 295, 296; Samyutta II, 266 ; Jātaka IV, 215. He renounced those tendencies, potentialities, which in the ordinary course of things, would otherwise have led to the putting together of, the building up of, more life (that is, of course, in this birth. Any more life in a future birth he had already renounced when, under the Wisdom Tree, he attained Nirvana).

With inward joy and calm, he broke,
Like coat of mail, his life's own cause !¹

11. Atha kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahoṣi: 'Acchariyaṃ vata bho abbhutaṃ vata mahā vatāyaṃ bhūmi-cālo sumahā vatāyaṃ bhūmi-cālo bhimsanako salomaḥṃso,² deva-bundubhiyo ca phalīṃsu. Ko nu kho hetu ko paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāyāti ?'³

11.⁴ Now the following thought occurred to the venerable Ānanda:— 'Wonderful indeed and marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth ! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake ?'

12. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :

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1. This verse is obscure and possibly corrupt. See Windisch, 'Mara und Buddha,' pp. 37, 72 ; Ud. VI, I ; S. V, 263; Div. 203.
 2. S' lomahaṃsano; K lomahaṃso.
 3. S^{cd} pātubhāvāya deva-dundhubhīnaṃ ca phālitaṃ ti S' pātubhāvā deva-dundhubhīnaṃ ca phālitaṃ.
 4. The narrative is now interrupted by the insertion of paragraphs which at first sight seem to be quite out of place. But the connexion, or want of connexion, between them and the main story is very suggestive as to the way in which the Sutta was put together. The whole chapter is an answer to a possible objection, either from outsiders or from weaker members of the fold, that if the Buddha were really so great why did he die at all. The suggested answer is that he could have lived on if he had so wished; but he did not wish because he had certain kinds of power and insight and self-mastery which prevented him from doing so. For the purpose of this answer these paragraphs, already in existence among the Suttas current in the community, and dealing with these powers, are here repeated without any such connecting argument as we should find under similar circumstances, in a modern (written) book of apologetics. The argument suggested by them follows exactly the same lines as that in the Mahāli Sutta, translated in the former volume (Number VI of the 'Dialogues').

‘Acchariyaṃ bhante abbhutaṃ bhante mahā vatāyaṃ bhante bhūmi-cālo sumahā vatāyaṃ bhante bhūmi-cālo bhiṃsanako saloma-haṃso,¹ deva-dundubhiyo ca phaliṃsu. Ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāyāti ?’

12. Then the venerable Ānanda went up to the place where the Blessed One was, and did obeisance to the Exalted One, and seated himself respectfully at one side, and said :— ‘Wonderful indeed and marvellous is it that this mighty earthquake should arise, awful and terrible, and that the thunders of heaven should burst forth ! What may be the proximate, what the remote cause of the appearance of this earthquake ?’

13. ‘Aṭṭha kho² ime Ānanda hetū aṭṭha paccayā mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya. Katame aṭṭha ? Ayaṃ Ānanda mahā-paṭhavī udake patiṭṭhitā, udakaṃ vāte patiṭṭhitaṃ, vāto ākāsaṭṭho hoti. So kho² Ānando samayo yaṃ mahā-vātā vāyanti, mahā-vātā vāyantā udakaṃ kampaṃti, udakaṃ kampaṃti paṭhaviṃ kampaṃti. Ayaṃ paṭhamo hetu paṭhamo paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

13. ‘Eight are the proximate, eight the remote causes, Ānanda, for the appearance of a mighty earthquake. What are the eight ? This great earth, Ānanda, is established on water, the water on wind, and the wind rests upon space. And at such a time, Ānanda, as the mighty winds blow, the waters are shaken by the mighty winds as they blow, and by the moving water the earth is shaken. These are the first causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake³.

14. ‘Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda samaṇo vā hoti brāhmaṇo vā iddhiṃ ceto vasippatto, devatā⁴ vā mahiddhikā⁵ mahānu-

1. K lomahaṃso.

2. Aṅg. iv. 312 omits.

3. Windisch, ‘Mara und Buddha,’ 61, adduces a number of interesting parallels, from European writers, to this curious old theory of earthquakes.

4. B^m K devo.

5. B^m K -o.

bhāvā,¹ yassa² parittā paṭhavi³-saññā bhāvitā hoti appamāṇā āpo-saññā, so imaṃ paṭhaviṃ kampeti saṃkampeti saṃpakampeti sampavedheti. Ayaṃ dutiyo hetu dutiyo paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

14. 'Again, Ānanda, a recluse or a brahmin of great [intellectual] power, and who has the feelings of his heart well under his control ; or a god or fairy (devatā⁴) of great might and power,—when such a one by intense meditation on the idea of the minutest portion of earth and on the idea of the widest expanse of water [has succeeded in realizing the comparative value of things] he can make this earth move and tremble and be

1. B^m K -o.

2. B^m Hardy, tassa; so K, with yassa in note.

3. S^t B^m -vī.

4. Devatā is a fairy, god, genius, or angel. I am at a loss how to render this word without conveying an erroneous impression to those not familiar with ancient ideas, and specially with ancient Indian ideas, of the spirit world. It includes gods of all sorts; tree and river nymphs; the kindly fairies or ghosts who haunt houses (see my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' Tale 40); spirits in the ground (see above, I, 26); the angels who minister at the great renunciation, the temptation, and the death of the Buddha ; the guardian angels who watch over men, and towns, and countries; and many other similar beings. 'Celestial beings' would be wholly inapplicable, for instance, to the creatures referred to in the curious passage above (I, 26). 'Superhuman being' would be an inaccurate rendering; for all these light and airy shapes come below, and after, man in the Buddhist order of precedence. 'Spirit' being used of the soul inside the human body, and of the human soul after it has left the body, and figuratively of mental faculties—none of which are included under devatā—would suggest ideas inconsistent with that of the Pāli word. As there is therefore no appropriate general word I have chosen, for each passage where the expression occurs, the word used in English of the special class more particularly referred to in the passage of the text. Here all kinds of devatās being referred to, and there being no word in English for them, all, I have ventured to put the word devatā into my version, and to trouble the reader with this note.

shaken violently¹. These are the second causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

15. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda yadā Bodhisatto Tusitā kāyā cavitvā sato sampajāno mātu-kucchiṃ okkamati, tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṃkampati sampavedhati. Ayaṃ tatiyo hetu tatiyo paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

15. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Bodhisatta consciously and deliberately leaves his [temporary] form in the heaven of delight and descends into his mother's womb, then is this earth made to quake and tremble and is shaken violently. These are the third causes, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake².

1. Buddhaghosa here tells a long story how Sangharakkhita Sāmanera, the nephew of Nāga Thera, attained Arahantship on the day of his admission to the order; and at once proceeded to heaven, and standing on the pinnacle of the palace of the king of the gods, shook the whole place with his big toe; to the great consternation and annoyance of the exalted dwellers therein ! There is no doubt a real truth in the idea that deep thought can shake the universe, and make the palaces of the gods to tremble, just as faith is said in Matthew xxi. 21 to be able to remove mountains, and cause them to be cast into the sea. But these figurative expressions have, in Buddhism, become a fruitful soil for the outgrowth of superstitions and misunderstandings. The train of early Buddhist speculation in this field has yet to be elucidated.
2. The Bodhisatta's voluntary incarnation is looked upon by the Buddhists as a great act of renunciation, and curious legends have gathered about it. One is that on the night when she conceived his mother dreamt that a white elephant entered her side. The account will be found at length in my 'Buddhist Birth Stories' (pp. 62-4), and the earthquake is there mentioned in terms identical with those in the text. As I have pointed out in 'Buddhism' (p. 184), the white elephant legend is one of those hallowed sun stories by which half-converted Indians strove to embellish the life-story of the Teacher whose followers they had become. In the *Lalita Vistara* (Calc. ed., p. 63) the entrance of the elephant into Maya precedes the dream; but though the ignorant may have therefore accepted it as a fact, it is of course only a figure of speech—and I venture to think from

16. 'Puna ca param̐ Ānanda yadā Bodhisatto sato sampajāno mātu-kucchismā nikkhamati, tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati. Ayaṃ catuttho hetu catuttho paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

16. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Bodhisatta deliberately and consciously quits his mother's womb, then the earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fourth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

17. 'Puna ca param̐ Ānanda yadā Tathāgato anuttaram̐ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambujjhati, tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati. Ayaṃ pañcama hetu pañcama paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

17. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathāgata arrives at the supreme and perfect enlightenment, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the fifth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

18. Puna ca param̐ Ānanda yadā Tathāgato anuttaram̐ dhamma-cakkaṃ pavatteti, tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati. Ayaṃ chaṭṭho hetu chaṭṭho paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

18. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathāgata founds the sublime kingdom of righteousness, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the sixth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

19. 'Puna ca param̐ Ānanda yadā Tathāgato sato sampajāno āyu-saṅkhāraṃ ossajjati, tadā tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati. Ayuṃ sattamo hetu sattamo paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.

the Indian standpoint, a beautiful figure of speech—to express the incarnation of divine mildness and majesty in a human form. The use of such a figure is not confined to India. In one of the Apocryphal Gospels, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the incarnation of the divine gentleness and love is expressed by saying that a dove from heaven 'entered into' the human form.

19. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathāgata consciously and deliberately rejects the remainder of his life, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the seventh cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.

20. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda yadā Tathāgato anupādisesāya nibbāna-bhātuyā parinibbāyati, tadā 'yaṃ paṭhavī kampati saṃkampati sampakampati sampavedhati. Ayaṃ aṭṭhamo hetu aṭṭhamo paccayo mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāya.¹ Ime kho Ānanda aṭṭha hetū aṭṭha paccayā mahato bhūmi-cālassa pātubhāvāyāti.

20. 'Again, Ānanda, when a Tathāgata passes entirely away in that utter passing away in which nothing whatever is left behind, then this earth quakes and trembles and is shaken violently. This is the eighth cause, proximate and remote, of the appearance of a mighty earthquake.'

21. ² 'Aṭṭha kho imā Ānanda parisā. Katamā aṭṭha ? Khattiya-parisā brāhmaṇa-parisā gahapati-parisā samaṇa-parisā Cātummahārājika-parisā Tāvatisa-parisā Māra-parisā Brahma-parisā.

21. 'Now of eight kinds, Ānanda, are these assemblies. Which are the eight ? Assemblies of nobles, brahmins, householders and wanderers, and of the angel hosts of the Guardian Kings, of the Great Thirty-Three, of the Māras, and of the Brahmās.

22. 'Abhijānāmi kho panāhaṃ Ānanda aneka-sataṃ khattiya-parisaṃ upasaṃkamitvā,³ tatra pi mayā sannisinna-pubbaṇ c'eva sallapita-pubbaṇca sākacchā ca samā-pajjita-pubbā. Tattha yādisako tesam vaṇṇo hoti tādisako mayhaṃ vaṇṇo hoti, yādisako tesam saro hoti tādisako mayhaṃ saro hoti, dhammiyā ca kathāya sandassemi samādapemi samuttejemi sampahaṃsemi. Bhāsamānaṇ, ca maṃ na jānanti "Ko nu kho ayaṃ bhāsati devo vā manusso vā" ti? Dhammiyā

1. SS have-āyāti.

2. Also in Aṅguttara iv. 307-8, and partly in Majjhima i. 72.

3. K (note) upasaṃkamitātipi pātho. So the Majjhima and B^P in A.

ca kathāya antaradhāyāmi, antarahitañ ca maṃ na jānanti
 “Ko nu kho ayaṃ antarahito devo vā manusso vā” ti?

22. ‘Now I call to mind, Ānanda, how when I used to enter into an assembly of many hundred¹ nobles, before I had seated myself there or talked to them or started a conversation with them, I used to become in colour like unto their colour, and in voice like unto their voice. Then with religious discourse I used to instruct and incite, and quicken them, and fill them with gladness. But they knew me not when I spoke, and would say :— “Who may this be who thus speaks ? a man or a god ?” Then having instructed, incited, quickened, and gladdened them with religious discourse, I would vanish away. But they knew me not even when I vanished away : and would say:— “Who may this be who has thus vanished away ? a man or a god ?”

23. ‘Abhijānāmi kho paṇāhaṃ Ānanda aneka-sataṃ brāhmaṇa-parisaṃ . . . pe . . . gahapati-parisaṃ samaṇa-parisaṃ . . . Cātummahārājika-parisaṃ . . . Tāvatiṇṣa-parisaṃ . . . Māra-parisaṃ . . . Brahma-parisaṃ uapsaṃ-kamitvā, tatra pi mayā sannisinna-pubbañ c’ eva sallapita-pubbañ ca sākacchā ca samāpajjita-pubbā, tattha yādisako tesam vaṇṇo hoti tādisako mayhaṃ vaṇṇo hoti, yādisako tesam saro hoti tādisako mayhaṃ saro hoti, dhammiyā ca kathāya sandassemi samādapemi samutte jemi sampahaṃsemi. Bhāsamānañ ca maṃ na jānanti “Ko nu kho ayaṃ bhāsati devo vā manusso vā” ti ? Dhammiyā ca kathāya sandassetvā samutte-jetvā sampahaṃsetvā antaradhāyāmi, antarahitañca maṃ na jānanti “Ko nu kho ayaṃ antarahito devo vāmanusso vā” ti ? Imā kho Ānanda aṭṭha parisā.

23. [And in the same words the Exalted One spake of how he had been used to enter into assemblies of each of the other of the eight kinds, and of how he had not been made known to them either in speaking or in vanishing away.] ‘Now these, Ānanda, are the eight assemblies.’

1. Windisch, ‘Mara und Buddha,’ p. 75, makes this number refer to the number of entrances, and quotes Itivuttaka, p. 15, in support. The Singhalese version (p. 758) is as above.

24. ¹ 'Attha kho² imāni Ānanda abhibhāyatanāni. Katamāni attha ?

24. 'Now these, Ānanda, are the eight positions of Mastery [over the delusion arising from the apparent permanence of external things³]. What are the eight ?

25. 'Ajjhattaṃ rūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rupāni passati parittāni suvaṇṇa-dubbaṇṇāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmīti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ paṭhamam abhibhāya-tanam.

25. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees forms external to himself which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees — this is the first position of mastery.

26. 'Ajjhattaṃ rūpa-saññī eko bhiddha-rupāni passati appamāṇāni suvaṇṇa-dubbaṇṇāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmīti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ dutiyam abhibhāyatanam.

26. 'When a man having subjectively the idea of form sees externally forms which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the second position of mastery.

1. *Rekurs* Aṅguttara iv. 305, 348; Majjhima ii. 13. *Comp.* Saṃyutta iv. 77.

2. *S^{cd} after spell* nil^o ; and so B^m throughout. S^t K nil-throughout.

3. This and the next paragraph are based upon the Buddhist belief as to the long-vexed question between the Indian schools who represented more or less closely the European Idealists and Realists. When cleared of the many repetitions inserted for the benefit of the repeaters or reciters, the fundamental idea seems to be that the great necessity is to get rid of the delusion that what one sees and feels is real and permanent. Nothing is real and permanent but character.

The so-called eight Positions of Mastery are merely an expansion of the first two of the following eight Stages of Deliverance, and the whole argument is also expressed in another form in the passage on the nine successive 'Cessations,' of which an abstract will be found in Childers, sub voce nirodha.

27. 'Ajjhataṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati parittāni suvaṇṇa-dubbaṇṇāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmīti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ tatiyaṃ abhibhāya-tanaṃ.

27. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees forms external to himself which are finite, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the third position of mastery.

28. Ajjhataṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati appamāṇāni suvaṇṇa-dubbaṇṇāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmīti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ catutthaṃ abhibhāyatanam.

28. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms external to himself which are boundless, and pleasant or unpleasant to the sight, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—this is the fourth position of mastery.

29. 'Ajjhataṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati nīlāni¹ nīla-vaṇṇāni nīla-nidassanāni nīla-nibhāsāni—seyyathā pi nāma ummā-pupphaṃ nīlaṃ nīla-vaṇṇaṃ nīla-nidassanaṃ nīla-nibhāsaṃ—seyyathā² vā pana taṃ vatthaṃ Bārūpa-seyyakaṃ ubhato-bhāga-vimatṭhaṃ nīlaṃ nīla-vaṇṇaṃ nīla-nidassanaṃ nīla-nibhāsaṃ—evaṃ eva ajjhataṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati nīlāni nīla-vaṇṇāni nīla-nidassanāni nīla-nibhāsāni, "Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmīti" evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ pañcaniṃ abhibhāyatanam.

29. 'When a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms external to himself that are blue, blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,—just, for instance, as the flax blossom is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue ; or, again, as that fine muslin of Benares, of delicate finish on both sides, is blue in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue,—when a man without the subjective idea of form sees externally forms which, just in that way, are blue, blue

1. S^{cd} often spell nīl^o; and so B^m throughout. S^t K nīl-throughout.

2. S^c adds pi (erased here, but still left in below).s

in colour, blue in appearance, and reflecting blue, and having mastered them, is conscious that he knows and sees—that is the fifth position of mastery.’

30. ‘Ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passti pītāni¹ pīta-vaṇṇāni pīta-nidassanāni pīta-nibhāsāni—seyyathā pi nāma kaṇikāra²-pupphaṃ pītaṃ pīta-vaṇṇaṃ pīta-nidassanaṃ—seyyathā vā pana taṃ vatthaṃ Bārāṇaseyyakaṃ ubhato-bhāga-vimaṭṭhaṃ pītaṃ pīta-vaṇṇaṃ pīta-nidassanaṃ pīta-nibhāsaṃ—evam eva ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati pītāni pīta-vaṇṇāni pīta-nidassanāni pīta-nibhāsāni, “Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmī ti” evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ chaṭṭhaṃ abhibhāyatanam.

31. Ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati lohita-kāni lohita-ka-vaṇṇāni lohita-ka-nidassanāni lohita-ka-nibhāsāni—seyyathā pi nāma bandhujīvaka-pupphaṃ lohita-kaṃ lohita-ka-vaṇṇaṃ lohita-ka-nidassanaṃ lohita-ka-nibhāsaṃ—seyyathā vā pana taṃ vatthaṃ Bhāṇāseyyakaṃ ubhato-bhāga-vimaṭṭhaṃ lohita-kaṃ lohita-ka-vaṇṇaṃ lohita-ka-nidassanaṃ lohita-ka-nibhāsaṃ—evam eva ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati lohita-kāni lohita-ka-vaṇṇāni lohita-ka-nidassanāni lohita-ka-nibhāsāni, “Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmīti” evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ sattamaṃ abhibhāyatanam.

32. ‘Ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati odātāni odāta-vaṇṇāni odāta-nidassanāni odātā-nibhāsāni—seyyathā pi nāma osadhi-tārakā odātā odāta-vaṇṇā odāta-nidassanā odātā-nibhāsā—seyyathā vā pana taṃ vatthaṃ Bārāṇaseyyakaṃ ubhato-bhāga-vimaṭṭhaṃ odātaṃ odāta-vaṇṇaṃ odāta-nidassanaṃ odātā-nibhāsaṃ—evam eva ajjhattaṃ arūpa-saññī eko bahiddhā-rūpāni passati odātāni odātāni odāta-vaṇṇāni odāta-nidassanāni odātā-nibhāsāni, “Tāni abhibhuyya jānāmi passāmi ti” evaṃ-saññī hoti, idaṃ aṭṭhamaṃ abhibhāyatanam. Imāni kho Ānanda aṭṭha abhibhāyatanāni.

1. B^m pītāni, and so throughout.

2. K kaṇṇ^o.

30-2. [The sixth, seventh, and eighth positions of mastery are explained in words identical with those used to explain the fifth ; save that yellow, red, and white are respectively substituted throughout for blue ; and the Kanikara flower, the Bandhugivaka flower, and the morning star are respectively substituted for the flax blossom, as the first of the two objects given as examples.]

33. ¹ ‘Aṭṭha kho ime Ānanda vimokhā. Katame aṭṭha ?
‘Rūpī rupāni passati, ayaṃ paṭhamo vimokho.

‘Ajjhataṃ arūpa-saññī bahiddhā-rūpāni passati, ayaṃ dutiyo vimokho.

‘“Subhan” t’eva adhimutto hoti, ayaṃ tatiyo vimokho.

‘Sabbaso rūpa-saññānaṃ samatikkamā paṭigha-saññānaṃ atthagamā,² nānatta-saññānaṃ amanasikārā, “Ananto ākāso” ti ākāsañācāyatanam upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ catuttho vimokho.

‘Sabbaso ākāsañācāyatanam samatikkamma “Anantaṃ viññānaṃ” ti viññānañcāyatanam upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ pañcama vimokho.

‘Sabbaso viññānañcāyatanam samatikkamma “N’atthi kiñcīti” ākiñcaññāyatanam upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ chaṭṭho vimokho.

‘Sabbaso ākiñcaññāyatanam samatikkamma nevasaññānāsaññāyatanam upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ śattamo vimokho.

‘Sabbaso nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatanam samatikkamma saññā-vedayita-nirodham upasampajja viharati, ayaṃ aṭṭhamo vimokho.

‘Ime kho Ānanda aṭṭha vimokhā.

33.³ ‘Now these stages of Deliverance, Ānanda [from the hindrance to thought arising from the sensations and ideas due to external forms], are eight in number. Which are the eight?

1. See ante xv. 35, Aṅguttara iv. 306, 349.

2. S^c -āya; B^m K Hardy, -aṅgamā.

3. These have already occurred in the Mahā Nidāna (p. 70 of the text). The English version here is made somewhat fuller.

'A man possessed of form sees forms—this is the first stage of deliverance.

'Unaware of his own form, he sees forms external to himself—this is the second stage of deliverance.

'With the thought "it is well," he becomes intent—this is the third stage of deliverance.

'By passing quite beyond all idea of form, by putting an end to all idea of sensory impact¹, by paying no attention to the idea of multiformity, he, thinking "it is all infinite space," reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind in which the idea of the infinity of space is the only idea that is present—this is the fourth stage of deliverance.

'By passing quite beyond all idea of space being the infinite basis, he, thinking "it is all infinite reason," reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind to which the infinity of reason is alone present—this is the fifth stage of deliverance.

'By passing quite beyond the consciousness of the infinity of reason, he, thinking "nothing at all exists," reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present—this is the sixth stage of deliverance.

'By passing quite beyond all idea of nothingness he reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind to which neither ideas nor the absence of ideas are specially present—this is the seventh stage of deliverance.

'By passing quite beyond the state of "neither ideas nor the absence of ideas" he reaches [mentally] and remains in the state of mind in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be—this is the eighth stage of deliverance.

'Now these, Ānanda, are the eight stages of Deliverance.'

34. 'Ekaṃmidâhaṃ Ānanda samayaṃ Uruvelāyaṃ² viharāmi najjā Nerañjarāya tīre Ajapāla-nigrodhe³ paṭhamā-bhisambuddho. Atha kho Ānanda Māro pāpimā yenâhaṃ

1. On these technical terms see Mrs. Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Psychology,' Pp. 72, 182, 204.

2. S^c Ūr^o.

3. S^c nigrodha-mūle. But see Kathā Vatthu 559.

ten' uasaṃkami, upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ekamantaṃ Atthāsi. Ekam-antaṃ t̥hito kho Ānanda Māro pāpimā maṃ etad avoca: "Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato" ti.

34. 'On one occasion, Ānanda, I was resting under the goatherd's Nigrodha tree on the bank of the river Nerañjarā immediately after having reached the great enlightenment. Then Mara, the Evil One, came, Ānanda, to the place where I was, and standing beside me he addressed me in the words :— "Pass away now, lord, from existence! Let the Exalted One now die ! Now is the time for the Exalted One to pass away !"

35. 'Evaṃ vutte vutte ahaṃ Ānanda Māraṃ pāpimaṃ etad avocaṃ:

' "Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhū na sāvaka bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammānudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cārino, sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti¹ paññāpessanti paṭṭhāpessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessanti.

' "Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhuniyo na sāvika bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammānudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cāriniyo, sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭhāpessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessanti.

' "Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me upāsaka na sāvika bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammānudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cārino, sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭhāpessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappavā-

1. S^{ct} desiss^o; S^d desess^o corrected to desiss^o.

daṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessanti.

‘ “Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me upāsikā na sāvikā bhavissanti viyattā vinītā visārada bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammānudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cāriniyo, sakaṃ ācariyakaṃ uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭha-pessanti vivarissanti vibhajissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannaṃ parappavādaṃ saha dhammena suniggahītaṃ niggahetvā sappāṭihāriyaṃ dhammaṃ desessanti.

‘ “Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me idaṃ brahmacariyaṃ na iddhañ c’eva bhavissati phītañ ca vitthārikaṃ bāhujaññaṃ puthu-bhūtaṃ, yāvad eva manussehi suppakāsitaṃ” ti.

35. ‘And when he had thus spoken, Ānanda, I addressed Mara, the Evil One, and said :— “I shall not pass away, O Evil One ! until not only the brethren and sisters of the Order, but also the lay-disciples of either sex shall have become true hearers, wise and well trained, ready and learned, carrying the doctrinal books in their memory, masters of the lesser corollaries that follow from the larger doctrine, correct in life, walking according to the precepts—until they, having thus themselves learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it and make it clear—until they, when others start vain doctrine easy to be refuted by the truth, shall be able in refuting it to spread the wonder-working truth abroad ! I shall not die until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, wide-spread, and popular in all its full extent—until, in a word, it shall have been well proclaimed among men !”

36. ‘Idāni c’eva kho Ānanda ajja Cāpāle cetiye Māro pāpimā yenāhaṃ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā ekamantaṃ atthāsi. Ekamantaṃ tṭhito kho Ānanda Māro pāpimā maṃ etad avoca:

‘ “Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato. Bhāsita kho paṇ’

esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā: ‘Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbāyissāmi yāva me bhikkhū na sāvakā bhavissanti¹ viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhammadharā dhammānu-dhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anudhamma-cārino, sakam ācariyakam uggahetvā ācikkhissanti desessanti paññāpessanti paṭṭhapessanti vivarissanti vibhijjissanti uttāni-karissanti, uppannam para-ppavādam saha dhammena suniggahītam niggaḥetvā sappāṭihāriyam dhammam desessantīti.’ Etarahi kho pana bhante bhikkhū Bhagavato sāvakā viyattā vinītā visāradā bahussutā dhamma-dharā dhammānudhamma-paṭipannā sāmīci-paṭipannā anu-dhamma-cārino, sakam ācariyakam uggahetvā ācikkhanti desenti paññāpentī paṭṭhapenti vivaranti vibhajanti uttāni-karonti, uppannam parappavādam saha dhammena sunigga-hītam niggaḥetvā sappāṭihāriyam dhammam desenti. Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato. Bhāsītā kho pan’ esā bhante Bhagavatā vācā: ‘Na tāvāhaṃ pāpima parinibbā-yissāmi yāva me bhikkhuniyo . . . pe . . . yāva me upāsakā . . . yāva me upāsikā . . . yāva me idaṃ brahmacariyam na iaddaṇ c’eva bhavissati phītaṇ ca vitthārikam bāhujaññaṃ puthu-bhūtam, yāvad eva manussehi suppakāsitan’ ti. Etarahi kho pana bhante Bhagavato brahma-cariyam iddhaṇ c’eva phītaṇ ca vitthārikam bāhujaññaṃ puthu-bhūtam, yavad eva manussehi suppakāsitaṃ. Parinibbātu dāni bhante Bhagavā, parinibbātu Sugato, parinibbāna-kālo dāni bhante Bhagavato” ti.

36. ‘And now again to-day, Ānanda, at Chāpāla’s Shrine Mara, the Evil One, came to the place where I was, and standing beside me addressed me [in the same words].

37. ‘Evaṃ vutte ahaṃ Ānanda Māraṃ pāpimantaṃ etad evocaṃ: “Appossukko tvaṃ pāpima hohi, na ciraṃ

1. K abbreviates without pe, goes on yāva me bhikkhuniyo na sāvikā bhavissanti. Yāva me upāsakā na sāvakā bhavissanti. Yāva me upāsikā na sāvikā bhavissanti. Yāva me idaṃ brahmacariyam, etc.

Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, ito tiṇṇaṃ māsānaṃ accayena Tathāgato parimbbāyissatīti.”

‘Idān’ eva kho Ānanda ajja Cāpāle cetiye Tathāgatena satena sampajānena āyu-saṅkhāro ossaṭṭho’ ti.

37. ‘And when he had thus spoken, Ānanda, I answered him and said :— “Make thyself happy, the passing away of the Tathāgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will pass away !”

‘And now again, Ānanda, the Tathāgata has to-day at Chāpāla’s Shrine consciously and deliberately rejected the rest of his allotted term of life.’

38. Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca: ‘Tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappam, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam, bahujaṇa-hitāya bahujaṇa-sukhāya lokānukam-pāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ’ ti.

‘Alaṃ dāni¹ Ānanda mā Tathāgataṃ yāci, akālo dāni Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yācanāyāti.’

38. And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ānanda addressed the Exalted One, and said :— ‘Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon : live on through the kalpa, O Exalted One! for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !’

‘Enough now, Ānanda, beseech not the Tathāgata ! was the reply. ‘The time for making such request is past.’

39. Dutiyam pi kho āyasmā Ānando . . . pe . . .

Tatīyam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca :

‘Tiṭṭhatu bhante Bhagavā kappam, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam, bahujaṇa-hitāya bahujaṇa-sukhāya lokānu-kampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ’ ti.

‘Saddaḥasi tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatassa bodhin’ ti ?

‘Evam bhante.’

‘Atha kiṃ carahi tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāva-titīyakam abhinippīlesīti’?

1. S^{cdt} omit.

39. And again, the second time, the venerable Ānanda besought the Exalted One [in the same words. And he received from the Exalted One the same reply].

And again, the third time, the venerable Ānanda besought the Exalted One [in the same words].

‘Hast thou faith, Ānanda, in the wisdom of the Tathāgata?’

‘Even so, lord !’

‘Now why, then, Ānanda, dost thou trouble the Tathāgata even until the third time ?’

40. ‘Sammukhā me taṃ bhante Bhagavato suttaṃ sammukhā paṭiggahitaṃ : “Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro dhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricita susamāradhā, so ākaṅkhamāno kappamā vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṃ vā. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro dhipādā . . . pe . . . kappāvasesaṃ vā ti.” ’

‘Saddahasi tvaṃ Ānandāti ?’

‘Evaṃ bhante.’

‘Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda tuyh’ ev’ etaṃ dukkataṃ, tuyh’ ev’ etaṃ aparaddhaṃ yaṃ tvaṃ Tathāgatena evaṃ oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne, oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne, nāsakkhi paṭivijjhitaṃ, na Tathāgataṃ yāci: “Tiṭṭhatu Bhagavā kappamā, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappamā, bahujaṇa-hitāya bahujaṇa-sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhuāya deva-manussānaṃ” ti. Sāce tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāceyyāsi, dve va te vācā Tathāgato paṭikkhipeyya, atha tatiyakamā adhivāseyya. Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda tuyh’ ev’ etaṃ dukkataṃ, tuyh’ ev’ etaṃ aparaddhaṃ.

40. ‘From his own mouth have I heard from the Exalted One, from his own mouth have I received this saying :— “Who-soever has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run.” Now the Tathāgata has thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just now fully described], and he could, there-

fore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which has yet to run.'

'Hast thou faith, Ānanda ?'

'Even so, lord !'

'Then, O Ānanda, thine is the fault, thine is the offence—in that when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathāgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathāgata, saying:—"Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ānanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!

41. 'Ekam idāhaṃ Ānanda samayaṃ Rājagahe viharāmi Gijjha-kūṭe pabbate. Tatrāpi kho tāhaṃ Ānanda āmanatesiṃ: "Ramaṇīyaṃ Ānanda Rājagahaṃ, ramaṇīyo Gijjha-kūṭo pabbato. Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā pricītā susamā-raddhā, so ākaṅkhamāno kappamā vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṃ vā. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricītā susamā-raddhā. Ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappamā vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṃ va" ti. Evam pi kho tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatena oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne,¹ oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne,² nāsakkhi paṭivijjhitaṃ, na Tathāgataṃ yāci: "Tiṭṭhatu Bhagavā kappamā, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappamā, bahujaṇa-hitāya bahujaṇa-sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ" ti. Sace tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāceyyāsi, dve va te vācā Tathāgato paṭikkhi-peyya, atha tatiyakamā addivāseyya. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda tuyh' ev' etaṃ dukkataṃ, tuyh' ev' etaṃ aparaddhaṃ.

1. B^m kariyam°.

2. B^m kariyam°.

41. 'On one occasion, Ānanda, I was dwelling at Rājagaha, on the hill called the Vulture's Peak. Now there, Ānanda, I spoke to thee, and said :—"How pleasant a spot, Ānanda, is Rājagaha; how pleasant is this Vulture's Peak. Whosoever, Ānanda, has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just now fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which has yet to run." But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathāgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besought-est not the Tathāgata, saying :—"Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon. Live on, O Exalted One! through the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ānanda, is the fault, thine is the offence !

42. 'Ekam idāhaṃ Ānanda samayaṃ tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Nigrodhārāme¹. . . pe . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Cora-papāte² . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Vebhāra-passe Sattapaṇṇi-guhāyaṃ³ . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Isigili-passe Kāḷa-silāyaṃ . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Sīta-vane sappasoṇḍika-pabbhāre . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Tapodārāme . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Veḷuvane Kalandaka-nivāpe . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Jīvākambavane . . . tatth' eva Rājagahe viharāmi Maddakucchiṃ migadāye.

1. B^m K Gotamanigrodhe, *as below*.

2. B^m corappāte; K corappapāte.

3. B^m Tattapaṇṇiguhāraṃ; S^{dt} H Sattapaṇṇa-.

42. ‘On one occasion, Ānanda, I was dwelling at that same Rājagaha in the Banyan Grove—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha at the Robbers’ Cliff—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha in the Satta-panni cave on the slope of Mount Vebhāra—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha at the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha in the Sītavana Grove in the mountain cave Sappasonḍika—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha in the Tapoda Grove—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha in the Bambu Grove in the Squirrels’ Feeding Ground—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha in Jivaka’s Mango Grove—on one occasion at that same Rājagaha in the Deer Forest at Maddakucchi.

43. ‘Tatrāpi kho tâhaṃ Ānanda āmantesiṃ: “Ramaṇīyaṃ Ānanda Rājagahaṃ, ramaṇīyo Gijjha-kūṭo pabbato, ramaṇīyo Gotama-nigrodho, ramaṇīyo Cora-papāto, ramaṇīyā Vebhāra-passe Sattapaṇṇi-guhā, ramaṇīyā Isigili-passe Kāḷa-silā, ramaṇīyo Sīta-vane Sappasonḍika-pabbhāro, ramaṇīyo Tapodārāmo, ramaṇīyo Veluvane Kalandaka-nivāpo, ramaṇīyo Jīvakaṃbavanaṃ, ramaṇīyo Maddakucchis-miṃ migadāyo.

43. ‘Now there too, Ānanda, I spoke to thee, and said :—
“How pleasant, Ānanda, is Rājagaha ; how pleasant the Vulture’s Peak ; how pleasant the Banyan tree of Gotama; how pleasant the Robbers’ Cliff; how pleasant the Sattapaṇṇi cave on the slope of Mount Vebhāra; how pleasant the Black Rock on the slope of Mount Isigili; how pleasant the mountain cave of the Serpent’s Pool in the Sītavana Grove; how pleasant the Tapoda Grove ; how pleasant the Squirrels’ Feeding Ground in the Bambu Grove; how pleasant Jivaka’s Mango Grove; how pleasant the Deer Forest at Maddakucchi!”

44. ‘ “Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāivita bhaulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamā-raddhā, so ākaṅkhamāno kappam vā tittṭheyya kappāvasesam vā. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā baulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamā-raddhā. Ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappam vā tittṭheyya kappāvasesam vā” ti. Evam pi kho tvam Ānanda Tathāgatena

oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne, oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne, nāsakkhi paṭivijjhituṃ, na Tathāgataṃ yāci: “Tiṭṭhatu Bhagavā kappam, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam, bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan” ti. Sace tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāceyyāsi, dve va te vācā Tathāgato paṭikkhi-peyya, atha ta yakam adhivā-seyya. Tasmāt ih’ Ānanda tuyh’ ev’ etaṃ dukkataṃ, tuyh’ ev’ etaṃ aparaddham.

44. “Whosoever, Ānanda, has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for an aeon, or for that portion of an aeon which has yet to run.” But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathāgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besought-est not the Tathāgata, saying :—“Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon. Live on, O Exalted One! through the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men.” If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ānanda, is the fault, thine is the offence!

45. ‘Ekam idāham Ānanda samayaṃ idh’ eva Vesāliyaṃ viharāmi Udene cetiye. Tatrāpi kho tāham Ānanda āmantesiṃ: “Ramaṇīyā Ānanda Vesālī, ramaṇīyaṃ Udenaṃ cetiyaṃ. Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā, so ākaṅkhamāno kappam vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesam vā. Tathāgatassa kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitā susamāraddhā. Ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappam vā tiṭṭheyya kappā-

vasesaṃ vā” ti. Evam pi kho tvam Ānanda Tathāgatenā oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne, oḷārke obhāse kayiramāne, nāsakkhi paṭivijjhitaṃ, na Tathāgataṃ yāci: “Tiṭṭhatu Bhagavā kappam tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappam, bahujaṇa-hitāya bahujaṇa-sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussān in” ti. Sace tvam Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāceyyasi, dve a te vācā Tathāgato paṭikhippeyya, atha tatiyakaṃ addivāseyya. Tasmāt in’ Ānanda tuyh’ ev’ etaṃ dukkataṇ, tuyh’ ev’ etaṃ aparaddhaṃ.

45. ‘On one occasion, Ānanda, I was residing here at Vesālī at the Udena Shrine. And there too, Ānanda, I spoke to thee, and said :— “How pleasant, Ānanda, is Vesālī : how pleasant the Udena Ketiya. Whosoever, Ānanda, has thought out, developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle, and as a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thought out and thoroughly practised them [in all respects as just now fully described], and might, should he desire it, remain alive for an aeon, or for that portion of an aeon which has yet to run.” But when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee by the Tathāgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathāgata, saying:— “Vouchsafe, Lord, to remain during the aeon. Live on, O Exalted One! through the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men.” If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore. O Ānanda, is the fault thine is the offence !

46. ‘Ekam idāhaṃ Ānanda samayaṃ idh’ eva Vesāliyaṃ viharāmi Gotamake cetiye . . . pe . . . idh’ eva Vesāliyaṃ viharāmi Sattamba-cetiye . . . idh’ eva Vesāliyaṃ viharāmi

Bahuputte cetiye . . . idh' eva Vesāliyaṃ viharāmi Sārandaḍe cetiye . . .

46. 'On one occasion, Ānanda, I was dwelling here at Vesālī at the Gotamaka Shrine—on one occasion here at Vesālī at the Shrine of the Seven Mangoes—on one occasion here at Vesālī at the Bahuputta Shrine—on one occasion here at Vesālī at the Sarandada Shrine [and on each occasion I spoke to thee, Ānanda, in the same words].

47. 'Idān' eva kho tâhaṃ Ānanda ajja Cāpāle cetiye āmañtesim: "Ramañīyā Ānanda Vesālī, ramañīyaṃ Udenaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramañīyaṃ Gotamakaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramañīyaṃ Sattambaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramañīyaṃ Bahuputtaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramañīyaṃ Sārandaḍaṃ cetiyaṃ, ramañīyaṃ Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ. Yassa kassaci Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bhāvitā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitaṃ susamāradhā, so ākañkhamāno kappamā vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṃ vā. Tathāgataṃ kho Ānanda cattāro iddhipādā bahulī-katā yāni-katā vatthu-katā anuṭṭhitā paricitaṃ susamāradhā. Ākañkhamāno Ānanda Tathāgato kappamā vā tiṭṭheyya kappāvasesaṃ vā" ti. Evam pi kho tvaṃ Ānanda Tathagatena oḷārike nimitte kayiramāne, oḷārike obhāse kayiramāne, nāsakkhi paṭivijjhitaṃ, na Tathāgataṃ yāci: "Tiṭṭhatu Bhagavā kappamā, tiṭṭhatu Sugato kappamā, bahujana-hitaṃ bahujaṇasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ" ti. Sace tvaṃ Ānanda Tathāgataṃ yāceyyāsi, dve va te vācā Tathāgato paṭikkhi-peyya, atha tatiyakaṃ adhivāseyya. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda tuyh' ev' etaṃ dukkataṃ tuyh' ev' etaṃ aparaddhaṃ.

47. 'And now to-day, Ānanda, at the Chāpāla Shrine, I spoke to thee, and said :— "How delightful a spot, Ānanda, is Vesālī, how charming the Udena Shrine, and the Gotamaka Shrine and the Shrine of the Seven Mangoes, and the Shrine of Many Sons, and the Sārandaḍa Shrine, and the Chāpāla Shrine. Who-soever, Ānanda, has developed, practised, dwelt on, expanded, and ascended to the very heights of the four paths to Iddhi, and so mastered them as to be able to use them as a vehicle and as

a basis, he, should he desire it, could remain in the same birth for an aeon or for that portion of the aeon which had yet to run. Now the Tathāgata has thoroughly practised and developed them [in all respects as just more fully described], and he could, therefore, should he desire it, live on yet for an aeon, or for that portion of the aeon which has yet to run." But even when a suggestion so evident and a hint so clear were thus given thee, Ānanda, by the Tathāgata, thou wast yet incapable of comprehending them, and thou besoughtest not the Tathāgata, saying:—"Vouchsafe, lord, to remain during the aeon. Live on, O Exalted One! through the aeon for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men." If thou shouldst then have so besought the Tathāgata, the Tathāgata might have rejected the appeal even to the second time, but the third time he would have granted it. Thine, therefore, O Ānanda, is the fault, thine is the offence !'

48. 'Na nu evaṃ Ānanda mayā paṭigacc'eva akkhātaṃ, sabbhe'eva piyehi manāpehi nānā-bhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññathā-bhāvo ? Taṃ kut'ettha Ānanda labbhā?¹ Yaṃ taṃ jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṅkhatāṃ paloka-dhammaṃ taṃ vata mā palujjīti n'etaṃ thānaṃ vijjati.² Yaṃ kho paṇ'etaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatena cattaṃ vantaṃ muttaṃ pahīnaṃ paṭinissatthaṃ, ossattho āyu-saṅkhāro. Ekamsena vācā Tathāgatena³ bhāsītā: "Na ciraṃ Tathāgatassa parinib-bānaṃ bhavissati, ito tiṇṇaṃ māsānaṃ accayena Tathāgato parinibbāyissatīti," Taṃ vacanaṃ⁴ Tathāgato jīvita-hetu puna accāvaṃissatīti,⁵ n'etaṃ thānaṃ vijjati.

'Āyāma' Ānanda yena Mahā-vanaṃ Kuṭāgāra-sālā ten' upasaṃkhamissāmāti.⁶

1. K puts comma at aññathābhāvo, and full stop here.

2. B^m vijjatīti.

3. B^m K om.

4. B^m K om.; K has tañca for taṃ.

5. S^c paccāmis^o; B^m K paccāgam^o. Sum has paccāv^o.

6. S^c -māti corrected to -mīti.

‘Evaṃ bhanto’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

48. ‘But now, Ānanda, have I not formerly declared to you that it is in the very nature of all things, near and dear unto us, that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them ? How, then, Ānanda, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist! And that which, Ānanda, has been relinquished, cast away, renounced, rejected, and abandoned by the Tathāgata—the remaining sum of life surrendered by him—verily with regard to that the word has gone forth from the Tathāgata, saying :— “The passing away of the Tathāgata shall take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will die ! “That the Tathāgata for the sake of living should repent him again of that saying— this can no wise be !¹

‘Come, Ānanda, let us go to the Kūtāgāra Hall, to the Mahāvana.’

Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

49. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmatā Ānandena saddhiṃ yena Mahā-vanaṃ Kūtāgāra-sālā ten’ upasaṃkami. Upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

‘Gaccha tvaṃ Ānanda, yāvatikā bhikkhū Vesālīṃ upanissāya viharanti, te sabbe upatṭhāna-sālāyaṃ² san-nipātehiṭo.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭis-

1. I do not understand the connexion of ideas between this paragraph and the idea repeated with such tedious iteration in the preceding paragraphs. The two seem to be in marked contrast, if not in absolute contradiction. Perhaps we have here the older tradition ; and certainly this paragraph is more in accordance with the general impression of the character, and with the other savings, of Gotama as handed down in the Pāli Pitakas.

2. B^m sālāṃ. See 1.6.

sutvā, yāvatikā bhikkhū Vesālīṃ upanissāya viharanti, te sabbe upaṭṭhāna-sālāyaṃ sannipādetvā, yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhavantaṃ abhivā-detvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

‘Sannipatito bhante bhikkhu-saṃgho. Yassa dāni bhante Bhagavā kālaṃ maññatīti.’

49. Then the Exalted One proceeded, and Ānanda with him, to the Mahāvana, to the Kūtāgāra Hall : and when he had arrived there he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :—

‘Go now, Ānanda, and assemble in the Service Hall such of the brethren as reside in the neighbourhood of Vesālī.’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One. And when he had assembled in the Service Hall such of the brethren as resided in the neighbourhood of Vesālī, he went to the Exalted One and saluted him and stood beside him. And standing beside him, he addressed the Exalted One, and said :—

‘Lord! the assembly of the brethren has met together. Let the Exalted One do even as seemeth to him fit.’

50. Atha kho Bhagavā yena upaṭṭhāna-sālā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi. Nisajja kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

‘Tasmāt iha bhikkhave ye vo¹ mayā dhammā abhiññāya² desitā, te vo sādhukaṃ uggahetvā āseviabbā bhāvetabbā bahuḷi-kātabbā, yathayidaṃ³ brahmacariyaṃ addhaniyaṃ assa ciraṭṭhitikaṃ, tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Katame ca te bhikkhave dhammā mayā abhiññāya desitā, ye vo⁴ sādhukaṃ uggahetvā āsevitabbā bhāvetabbā bahuḷi-kātabbā yathayidaṃ brahmacariyaṃ addhaniyaṃ assa ciraṭṭhitikaṃ,

1. K te.

2. B^m K -ñā, and below always.

3. B^m yathāyidaṃ always.

4. B^m inserts bhikkhū.

tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ ? Seyyathīdaṃ cattāro satipaṭṭhānā, cattāro sammappadhānā, cattāro iddhipādā, pañc' indriyāni, pañca balāni, satta bojjhaṅgā, ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo. Ime kho¹ bhikkhave dhammā mayā abhiññāya desita, ²te vo sādhukaṃ uggahetvā āsevitabbā bhāvetabbā bahulī-kātabbā yathayidaṃ brahmacariyaṃ addhaniyaṃ assa ciraṭṭhitikaṃ, tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ' ti.

50. Then the Exalted One proceeded to the Service Hall, and sat down there on the mat spread out for him. And when he was seated the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:—

'Therefore, O brethren—ye to whom the truths I have perceived have been made known by me—having thoroughly made yourselves masters of them, practise them, meditate upon them, and spread them abroad ; in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !

'Which then, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men?

'They are these :—

The four earnest meditations,

The fourfold great struggle against evil.

The four roads to saintship.

The five moral powers,

The five organs of spiritual sense,

The seven kinds of wisdom, and

1. B^m K add te.

2. K ye te.

The Aryan eightfold path.

These, O brethren, are the truths which, when I had perceived, I made known to you, which when you have mastered it behoves you to practise, meditate upon, and spread abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and the happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !

51. Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

‘Handa dāni bhikkhave āmantayāmi vo, vaya-dhammā saṅkhārā, appamādena sampādeṭṭha, na ciraṃ Tathāga-tassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, ito tiṇṇaṃ māsānaṃ accayena Tathāgato parinibbāyissatīti.’

Idam avoca Bhagavā, idaṃ vatvā¹ Sugato athāparaṃ etad avoca Satthā:²

‘Paripakko vayo mayhaṃ, parittaṃ mama jīviṭṭhaṃ,
Pahāya³ vo gamissāmi, katam me saraṇaṃ attano,
Appamattā satīmanto susīlā hotha bhikkhavo
Susamāhita-saṃkappā sacittam anurakkhatha.

Yo imasmim dhamma-vinaye appamatto vihesatī⁴

⁵Pahāya jāti-saṃsāraṃ dukkhass antaṃ karissatīti.’

51. And the Exalted One exhorted the brethren, and said:—

‘Behold now, O brethren, I exhort you, saying :— “All

1. B^m K vatvāna.

2. K *here inserts as note*, ito paraṃ Sīhaḷa-poṭṭhake ‘Paripakko vayo . . . karissatīti’ dissati, *and in the text before these verses places the following :*

Daharā pi ca ye vuḍḍhā
Aḍḍhā c’evā daḷiddā ca
Yathā pi kumbhakarassa
Khuddakaṇ ca mahantaṇ ca

ye bālā ye ca paṇḍitā
sabbe maccu-parāyanā.
katam mattika-bhājanaṃ,
yaṃ [K yañca] pakkam
yañ ca āmkaṃ,
evaṃ maccāna jīviṭṭhaṃ.

Sabbaṃ bheda-pariyantaṃ
Athāparaṃ etad avoca Satthā
Paripakko, etc.

3. S^d pahāvayo.

4. K viharissati, vihessati *in foot note*.

5. B^m pahāyajāyāyatiyaṃsaṃsāraṃ.

component things must grow old. Work out your salvation with diligence. The final extinction of the Tathāgata will take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathāgata will die!"

'My age is now full ripe, my life draws to its close :
I leave you, I depart, relying on myself alone !
Be earnest then, O brethren, holy, full of thought!
Be steadfast in resolve! Keep watch o'er your own hearts!
Who wearies not but holds fast to this truth and law¹,
Shall cross this sea of life, shall make an end of grief.'

Tatīyaka-Bhāṇavāraṃ Niṭṭhitam.²

End of the Third Portion for Recitation³.

1. Dhamma and vinaya. The Buddhist religion, as just summarized, and the regulations of the Order.
2. B^m Bhāṇavāraṃ tatīyaṃ; K tatīya-bhāṇavāraṃ.
3. It is of great interest to notice what are the points upon which Gotama, in this last address to his disciples, and at the solemn time, when death was so near at hand, is reported to have laid such emphatic stress. Unfortunately we have only a fragment of the address, and, as it would seem from its commencement, only the closing fragment. This, however, is in the form of a summary, consisting of an enumeration of certain aggregates, the details of which must have been as familiar to the early Buddhists as the details of similar numerical terms—such as the ten commandments, the twelve tribes, the seven deadly sins, the four gospels, and so on—afterwards were to the Christians. This summary of the Buddha's last address may fairly be taken as a summary of Buddhism, which thus appears to be simply a system of earnest self-culture and self-control.

The following are the details of the aggregate technical terms—used in the above summary, but it will be understood that the English equivalents used give rather a general than an exact representation of the ideas expressed by the Pāli ones. To attempt more would demand a treatise rather than a note.

The four Earnest Meditations are:—

1. Meditation on the body.
2. Meditation on the sensations.

3. Meditation on the ideas.
4. Meditation on reason and character.

The fourfold Great Struggle against evil is divided into:—

1. The struggle to prevent evil arising.
2. The struggle to put away evil states which have arisen.
3. The struggle to produce goodness not previously existing.
4. The struggle to increase goodness when it does exist.

The four Roads to Saintship are four means by which Iddhi (see above, § 3, note) is to be acquired. They are:—

1. The will to acquire it united to earnest meditation and the struggle against evil.
2. The necessary exertion united to earnest meditation and the struggle against evil.
3. The necessary preparation of the heart united to earnest meditation and the struggle against evil.
4. Investigation united to earnest meditation and the struggle against evil.

The five moral powers (*balāni*) are said to be the same as the next class, called organs (*indriyāni*). It is no doubt most remarkable that, in a summary like this, two classes out of seven should be absolutely identical except in name. The difference of name is altogether too unimportant to account, by itself, for the distinction made. Either the currently accepted explanation of one of the two aggregate terms must be incorrect, or we must look for some explanation of the repetition other than the mere desire to record the double title. Is it impossible that the one class was split into two to bring the number of the classes up to the sacred number seven, corresponding to the seven Ratanas of a Cakkavatti ?

The details of both classes are:—

1. Faith. 2. Energy. 3. Thought. 4. Contemplation. 5. Wisdom.

The seven kinds of Wisdom are :—

1. Energy. 2. Thought. 3. Contemplation. 4. Investigation (of Scripture). 5. Joy. 6. Repose. 7. Serenity.

The Aryan Eightfold Path consists of:—

1. Right views. 2. High aims. 3. Right speech. 4. Upright conduct. 5. A harmless livelihood. 6. Perseverance in well-doing. 7. Intellectual activity. 8. Right rapture.

CHAPTER IV

4. 1. Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya Vesālīṃ piṇḍāya pāvisi, Vesālīyaṃ piṇḍāya caritvā pacchā-bhattaṃ piṇḍapāta-paṭikkanto¹ nāgāpalokitaṃ Vesālīṃ apaloketvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

‘Idaṃ pacchimakaṃ Ānanda Tathāgatassa Vesālī-dassanaṃ bhavissati, āyāṃ’ Ānanda yena Bhaṇḍagāmo ten’ upasaṃkamissāmāti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Bhaṇḍagāmo tad avasari. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Bhaṇḍagāme viharati.

1. Now the Exalted One early in the morning robed himself, and taking his bowl, entered Vesālī for alms ; and when he had passed through Vesālī, and had eaten his meal and was returning from his alms-seeking he gazed at Vesālī with an elephant look² and addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— ‘This will be the last time, Ānanda, that the Tathāgata will behold Vesālī. Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Bhandagāma.’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

And the Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Bhandagāma ; and there the Exalted One stayed in the village itself.

1. *So all MSS.*

2. Nāgāpalokitaṃ Vesālīyaṃ apaloketvā. The Buddhas were accosted, says Buddhaghosa, on looking backwards to turn the whole body round as an elephant does; because the bones in their neck were firmly fixed, more so than those of ordinary men !

2. ¹Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

‘Catunnaṃ bhikkhave dhammānaṃ ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ didaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāviṭṭaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c’eva tumhākañ ca: katamesaṃ catunnaṃ? Ariyassa bhikkhave sīlassa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāviṭṭaṃ saṃ saritaṃ mamañ c’eva tumhākañ ca. Ariyassa bhikkhave samādhissa ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāviṭṭaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c’eva tumhākañ ca. Ariyāya bhikkhave paññāya ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāviṭṭaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ c’eva tumhākañ ca. Ariyāya bhikkhave vimuttiyā ananubodhā appaṭivedhā evaṃ idaṃ dīghaṃ addhānaṃ sandhāviṭṭaṃ saṃsaritaṃ mamañ v’eva tumhākañ ca. Tayidaṃ bhikkhave ariyaṃ sīlaṃ anuuddhaṃ paṭividdhaṃ, ariyo samādhi anubuddho paṭividdho, ariyā paññā anubuddhā paṭividdhā, ariyā vimutti anubuddhā paṭividdhā, ucchinnā bhava-taṇhā khīṇā bhava-hetti, n’atthi dāni punabbhavo’ ti.

2. There the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:— ‘It is through not understanding and grasping four truths², O brethren, that we have had to run so long, to wander so long in this weary path of transmigration—both you and I.

‘And what are these four ? The noble conduct of life, the noble earnestness in meditation, the noble kind of wisdom, and the noble salvation of freedom. But when noble conduct is realized and known, when noble meditation is realized and known, when noble wisdom is realized and known, when noble freedom is realized and known—then is the craving for future life rooted out, that which leads to renewed existence is destroyed, and there is no more birth.’

3. Idam avoca Bhagavā, idaṃ vatvā Sugato athâparam etad avoca Satthā :

‘Sīlaṃ samādhi paññā ca vimutti ca anuttarā,

1. Recurs Aṅguttara ii.1. Comp. Saṃyutta v. 431.

2. Or Conditions (Dhammā). They must, of course, be carefully distinguished from the better known Four Noble Truths above, p. 96.

Anubuddhā ime dhammā Gotamena yasassinā.

**Iti Buddho abhiññāya dhamam akkhāsi bhikkhunam,
Dukkhas' anta-karo Suttā cakkhumā parinibbuto' ti.¹**

3. Thus spake the Exalted One ; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, then again the Teacher said ²:—

‘Righteousness, earnest thought, wisdom, and freedom sublime—

These are the truths realized by Gotama, far-renowned.

Knowing them, he, the knower, proclaimed the truth to the brethren.

The master with eye divine, the quencher of griefs, is at peace³.

**4. Tatrāpi sudam Bhagavā Bhaṇḍagāme viharanto etad
eva bahulam bhikkhūnam dhammiṃ katham karoti: Iti sīlam
iti samādhi iti paññā, sīla-paribhāvito samādhi mahapphalo
hoti mahānisaṃso, samādhi-paribhāvitā paññā mahapphalā**

1. *Quoted Kathā Vatthu* 115.

2. This is merely a stock phrase for introducing verses which repeat the idea of the preceding phrase (see above, paragraph 32). It is an instructive sign of the state of mind in which such records are put together, that these verses could be ascribed to Gotama himself without any feeling of the incongruity involved.

3. The last word, Parinibbuto, was misunderstood by Childers. It is used in the Nikāyas of living persons in the sense of set free (from evil), at peace. In one passage (M. I, 446) it is even used of a living horse. In all of these passages Childers's rendering ‘extinguished, extinct, dead’ would be quite inexplicable. Such passages are Majjhima I, 45, 235, 251 ; II, 102 ; Thera-gāthā 5, 7, 8, 9, etc.; Sutta Nipāta 359, 758; Samyutta III, 26, 54; Itivuttaka 52, 56; Dhammapada 89. The same usage is still found in later books (Milinda 50; Jātaka IV, 303, 453). But, just as in the somewhat analogous Christian expression *entered into rest*, the word (still in its ordinary meaning as above) is once or twice used, figuratively, of Arahants who have died. They are at peace, set free. There is no word in the Buddhist phrase corresponding to the Christian ‘entered.’ The Buddhists never say *entered into Nirvana* of a deceased person. So far as I know the phrase occurs only once (Sutta Nipāta 514), and then it is used of a living person.

hoti mahānisaṃsā, paññā-paribhāvitam cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati, seyyathīdam kāmāsavā bhavāsavā ditṭhāsavā¹ avijjāsavā ti.

4. There too, while staying at Bhanda-gāma, the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying :— ‘Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.’

5. Atha kho Bhagavā bhaṇḍagāme yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

‘Āyāṃ’ Ānanda yena Hatthigāmo . . . pe² . . . Amba-gāmo . . . Jambugāmo . . . yena Bhoganagaraṃ ten’ upasaṃkamissāmāti.’

6. ‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi. Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃ-ghena saddhiṃ yena Bhoganagaraṃ tad avasari.

5, 6. Now when the Exalted One had remained at Bhanda-gāma as long as he desired, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— ‘Come, Ānanda, let us go to Hatthi-gāma.’

[Then in similar words, end of § 1 and §§ 2, 3, and 4 repeated, it is related how the Buddha went there, and then on to Amba-gāma, and then on to Jambugāma, at each place holding similar discourses; and then went on to Bhoga-nagara.]

7. Tatra sudaṃ Bhagavā Bhoganagare viharati Ānande cetiye. Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū ā mantesi :

³ ‘Cattāro’ me bhikkhave mahā-padese desessāmi,⁴ taṃ suṇātha sādhu kaṃ manasi-karoṭha bhāsissāmīti.’

1. K omis.

2. B^m has no pe, but puts yena before each name. K has neither pe nor yena.

3. Recurs Aṅguttara ii. 167 foll.

4. S^{cdt} desiss^o.

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccasosum. Bhagavā etad avoca:

7. Now there at Bhoga-nagara the Exalted One stayed at the Ānanda Shrine.

There the Exalted One addressed the brethren and said :—
‘I will teach you, O brethren, these four Great Authorities¹. Listen thereto, and give good heed, and I will speak.’

‘Even so, lord !’ said the brethren, in assent², to the Exalted One, and the Exalted One spoke as follows:—

8. ‘Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu evaṃ vadeyya: “Sammukhā me taṃ āvuso Bhagavato suttaṃ sammukhā paṭiggahitaṃ, ayaṃ Dhammo ayaṃ Vinayo idaṃ Satthu sāsanan” ti, tassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno bhāsitaṃ n’ eva abhinanditabbaṃ na paṭikkositabbaṃ. Anabhinanditvā appaṭikkositvā tāni pada-vyañjanāni sādhukaṃ uggahetvā Sutte otāretabbāni Vinaye sandassetabbāni. Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamānāni Vinaye sandassiyamānāni na c’ eva Sutte otaranti na Vinaye sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbaṃ: “Addhā idaṃ na c’ eva tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ,³ imassa ca bhikkhuno dugga-hītan” ti, iti h’ etaṃ bhikkhave chaḍḍeyyātha.⁴ Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamānāni Vinaye sandassiyamānāni Sutte c’ eve otaranti

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1. The meaning of mahāpadesa is not quite clear. Perhaps it should be rendered ‘true authorities.’ I have followed Buddhaghosa in taking apadesa as the last part of the compound. He says:—mahā-padesā ti mahā-okāse mahā-apadese vā. Buddhādayo mahante mahante apadisitva vuttāni mahākaranāni tiattho, ‘the causes (authorities) alleged when referring to Buddha and other great men.’ Mr. Samarasekara takes it as mahā-padesa.
 2. I ought perhaps to have explained why I have ventured to differ from Childers in the rendering of the common word patisunāti. The root śru seems to have meant ‘to sound’ before it meant ‘to hear’; and, whether this be so or not, pati-sunāti means not simply ‘to consent,’ but ‘to answer (assentingly).’ It has been pointed out to me that answer was formerly *andswerian* where *swerian* is probably not unrelated to the root svar, ‘to sound.’
 3. Aṅg. adds sammāsambuddhassa (*throughout*).
 4. Aṅg. repeats from Idha down to sandasseetabbāni (*and so always*).

Vinaye ca sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbam: “Addhā idam tassa Bhagavato vacanam imassa ca bhikkhuno suggahītan” ti. Idam bhikkhave paṭhamam mahā-padesam dhāreyyātha.

8. ‘In the first place, brethren, a brother may say thus :— “From the mouth of the Exalted One myself have I heard, from his own mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master.” The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood and then put beside the Suttas [the stock paragraphs learnt by heart in the community] and compared with the Vinaya [the rules of the Order]¹. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas, and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— “Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by that brother.” Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— “Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well grasped by that brother.” This, brethren, you should receive as the first Great Authority.

9. ‘Idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhu evam vadeyya: “Amukasmim nama āvāse saṃgho viharati satthero sapāmoḁkko. Tassa me saṃghassa sammukhā sutam sammukhā paṭiggahītam, ayaṃ Dhammo ayaṃ Vinayo idam Satthu sāsanan” ti, tassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno bhāsītam n’ eva abhinanditabbam na² paṭikkositabbam. Anabhinanditvā appaṭikkositvā tāni pada-vyañjanāni sādhuḁkam uggahetvā Sutte otāretabbāni Vinaye sandas-setabbāni. Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamānāmi Vinaye sandas-siyamānāni na’ c’ eva Sutte otaranti na Vinaye sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbam:

1. Suite otāretabbāni vinaye sandassetabbāni, where one would expect to find the word Pitaka if it had been in use when this passage was first written or composed.

2. K throughout nappaṭi-.

“Addhā idaṃ na c’ eva tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ, tassa ca saṃghassa duggahītaṃ” ti, iti h’ etaṃ bhikkhave chaḍḍeyyātha. Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamānāni Vinaye sandissayamānāni Sutte c’ eva otaranti Vinaye ca sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbaṃ : “Addhā idaṃ tassa Bhagavato vacanaṃ, tassa ca saṃghassa suggahītaṃ” ti. Idaṃ bhikkave dutiyaṃ mahā-padesaṃ dhāreyyātha.

9. ‘Again, brethren, a brother may say thus :— “In such and such a dwelling-place there is a company of the brethren with their elders and leaders. From the mouth of that company have I heard, face to face have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master.” The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the Suttas and compared with the rules of the Order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas, and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— “Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by that company of the brethren.” Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— “Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well grasped by that company of the brethren.” This, brethren, you should receive as the second Great Authority.

10. Idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhu evaṃ vadeyya: “Amukasmim nāma āvāse sambahulā therā bhikkhū viharanti banussutā ā gatāgamā dhamma-dharā vinaya-dharā mātikā-dharā. Tesam me therānaṃ sammukhā sutam samukhā paṭiggahītaṃ, ayaṃ Dhammo ayaṃ Vinayo ayaṃ Satthu sāsanaṃ” ti, tassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno bhāsitaṃ n’ eva abhinanditabbaṃ na paṭikko-sitabbaṃ. Anabhinanditvā appaṭikkositvā tāni pada vyañjanāni sādhuṃ uggahetvā Sutte otāretabbāni Vinaye sandassetabbāni. Tāni ce Sutte

otāriyamānāni Vinaye sandassiyamānāni na c'eva Sutte otaranti na Vinaye sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbam: "Addhā idam na c' eva tassa Bhagavato vacanam, tesañca therānam buggahītan." ti, iti h' etaṃ bhikkhave chaḍḍeyātha. Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamānāni Vinaye sandassi-yamānāni Sutte c'eva otaranti Vinaye ca sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbam: "Addhā idam tassa Bhagavato vacanam, tesañ ca therānam suggahītan" ti. Idam bhikkhave tatiyaṃ mahā-padesam dhāreyyātha.

10. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say thus :— "In such and such a dwelling-place there are dwelling many elders, of the Order, deeply read, holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the truths, versed in the regulations of the Order, versed in the summaries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of those elders have I heard, from their mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken, brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put beside the Suttas and compared with the rules of the Order. If when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas and do not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— "Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One, and has been wrongly grasped by those elders." Therefore, brethren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the conclusion :— "Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and has been well grasped by those elders." This, brethren, you should receive as the third Great Authority.

11. Idha pana bhikkhave bhikkhu evaṃ vadeyya : "Amukasmiṃ nāma āvāse eko thero bhikkhu viharati bahussuto āgatāgamo dhamma-dharo vinaya-dharo mātikā-dharo. Tassa me therassa sammukhā sutam sammukhā paṭiggahītam, ayaṃ Dhammo ayaṃ Vinayo idam Satthu sāsanan" ti, tassa bhikkhave bhikkuno bhāsitaṃ n' eva abhinanditabbam na

paṭikkositabbam. Anabhinanditvā appa-ṭikositvā tāni pada-
 vyañjanāni sādhu-kam uggaḥetvā Sutte otāretabbāni Vinaye
 sandassetabbāni. Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamā- nāni Vinaye
 sandassīye-mānāni na c'eva Sutte otaranti na Vinaye
 sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbam: "Addhā idam na c'eva
 tassa Bhagavato vacanam, tassa ca therassa duggahītan" ti, iti
 h' etam bhikkhave chaḍḍeyyātha. Tāni ce Sutte otāriyamānāni
 Vinaye sandassīyamānāni Sutte c' eva otaranti Vinaye ca
 sandissanti, niṭṭham ettha gantabbam: "Addhā idam tassa
 Bhagavato Bhagavato vacanam, tassa ca therassa suggahītan"
 Idam bhikkhave cattuttham mahā-padesam dhāreyyāthāti.

'Ime kho bhikkhave cattāro mahā-padese dhāreyyā-
 thāti.'

11. 'Again, brethren, a brother may say :— "In such and
 such a dwelling-place there is there living a brother, deeply read,
 holding the faith as handed down by tradition, versed in the
 truths, versed in the regulations of the Order, versed in the sum-
 maries of the doctrines and the law. From the mouth of that elder
 have I heard, from his mouth have I received it. This is the truth,
 this the law, this the teaching of the Master." The word spoken,
 brethren, by that brother should neither be received with praise
 nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every
 word and syllable should be carefully understood, and then put
 beside the Suttas and compared with the rules of the Order. If
 when so compared they do not harmonize with the Suttas, and do
 not fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the
 conclusion :— "Verily, this is not the word of the Exalted One,
 and has been wrongly grasped by that brother." Therefore, breth-
 ren, you should reject it. But if they harmonize with the Suttas
 and fit in with the rules of the Order, then you may come to the
 conclusion:— "Verily, this is the word of the Exalted One, and
 has been well grasped by that brother." This, brethren, you should
 receive as the fourth Great Authority. 'These, brethren, are the
 Four Great Authorities.'

12. Tatra pi sudam Bhagavā Bhoganagare viharanto

Ānande¹ cetiye etad eva bahulaṃ bhikkhūnaṃ dhammiṃ kathaṃ karoti: Iti sīlaṃ iti samādhi itī paññā, sīla-paribhāvito samādhi mahapphalo hoti mahānisaṃso, samādhi-paribhāvita paññā mahapphalā hoti mahāni-saṃsā, paññā-paribhāvitaṃ cittaṃ sammad eva āsavehi vimuccati, seyyathidaṃ kāmāsavā bhavāsavā diṭṭhāsavā avijjāsavā ti.

12. There too, the Exalted One held that comprehensive religious talk with the brethren, saying :— ‘Such and such is upright conduct; such and such is earnest contemplation; such and such is intelligence. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when it is set round with upright conduct. Great becomes the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when it is set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is set quite free from the Intoxications, that is to say, from the Intoxication of Sensuality, from the Intoxication of Becoming, from the Intoxication of Delusion, from the Intoxication of Ignorance.’

13. Atha kho Bhagavā Bhoganagare yathābhirantaṃ viharitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

‘Ayāṃ’ Ānanda yena Pāvā ten’ upasaṅkamissāmāti.’

‘Evaṃ bante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando. Bhagavato paccassosi.

²Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ yena Pāvā tad avasari. Tatra sudāṃ Bhagavā Pāvāyaṃ viharati Cundassa kammāra-puttassa ambavane.

13. Now when the Exalted One had remained as long as he desired at Bhoga-gāma, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Pāvā.’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent to the Exalted One. And the Exalted One proceeded with a great company of the brethren to Pāvā.

And there at Pāvā the Exalted One stayed at the Mango Grove of Chunda, who was by family a smith.

1. So S^{cd} K : S^t B^m -ya.

2. Recurs in Udāna viii. 5.

14. Assosi kho Cundo kammāra-putto: ‘Bhagavā kira Pāvaṃ anupatto¹ Pāvāyaṃ viharati mayhaṃ amba-vane’ ti. Atha kho Cundo kammāra-putto yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivā-detvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Cundam kammāra-puttaṃ Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassesī samādapesī samuttejesī sampahaṃsesī.

14. Now Chunda, the worker in metals, heard that the Exalted One had come to Pāvā, and was staying there in his Mango Grove.

And Chunda, the worker in metals, went to the place where the Exalted One was, and saluting him took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was thus seated, the Exalted One instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened him with religious discourse.

15. Atha kho Cundo kammāra-putto Bhagavatā dhammivā kathāy sandassito samādapito samuttejito sampa-haṃsito Bhagavantam etad avoca: ‘Adhivāsetu me bhante Bhagavā svātānāya bhattaṃ saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghenāti.’ Adhivāsesī Bhagavā tuṇhī-bhāvena.

15. Then he, instructed, aroused, incited, and gladdened by the religious discourse, addressed the Exalted One, and said:— ‘May the Exalted One do me the honour of taking his meal together with the brethren, at my house to-morrow ?’

And the Exalted One signified, by silence, his consent.

16. Atha kho Cundo kammāra-putto Bhagavato adhi-vāsaṇaṃ viditvā, uṭṭhāy’ āsanā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi.

16. Then seeing that the Exalted One had consented, Chunda, the worker in metals, rose from his seat and bowed down before the Exalted One, and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence.

17. Atha kho Cundo kammāra-putto tassā rattiyaṃ accayena sake nivesane panītaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ

1. SS omit Pāvaṃ anupatto. B^m pāripāpaṃ anupatto Pāvāraṃ viharati. Udāna adds a clause.

paṭiyādāpetvā pahūtañ ca sūkara-maddavaṃ Bhagavato kālaṃ ārocāpesi: ‘Kālo bhante niṭṭhitaṃ bhattan’ ti.

17. Now at the end of the night, Chunda, the worker in metals, made ready in his dwelling-place sweet rice and cakes, and a quantity of truffles¹. And he announced the hour to the Exalted One, saying ;— ‘The hour, lord, has come, and the meal is ready.’

18. Atha kho Bhagavā pubbaṇha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaram ādāya saddhiṃ bhikkhu-saṃghena yena Cundassa kammāra-puttassa nivesanaṃ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā paññatte āsano nisīdi, nisajja kho Bhagavā Cundaṃ kammāra-puttaṃāmantesi : ‘Yan te Cunda sūkara-maddavaṃ paṭiyattaṃ, tena maṃ parivisa, yaṃ pan’ aññaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ paṭiyattaṃ, tena bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ parivisāti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho Cundo kammāra-putto Bhagavato paṭissutvā, yaṃ ahosi sūkara-maddavaṃ paṭiyattaṃ, tena Bhagavantaṃ parivisi, yaṃ pan’ aññaṃ khādaniyaṃ bhojaniyaṃ paṭiyattaṃ tena bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ parivisi.

18. And the Exalted One robed himself early in the morning, and taking his bowl, went with the brethren to the dwelling-place of Chunda, the worker in metals. When he had come thither

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1. Sūkara-maddava. See the note in my translation of the *Milinda* (1890), Vol. I, p. 244. Dr. Hoey informs me that the peasantry in these districts are still very fond of a bulbous root, a sort of truffle, found in the jungle, and called sūkara-kanda. Mr. K. E. Neumann, in his translation of the *Majjhima* (1896), p. xx, has collected several similar instances of truffle-like roots, or edible plants, having such names. The Sinhalese translation of the *Dīgha* (London and Colombo, 1905), p. 796, simply repeats the Pāli word. Buddhists do not attach much importance to the point. They have been mostly vegetarians, and are increasingly so. But their scheme of ethics works from within; and the Buddha expressly refused, in the case of Devadatta’s schism, to lay down any hard and fast rule as to abstinence from flesh as food. It is perhaps of importance that the food prepared by Chunda and eaten by the Buddha is called *Bhatta* (below, § 21): this is not used elsewhere of meat.

he seated himself on the seat prepared for him. And when he was seated he addressed Chunda, the worker in metals, and said :— 'As to the truffles you have made ready, serve me with them, Chunda: and as to the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, serve the brethren with it.'

'Even so, lord !' said Chunda, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Blessed One. And the truffles he had made ready he served to the Exalted One ; whilst the other food, the sweet rice and cakes, he served to the members of the Order.

19. Atha kho Bhagavā Cundaṃ kammāra-puttaṃ āmantesi:

'Yan te Cunda sūkara-maddavaṃ avasiṭṭhaṃ, taṃ sobbhe nikhaṇāhi, nāhan taṃ Cunda passāmi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇiṇiṃ pajā sadeva-manussāya yassa taṃ paribhuttaṃ sammā-pariṇāmaṃ gaccheyya aññatra Tathāgatassāti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho Cundo kammāra-putto Bhagavato paṭissutvā, yaṃ ahosi sūkara-maddavaṃ avasiṭṭhaṃ taṃ sobbhe nikhaṇitvā, yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi, ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho Cundaṃ kammāra puttaṃ Bhagavā dhammiyā kathāya sandassetvā samāda-petvā samuttejetvā sampahaṃsetvā uṭṭhāy' āsanā pakkāmi.

19. Now the Exalted One addressed Chunda, the worker in metals, and said:— 'Whatever truffles, Chunda, are left over to thee, those bury in a hole. I see no one, Chunda, on earth nor in Māra's heaven, nor in Brahma's heaven, no one among Samāras and Brahma's, among gods, and men, by whom, when he has eaten it, that food can be properly assimilated, save by a Tathāgata.'

'Even so, lord !' said Chunda, the worker in metals, in assent, to the Exalted One. And whatever truffles remained over those he' buried in a hole. And he went to the place where the Exalted One was; and when he had come there, took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was seated, the Exalted One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Chunda,

the worker in metals, with religious discourse. And the Exalted One then rose from his seat and departed thence.

20. Atha kho Bhagavato Cundassa kammāra-puttassa bhattaṃ bhuttāvissa kharo ābādho uppajji lohita-pakkhan-dikā pabālḥā¹ vedanā vattanti māraṇṭikā. Tā² sudaṃ Bha-gavā sato sampajāno adhvāsesi avihaññamāno.

Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: ‘Āyāṃ’ Ānanda yena Kusinārā ten’ upsamkamissāmāti.’

‘Evam bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

Cundassa bhattaṃ bhuñjitvā kammārassāti me suttaṃ Ābādhaṃ samphusī³ dhīro pabālhaṃ⁴ māraṇanti-kaṃ.

Bhuttassa ca⁵ sūkara-maddavena

Vyādhīpabālḥā udapādi Satthuno.

Viriccamāno⁶ Bhagavā avoca

Gacchāṃ’ ahaṃ Kusināraṃ⁷ nagaran ti.

20. Now when the Exalted One had eaten the rice prepared by Chunda, the worker in metals, there fell upon him a dire sickness, the disease of dysentery, and sharp pain came upon him, even unto death. But the Exalted One, mindful and self-possessed, bore it without complaint.

And the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda. and said:— ‘Come, Ānanda, let us go on to Kusinārā.’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

‘When he had eaten Chunda’s food,
The copper-smith’s—thus have I heard—
He bore with fortitude the pain,
The sharp pain even unto death !

1. B^m bālḥā; K sab^o. Compare 2. 23.

2. S^c om. ; S^d tatra; K tāpi.

3. S^c phusayati; S^d phusati; S^t phusati; B^m samphusati.

4. K sab^o.

5. Ce.

6. K virec^o.

7. K kusinaraṃ.

‘When he had eaten, from the truffles in the food
There fell upon the teacher sickness dire,
Then after nature was relieved the Exalted One announced
and said :

‘I now am going on to Kusinārā¹.’

21. Atha kho² Bhāgavā maggā okkamma yen’ añña-
taraṃ rukkha-mūlaṃ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā
āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: ‘Ingha me tvaṃ Ānanda
catugguṇaṃ saṃghāṭiṃ paññāpehi, kilanto ’smi Ānanda,
nisīdissāmīti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato
paṭissutvā catugguṇaṃ saṃghāṭiṃ paññāpesi.

21. Now the Exalted One went aside from the path to the
foot of a certain tree; and when he had come there he addressed
the venerable Ānanda, and said :— ‘Fold, I pray you, Ānanda,
the robe in four; and spread it out for me. I am weary, Ānanda,
and must rest awhile!’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to
the Exalted One, and spread out the robe folded fourfold.

22. Nisīdi Bhagavā paññatte āsane, nisajja kho Bhagavā
āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi, ‘Ingha me tvaṃ Ānanda
pāṇīyaṃ āhara, pipāsito ’smi, Ānanda, pivissāmīti.’

Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:
‘Idāni bhante pañcamattāni sakaṭa-satāni atikkantāni,
tam cakkacchinnaṃ udakaṃ parittaṃ āvilaṃ sandati. Ayaṃ
bhante Kakutthā³ nadī avidūre acchodikā sātodikā sītodikā⁴
setakā supatitthā ramaṇīyā. Ettha Bhagavā pāṇīyaṃ ca pivissati,
gattāni ca sītaṃ karis-satīti.’

1. ‘It should be understood,’ says Buddhaghosa, ‘that these are verses
by the Theras who held the council.’ And he repeats this at ff 38,
41. These here seem to be two different versifications of the same
legend.
2. Here K inserts in brackets in the text (imā gāthāyo Saṅgīti-kāle
Saṅgīti-kārahehi vuttā), with footnote Sīhaḷa-potthake ime gāthā
na dissanti.
3. S^c kuk^o; B^m kakuḍha (throughout).
4. K-akā.

22. And the Exalted One seated himself on the seat prepared for him ; and when he was seated, he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— ‘Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.’

When he had thus spoken, the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One :— ‘But just now, lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakuttha, lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Exalted One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.’

23. *Dutiyam pi kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi*: ‘*Īṅha me tvaṃ Ānanda pāṇiyaṃ āhara, pipāsito ’smi Ānanda, pivissāmīti.*’

Dutiyam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

‘*Idāni bhante pañcamattāni sakāṭa-satāni atī antāni. Taṃ cakkacchinnaṃ udakaṃ parittaṃ luḷitaṃ āvilaṃ sandati. Ayaṃ Ayaṃ bhante Kakutthā nadī avidūre acchodikā sātodikā sītodikā setakā supatitthā ramaṇīyā. Ettha Bhagavā pāṇiyaṃ ca pivissati, gattāni ca sītaṃ¹ karissatī.*’

23. Again the second time the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:—‘Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.’

And again the second time the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One :— ‘But just now, lord, about five hundred carts have gone over. That water stirred up by the wheels has become shallow and flows fouled and turbid. This river Kakuttha, lord, not far off, is clear and pleasant, cool and transparent, easy to get down into, and delightful. There the Exalted One may both drink the water, and cool his limbs.’

24. *Tatīyam pi kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi*: ‘*Īṅha me tvaṃ Ānanda pāṇiyaṃ āhara, pipāsito ’smi Ānanda, pivissāmīti.*’

1. S^t sītim ; K sītī.

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā pattamaṃ gahetvā yena sā nadikā ten’ upasaṃkami. Atha kho sā nadikā cakkacchinnā parittā luḍḍitā āvilā sandamānā āyasmante Ānande upasaṃkamante acchā vipprasannā anāvilā sandittha.¹

24. Again the third time the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— ‘Fetch me, I pray you, Ānanda, some water. I am thirsty, Ānanda, and would drink.’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One : and taking a bowl he went down to the streamlet. And lo ! the streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow, and was flowing fouled and turbid, had begun, when the venerable Ānanda came up to it, to flow clear and bright and free from all turbidity.

25. Atho kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahoṣi: “Acchariyaṃ vata bho, abbhutaṃ vata bho, Tathāgatassa mahiddhikatā mahānubhāvatā! Ayaṃ hi sā nadikā cakkacchinnā parittā luḍḍitā āvilā sandamānā, mayi upasaṃkamante acchā vipprasannā anāvilā sandatīti !” Pāttena pānīyaṃ ādāy yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantamaṃ etad avoca:

‘Acchariyaṃ bhante abbhutaṃ bhante Tathāgatassa mahiddhikata mahānubhāvatā ! Idāni sa bhante nadikā cakkacchinnā parittā luḍḍitā āvilā sandamānā, mayi upasaṃkamante acchā vipprasannā anāvilā sandittha ! Pivatu Bhagavā pānīyaṃ, pivatu Sugato pānīyaṃ’ ti.

Atha kho Bhagavā pānīyaṃ apāyi.²

25. Then Ānanda thought:— ‘How wonderful, how marvellous is the great might and power of the Tathā-gata!³ For this

1. B^m K sandati.

2. S^c apāsi; B^m pānīyaṃ mapāsi.

3. This is a most unusual way of speaking of the Buddha. In the Suttas believers are represented as addressing him as bhante, lord or sir (the same form as that used by junior members of the Order in addressing their seniors); and as speaking of him by the epithet Bhagavā the Exalted One. Unbelievers address him as bho Gotama, and speak of him as the Samara Gotama.

streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and was flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity.'

And taking water in the bowl he returned towards the Exalted One; and when he had come where the Exalted One was he said to him :— 'How wonderful,

how marvellous is the great might and power of the Tathāgata ! For this streamlet which, stirred up by the wheels, was but just now become shallow and was flowing foul and turbid, now, as I come up to it, is flowing clear and bright and free from all turbidity. Let the Exalted One drink the water ! Let the Happy One drink the water !'

Then the Exalted One drank of the water.

26. Tena kho pana samayena Pukkuso Malla-putto Ālārassa Kālāmassa sāvako Kusinārāya Pāvaṃ addhāna-magga-paṭipanno hoti.

Addasā kho Pukkuso Malla-putto Bhagavantam aññatarasmiṃ rukkha-mūle nisinnam, disvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Pukkuso Malla-putto Bhagavantam etad avoca :

'Acchariyaṃ bhante, abbutaṃ bhante, santena vata bhante pabbajitā vihārena viharanti !

26. 'Now at that time a man named Pukkusa¹, a young Mallian, a disciple of Ātāra Kālāma's, was passing along the high road from Kusinārā to Pāvā.

And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, saw the Exalted One seated at the foot of a tree. On seeing him, he went up to the place where the Exalted One was, and when he had come there

1. The Pukkusas were one of the despised tribes. Compare M. II, 152; A. II, 85; PP. IV, 19; Jāt. IV, 205, 306; Lalita Vistara XXI, 17. But Buddhaghosa says Pukkusa must here be simply a name, as the Mallas were Khattiyas. He adds that this Pukkusa was the owner of the five hundred carts that had just passed by; and that Ālāra Kālāma was called Ālāra because he was Dīgha-pingalo, Kālāma being his family name.

he saluted the Exalted One, and took his rest respectfully on one side. And when he was seated Pukkusa, the young Mallian, said to the Exalted One:— ‘How wonderful a thing it is, lord! and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm !

27. ‘Bhūta-pubbam bhante Ālāro Kālāmo addhāna-magga-paṭipanno maggā okkamma avidūre aññatarasmim rukkha-mūle divā-vihāre nisīdi. Atha kho bhante pañ pañcamattāni sakata-satāni Ālāram Kālāmam nissāya nissāya¹ atikkamimsu. Atha kho bhante aññataro puriso tassa sakata-satthassa² piṭṭhito³ āgacchanto yena Ālāro Kālāmo ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Ālāram Kālā-mam etad avoca:

“‘Api bhante pañcamattāni sakata-satāni atikkaman-tāni addasāti?’”

“‘Na Kho aham āvuso addasan’ ti.

“‘Kim pana bhante saddam assosīti ?’”

“‘Na kho aham āvuso saddam assosin’ ti.

“‘Kim pana bhante sutto ahosīti ?’”

“‘Na kho aham āvuso sutto ahosin’ ti.

“‘Kim pana bhante saññī ahosīti ?’”

“‘Evam āvuso’ ti.

‘So tvam bhante saññī samāno jāgaro pañcamattāni sakatā-satāni nissāya nissāya atikkamanatāni n’ eva addasa na pana saddam assosi, api hi te bhante saṃghāṭi rajena okiṇṇā’ ti.

‘Evam āvuso’ ti.

‘Atha kho bhante tassa purisassa etad ahosi : “Acchariyam vata bho, abbhutam vata bho ! Santena vata bho pabbajitā vihārena viharanti yatra hi nāma saññī samāno jāgaro pañcamattāni sakata-satāni nissāya nissāya atikkaman-tāni n’ eva dakkhiti⁴ na pana saddam sos-satīti.”⁵ Ālāre Kālāme ulāram pasādam pavedetva pakkāmīti.’

1. S^c B^m K omit here, but not in the repetition.

2. S^c satassa ; B^m tassa.

3. K piṭhito piṭhito.

4. S^{cd} -iti; K dakkhati: B^m atikkantāni n’eva akkhasi.

5. B^m assositi.

27. 'Formerly, lord, Atāra Kālāma was once walking along the high road ; and leaving the road he sat himself down under a certain tree to rest during the heat of the day. Now, lord, five hundred carts passed by one after the other, each close to Ātāra Kālāma. And a certain man, who was following close behind that caravan of carts, went up to the place where Ātāra Kālāma was, and when he was come there he spake as follows to Ālāra Kālāma:—

‘ “But, lord, did you see those five hundred carts go by ?”

‘ “No, indeed, I saw them not.”

‘ “But, lord, did you hear the sound of them ?”

‘ “No, indeed, sir, I heard not their sound.”

‘ “But, lord, were you then asleep ?”

‘ “No, sir, I was not asleep.”

‘ “But, lord, were you then conscious ?”

‘ “Even so, sir.”

‘ “So that you, lord, though you were both conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to you. Why, lord, even your robe was sprinkled over with the dust of them !” ’

‘ “It is even so, sir.” ’

‘Then thought that man :— “How wonderful a thing is it, and how marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in a state of mind so calm ! So much so that a man though being both conscious and awake, neither sees, nor hears the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, and each close to him.”

‘And after giving utterance to his deep faith in Alāra Kālāma, he departed thence.’

28. ‘**Taṃ kiṃ maññasi Pukkusa ? Katama nu kho dukkarataraṃ vā durabhisambhavataraṃ vā yo saññī samāno jāgaro pañcamattāni sakata-satāni nissāya nissāya atikkaman-tāni n’eva passeyya na pana saddaṃ suṇeyya, yo vā saññī samāno jāgaro deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷā-yante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā n’ eva passeyya na pana saddaṃ suṇeyyāti ?**’

28. 'Now what think you, Pukkusa, which is -the more difficult thing either to do or to meet with—that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound of five hundred carts passing by, one after the other, close to him,—or that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing ?'

29. 'Kim hi¹ bhante tāni karissanti pañca vā sakāṭa-satāni cha vā sakāṭa-satāni satta vā sakāṭa-satāni aṭṭha vā sakāṭa-satāni nava vā sakāṭa-satāni dasa vā sakāṭa-satāni sakāṭa-satam vā sakāṭa-sahassam vā ? Atha kho etad eva dukkarataram c' eva durabhi sambhavataraṇ ca yo saññī samāno jāgaro deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā asaniyā phalantiyā n'eva passeyya na saddam suṇeyyāti.'

29. 'What in comparison, lord, can these five hundred carts do, or six or seven or eight or nine or ten hundred, yea, even hundreds and thousands of carts ? That certainly is more difficult, both to do and to meet with, that a man, being conscious and awake, should neither see, nor hear the sound thereof when the falling rain goes on beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.'

30. 'Ekaṃ idāhaṃ Pukkusa samayaṃ Ātumāyaṃ viharāmi Bhusāgāre. Tena kho pana samayena deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā Bhusāgārassa dve kassakā bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā. Aha kho Pukkusa Ātumāya² mahā-jana-kāyo nikkhamitvā yena te dve kassakā bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā ten' upasaṃkami.

30. 'Now on one occasion, Pukkusa, I was dwelling at Ātumā, and was at the Threshing-floor. And at that time the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash; and two peasants,

1. S^c om.

2. S^c -mayā; S^{dt} -māyā : B^m Pukkuasāhumāyaṃ ; K-yaṃ.

brothers, and four oxen were killed. Then, Pukkusa, a great multitude of people went forth from Ātumā, and went up to the place where the two peasants, brothers, and the four oxen, lay killed.'

31. Tena kho panāhaṃ Pukkusa samayena Bhusāgārā nikkhamitvā Bhusāgāra-dvāre abbhokāse caṃkamāmi. Atha kho Pukkusa aññataro puriso tamhā mahā-jana-kāyā yenāhaṃ ten' upasaṃkami, -upasaṃkamitvā maṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi, ekamantaṃ ṭhitaṃ kho ahaṃ Pukkusa taṃ purisaṃ etad avocaṃ :

31. 'Now at that time, Pukkusa, I had gone forth from the Threshing-floor, and was walking up and down thinking at the entrance to the Threshing-floor. And a certain man came, Pukkusa, out of that great multitude of people, up to the place where I was; and when he came up he saluted me, and took his place respectfully on one side. And as he stood there, Pukkusa, I said to the man :—

32. '“Kin nu kho so āvuso mahā-jana-kāyo sannipatito”? ti.

'“Idāni bhante deve vassante deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijju-tānu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalantiyā dve kassakā bhātaro hatā cattāro ca balivaddā. Etth' eso¹ mahā-jana-kāyo sannipatito, tvaṃ pana bhante kva² ahoṣīti ?”

'“Idh' eva kho ahaṃ āvuso ahoṣin” ti.

'“Kim pana bhante addasāti ?”

'“Na kho āvuso addasan” ti.

'“Kim pana bhante saddaṃ assosīti ?”

'“Na kho ahaṃ āvuso saddaṃ assosin” ti.

'“Kim pana bhante sutto ahoṣīti ?”

'“Na kho ahaṃ āvuso sutto ahoṣin” ti.

'“Kim pana bhante saññī ahoṣīti” ?

'“Evam āvuso” ti.

'“So tvaṃ bhante saññī samāno jāgaro deve vassante

1. B^m K ettha so.

2. S^{cdt} kuhiṃ ; B^m omits.

deve gaḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccharantīsu asaniyā phalan-
tiyā n'eva addasa na pana saddaṃ assosīti"

‘ “Evam āvuso” ti.

32. ‘ “Why then, sir, is this great multitude of people assembled together ?” ’

“But just now, the falling rain began to beat and to splash, and the lightnings to flash forth, and the thunderbolts to crash ; and two peasants, brothers, were killed, and four oxen. Therefore is this great multitude of people gathered together. But where, lord, were you ?” ’

‘ “I, sir, have been here all the while.”

‘ “But, lord, did you see it ?”

‘ “I, sir, saw nothing.”

‘ “But, lord, did you hear it ?”

‘ “I, sir, heard nothing.”

‘ “Were you then, lord, asleep ?”

‘ “I, sir, was not asleep.”

‘ “Were you then conscious, lord?”

‘ “Even so, sir.”

‘ “So that you, lord, being conscious and awake, neither saw, nor heard the sound thereof when the falling rain went on beating and splashing, and the lightnings were flashing forth, and the thunderbolts were crashing.” ’

‘ “That is so, sir.”

33. ‘Atha kho Pukkusa tassa purisassa etad ahosi :
“Acchariyaṃ vata bho, abbhutaṃ vata bho ! Santena vata bho
pabbajitā vihārena viharanti yatra hi nāma saññī samāno jāgaro
deve vassante deve gḷagaḷāyante vijjutāsu niccha-rantīsu
asaniyā phalantiyā n'eva dakkhiti¹ na pana saddaṃ sossatīti.”²
Mayi ulāraṃ pasādaṃ pavedetvā maṃ abhivādetvā
padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmīti.’

33. ‘Then, Pukkusa, the thought occurred to that man :—

‘ “How wonderful a thing is it, and marvellous, that those who have gone forth out of the world should pass their time in

1. S^{cdt} K dakkhissati.

2. K suṇissatīti.

a state of mind so calm!—so that a man, being conscious and awake, neither sees, nor hears the sound thereof when the falling rain is beating and splashing, and the lightnings are flashing forth, and the thunderbolts are crashing.” And after giving utterance to his deep faith in me, he departed from me [with the customary demonstrations of respect].’

34. Evaṃ vutte Pukkuso Malla-putto Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

‘Esā bhante yo me¹ Ālāre Kālāme pasādo taṃ mahā-vāte vā opunāmi sīgha-sotāya vā nadiyā pavāhemi. Abhikkantaṃ bhante abhikkantaṃ bhante ! Seyyathā pi bhante nikkujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya, paṭicchannaṃ vā viva-reyya, mūlhassa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya, andhakāre vā tela-pajjotaṃ dhāreyya cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhinīti, evam eva Bhagavatā aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pakāsito ! Esāhaṃ bhante Bhagavantaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi Dhammañ ca Bhikkhu-Saṃghaṃ ca. Upāsakaṃ maṃ Bhagavā, dhāretu ajjat’ agge paṇupetaṃ saraṇaṃ gatan’ ti.

34. And when he had thus spoken, Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed the Blessed One in these words:— ‘Now I, lord, as to the faith that I had in Ātāra Kālāma, that I winnow away as in a mighty wind, and wash it away as in a swiftly running stream. Most excellent, lord, are the words of thy mouth. most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms—just even so, lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Exalted One. And I, even I, betake myself, lord, to the Exalted One as my refuge, to the Truth, and to the Brotherhood. May the Exalted One accept me as a disciple, as a true believer, from this day forth, as long as life endures !²

1. K om.

2. This is a stock phrase constituting the final answer of a hitherto unconverted man at the end of one of those argumentative dialogues

35. Atha kho Pukkuso Malla-putto aññataram purisaṃ āmantesi : ‘higha me tvaṃ bhāṇe siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ¹ maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇiyaṃ āharāti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho so puriso Pukkusassa Malla-puttassa paṭissutvā taṃ siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇiyaṃ āhari.²

Atha kho Pukkuso Malla-putto taṃ siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇiyaṃ Bhagavato upanāmesi: ‘Idaṃ bhante siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇiyaṃ, taṃ me bhante Bhagavā paṭigaṇhātu anukampaṃ upādāyāti.

‘Tena hi Pukkusa ekena maṃ acchādehi ekena Ānandaṃ’ ti.

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho Pukkuso Malla-putto Bhagavato paṭissutvā ekena Bhagavataṃ acchādesi, ekena āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ.

35. Now Pukkusa, the young Mallian, addressed a certain man and said :— ‘Fetch me, I pray you, my good man, a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.’

‘So be it, sir !’ said that man, in assent, to Pukkusa, the young Mallian ; and he brought a pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear.

And the Mallian Pukkusa presented the pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, to the Exalted One, saying :— ‘Lord, this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold is ready for wear. May the Exalted One show me favour and accept it at my hands !’

‘In that case, Pukkusa, robe me in one, and Ānanda in one.’

‘Even so, lord !’ said Pukkusa, in assent, to the Exalted One ; and in one he robed the Exalted One, and in one, Ānanda.

by which Gotama overcame opposition or expounded the truth. After a discussion of exalted themes it fits in very appropriately; here and elsewhere it is incongruous and strained. See below, V, 50.

1. B^m K yuga-, and below.

2. S^{ct} adāsi; s^d adāsiṃ

36. Atha kho Bhagavā Pukkusaṃ Malla-puttaṃ dhammiyā kathāya sandassesī samādapesī samuttejesī sampahaṃsesī. Atha kho Pukkuso Malla-putto Bhagavatā dhammiyā kathāya sandassito samādapito samuttejito sampahaṃsito uṭṭhāy' āsanā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi.

36. Then the Exalted One instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened Pukkusa, the young Mallian, with religious discourse. And Pukkusa, the young Mallian, when he had been instructed and aroused and incited and gladdened by the Exalted One with religious discourse, arose from his seat, and bowed down before the Exalted One; and keeping him on his right hand as he passed him, departed thence.

37. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando acira-pakkante Pukkuse Malla-putte taṃ siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇīyaṃ Bhagavato kāyaṃ upanāmesī, taṃ Bhagavato kāyaṃ upanāmitaṃ vītaccikaṃ¹ viya khāyati.

Atha kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca:

‘Acchariyaṃ bhante, abbhutaṃ bhante, yāva parisuddho bhanto Tathāgatassa chavi-vaṇṇo pariyodāto ! Idaṃ bhante siṅgi-vaṇṇaṃ yugaṃ maṭṭaṃ dhāraṇīyaṃ Bhagavato kāyaṃ upanāmesim, taṃ Bhagavato kāyaṃ upanāmitaṃ vītaccikaṃ² viya khāyatīti’ !

‘Evam etaṃ Ānanda. Dvīsu kho Ānanda kālesu ativiya Tathāgatassa parisuddho hoti chavi-vaṇṇo pariyodāto. Katamesu dvīsu ? Yaṇ ca Ānanda rattiṃ Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammāsambodhiṃ abhisambujjhati, yaṇ ca rattiṃ anupādisesāya nibbāna-dhātuyā parinibbāyati, imesu kho Ānanda dvīsu kālesu Tathāgatassa parisuddho hoti chavi-vaṇṇo pariyodāto.

37. Now not long after the Mallian Pukkusa had gone, the venerable Ānanda placed that pair of robes of cloth of gold, burnished and ready for wear, on the body of the Exalted One ;

1. S^c vit^o ; S^d vitāsikaṃ ; S^l vītasikaṃ ; B^m satacchitaṃ ; K hatacchikaṃ and below.

2. S^c vītasikaṃ ; S^{dt} vītasikaṃ ; B^m haticchitaṃ.

and when it was so placed on the body of the Exalted One it appeared to have lost its splendour¹!

And the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One:—
‘How wonderful a thing is it, lord, and how marvellous, that the colour of the skin of the Exalted One should be so clear, so exceeding bright ! For when, I placed even this pair of robes of burnished cloth of gold and ready for wear on the body of the Exalted One, lo ! it seemed as if it had lost its splendour !’

‘It is even so, Ānanda. There are two occasions, Ānanda, on which the colour of the skin of a Tathāgata becomes clear and exceeding bright. What are the two ?

‘On the night, Ānanda, on which a Tathāgata attains to the supreme and perfect insight, and on the night in which he passes finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain—on these two occasions the colour of the skin of the Tathāgata becomes clear and exceeding bright.

38. ‘Ajja kho pan’ Ānanda rattiyā pacchima-yāme Kusinārāyaṃ Upavattane Mallānaṃ sāla-vane antarena yamaka-sālānaṃ Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Āyāṃ’ Ānanda yena Kakutthā² nadī ten’ upasaṃkamissā-māti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

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1. To understand what is here represented to have happened one must understand the mode in which the Buddhist Wanderers wore their robes. There was no tailoring at all. The set of three robes was simply three lengths of cotton cloth about a yard wide. One piece, folded in half, was wrapped round the body. Another piece covered the limbs from the waist to the ankles. It was supported by a girdle and went three or four times round. The third piece was put on over this last, went twice round the legs, and then the rest of it was thrown over the left shoulder, and passed under the right arm across the body. See below, ch. V, § 19.

Pukkusa had placed the two lengths of cloth, shawl-wise, over the shoulders of the recipients. When he left them Ānanda assisted the Buddha to-put them on as Nos. 1 and 3 of a set of robes.

2. S^{ct} kuk^o; B^m kakuma; K kakudha, and below.

**Siṅgi-vaṇṇa-yugaṃ¹ maṭṭam Pukkuso abhihārayi.
Tena acchādito Satthā hema-vaṇṇo asobhathāti.**

38. 'And now this day, Ānanda, at the third watch of the night, in the Upavattana of Kusinārā, in the Sāla Grove of the Mallians, between the twin Sāla trees, the utter passing away of the Tathāgata will take place. Come, Ānanda ! Let us go on to the river Kakutthā.'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

The pair of robes of cloth of gold,
All burnished, Pukkusa had brought,
Clad on with them the Master then
Shone forth in colour like to gold² !

39. **Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena
saddhiṃ yena Kakutthā nadī ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃ-
kamitvā Kakutthaṃ nadim ajjhogahetvā nahātvā³ ca pivitvā
ca paccuttaritvā yena Ambavanam ten' upa saṃkami,
upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Cundakaṃ āmantesi :**

'**Īṅha me tvam Cundaka catugguṇaṃ saṃghāṭim pañ-
ñāpehi, kilanto' smi Cundaka, nipajjissāmīti.**'

'**Evam bhante' ti kho āyasmā Cundaka Bhagavato
paṭissutvā catugguṇaṃ saṃghāṭim paññāpesi.**

39. Now the Exalted One with a great company of the brethren went on to the river Kakutthā; and when he had come there, he went down into the water, and bathed, and drank. And coming up out again on the other side he went on to the Mango Grove.

1. B^m K siṅgivaṇṇaṃ yuga-.

2. We have here the commencement of the legend which afterwards grew into an account of an actual 'transfiguration' of the Buddha. It is very curious that it should have taken place soon after the Buddha had announced to Ānanda his approaching death, and that in the Buddhist Sutta it should be connected so closely with that event; for a similar remark applies also to the Transfiguration mentioned in the Gospels.

3. B^m nahātvā.

And when he was come there he addressed the venerable Chundaka, and said :— ‘Fold, I pray you, Chundaka, a robe in four and spread it out. I am weary, Chundaka, and would lie down.’

‘Even so, lord !’ said the venerable Chundaka, in assent, to the Exalted One. And he folded a robe in four, and spread it out.

40. Atha kho Bhagavā dakkhiṇena passena sīha-seyyaṃ kappesi, pāde pādaṃ accādhāya,¹ sato sampajāno uṭṭhāna-sahliyaṃ manasikarivā. Āyasmā pana Cundako tatth’ eva Bhagavato purato nisīdi.

40. And the Exalted One laid himself down on his right side, with one foot resting on the other ; and calm and self-possessed he meditated, intending to rise up again in due time. And the venerable Chundaka seated himself there in front of the Exalted One.

41. Gantvāna Buddhō nadiyaṃ² Kakutthaṃ³
 Acchodi-sātodika-vippasannaṃ,⁴
 Ogāhi Satthā sukilanta⁵-rūpo
 Tathāgato appaṭimo va loke.
 Nahatvā pitvā c’ udatāri⁶ Satthā⁷
 Purakkhato bhikkhu-gaṇassa majjhe.
 Satthā pavattā⁸ Bhagavā ’dha dhamme
 Upāgami Amba-vanaṃ mahesi.
 Āmantayi Cundakaṃ nāma bhikkhuṃ,
 ‘Catugguṇaṃ patthara⁹ me nipajjaṃ.’¹⁰

1. S^c accādhāya ; S^d accādāya.

2. K -ikaṃ.

3. S^{cdt} kuk^o; B^m K kakudhaṃ.

4. S^{ct} acchodikaṃ ; S^{cdt} sātodikaṃ; B^m K acchodakaṃ sātodakam.

5. B^m K akilanta-

6. SS K pivitvā; B^m K cudakāni.

7. K sutvā.

8. B^m sattāpiv^o.

9. B^m santara ; K santhari.

10. K -jij.

So modito¹ bhāvitattena Cundo
Catugguṇaṃ patthari² khippam eva.
Nippajji Satthā sukilanta³ -rūpo
Cundo pi tattha pamukhe⁴ nisīdīti.

41. The Buddha to Kakuttha's river came,
Whose clear and pleasant waters limpid flow.
He plunged beneath the stream wearied and worn,
The Buddha without equal in the world !
When he had bathed and drunk, the teacher then
Crossed o'er, the brethren thronging round his steps;
The Blessed Master, preaching the while the truth,
The Mighty Sage came to the Mango Grove.
There spake he to the brother Chundaka :—
'Spread me the fourfold robe out as a couch.'
Urged by the Holy One, he quickly spread
The fourfold robe in order on the ground.
The Master laid him down, wearied and worn ;
And there, before him, Chunda took his seat.

42. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āman-

tesī :

'Siyā kho pan' Ānanda Cundassa kammāra-puttassa koci
vippaṭṭisāraṃ upadaheyya: "Tassa te āvuso Cunda alābhā, tassa
te dulladdhaṃ, yassa te Tathāgato pacchimaṃ piṇḍapā-taṃ
bhuñjitvā parinibbuto" ti. Cundassa Ānanda kammāra-puttassa
evaṃ vippaṭṭisāro paṭivine-tabbo:

' "Tassa te āvuso lābhā, tassa te suladdhaṃ, yassa te
Tathāgato pacchimaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ bhuñjitvā parinibbuto.
Sammukhā me taṃ āvuso Cunda Bhagavato suttaṃ sammukhā
paṭiggahītaṃ, dve 'me piṇḍapātā samasamaphalā samasama-
vipākā ativiya aññehi piṇḍapātehi mahap-phalatarā ca mahā-
nisamsatarā ca. Katame dve ? Yaṇ ca piṇḍapātaṃ bhuñjitvā
Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambujjhati,

1. S^c B^m K codito.

2. B^m santari; K santhari.

3. B^m K ak^o.

4. S^c -kho va; S^t -kho.

yañ ca piṇḍapātāṃ bhuñjitvā Tathāgato anupādisesāya nibbāna-dhātuyā parinibbāyati. Ime dve piṇḍapātā sama-sama-phalā samasama-vipākā ativiya aññehi piṇḍapātehi mahapphalatarā ca mahāhi-saṃsatarā ca.¹ Āyu-saṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāra-puttena kammaṃ upacitaṃ, vaṇṇa-saṃvattani-kam āyasmatā Cundena kammāra-puttena kammaṃ upacitaṃ, sukha-saṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāra-puttena kammaṃ upacitaṃ, yasa-saṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāra-puttena kammaṃ upacitaṃ, sagga-saṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāra-puttena kammaṃ upacitaṃ, ādhipateyya-saṃvattanikaṃ āyasmatā Cundena kammāra-puttena kammaṃ upacitaṃ” ti.

‘Cundassa Ānanda kammāra-puttassa evaṃ vipphaṇṇasāro paṭivinetabbo’ ti.

42. And the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:— ‘Now it may happen, Ānanda, that some one should stir up remorse in Chunda the smith, by saying :— “This is evil to thee, Chunda, and loss to thee in that when the Tathāgata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died.” Any such remorse, Ānanda, in Chunda the smith should be checked by saying:— “This is good to thee, Chunda and gain to thee, in that when the Tathāgata had eaten his last meal from thy provision, then he died. From the very mouth of the Exalted One, Chunda, have I heard, from his own mouth have I received this saying :— “These two offerings of food are of equal fruit, and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any other—and which are the two ? The offering of food which, when a Tathāgata has eaten, he attains to supreme and perfect insight; and the offering of food which, when a Tathāgata has eaten, he passes away by that utter passing away in which nothing whatever remains behind—these two offerings of food are of equal fruit and of equal profit, and of much greater fruit and much greater profit than any others. There has been laid up by

1. See Mil. 174.

Chunda the smith a karma redounding to length of life, redounding to good birth, redounding to good fortune, redounding to good fame, redounding to the inheritance of heaven, and of sovereign power.' ” In this way, Ānanda, should be checked any remorse in Chunda the smith¹.'

43. Atha kho Bhagavā etam atthaṃ viditvā tāyaṃ velāyaṃ imam udānaṃ udānesi:

Dadato puññaṃ pavaḍḍhati, saṃyamato veraṃ na cīyati,²

Kusalo ca jahāti³ pāpakaṃ, rāgadosamohakkhayā sa⁴ nibbuto ti.

43. Then the Exalted One, perceiving how the matter stood, uttered on that occasion this hymn of exultation :—

‘To him who gives shall virtue be increased ;
In him who curbs himself, no anger can arise ;
The righteous man casts off all evil ways,
And by the rooting out of lust, and bitterness,
And all infatuation, is at peace !’

Ālāra vedalla-Bhāṇavāraṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ Catutthaṃ.⁵

End of the Fourth Portion for Recitation, containing The Episode of Ālāra.

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1. Here, and above pp. 137-9, we have spelt the name of the smith, in English, as it is pronounced in Pāli, and should be pronounced in English.
 2. S^c ciyyati; S^t ciyy^o ; B^m veraṇana viyayati.
 3. B^m va hoti; K *omits* ca.
 4. K *om*.
 5. K catuttha-bhāṇavāraṃ; B^m bhāṇavāraṃ catutthaṃ.

CHAPTER V

5. 1. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āman-
tesī : ‘Āyāṃ’ Ānanda yena Hiraññavatiyā nadiyā pārīma¹-
tīraṃ yena Kusinārā-Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ ten’
upasaṃkamissāmāti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato pac-
cassosi.

Atha kho Bhagavā mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ
yena Hiraññavatiyā nadiyā pārīma-tīraṃ yena Kusinārā-
Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ ten’ upasaṃkami,
upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi :

‘Ingha me tvaṃ Ānanda antarena yamaka-sālānaṃ
uttara-sīsakaṃ mañcakaṃ paññāpehi, kilanto ’smi Ānanda,
nipajjissāmīti.’

Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato
paṭissutvā antarena yamaka-sālā uttara-sīsakaṃ mañcakaṃ
paññāpesi. Atha kho Bhagavā dakkhiṇena passena sīha-seyyaṃ
kappesi pāde² pādaṃ accādhāya³ sato sampajāno.

1. Now the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda,
and said :— ‘Come, Ānanda, let us go on to the Sāla Grove of
the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā, on the further side of the
river Hiranya-vatī.’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to
the Exalted One.

And the Exalted One proceeded with a great company of
the brethren to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of

1. B^m -maṃ, and so below ; K pārīman.

2. B^m K pādena.

3. . S^c B^m accādhāya ; S^d accādhāraya.

Kusinārā, on the further side of the river Hiranyavatī: and when he had come there he addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said:—

‘Spread over for me, I pray you, Ānanda, the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sāla trees¹. I am weary, Ānanda, and would lie down.’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One. And he spread a covering over the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Sāla trees. And the Exalted One laid himself down on his right side, with one leg resting on the other; and he was mindful and self-possessed.

2. Tena kho pana samayena yamaka-sālā sabba-phālipullā² honti akāla-pupphēhi. Te Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi mandārava-pupphāni antalikkhā papatanti,³ tāni Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi candana-cuṇṇāni antalikkhā papatanti,⁴ tāni Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi turīyāni antalikkhe vajjenti⁵ Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi saṅgītāni antalikkhe vattanti Tathāgatassa pūjāya.

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1. According to the commentator ‘tradition says that there was a row of Sāla trees at the head (sīs’a) of that couch, and another at its foot, one young Sāla tree being close to its head, and another close to its foot. The twin Sāla trees were so called because the two trees were equally grown in respect of the roots, trunks, branches, and leaves. There was a couch there in the park for the special use of the (periodically elected) chieftain of the Mallas, and it was this couch which the Exalted One asked Ānanda to make ready.’

There is no further explanation of the term *uttara-sīsakam*, which may have been the name for a slab of wood or stone reserved on great occasions for the use of the leaders of the neighbouring republic, but available at other times for passers-by.

2. S^{cd} pālī^o; B^m pālipullā.
3. B^m patanti, *and below*.
4. B^m patanti; K sampat^o.
5. B^m K -anti *and below*.

2. Now at that time the twin Sāla trees were all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season ; and all over the body of the Tathāgata¹ these-dropped and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandārava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder came falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathāgata they descended and sprinkled and scattered themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music was sounded in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs came wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!

3. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: ‘Sabba-bhāli-phullā kho² Ānanda yamaka-sālā akāla-pupphēhi³ Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi man-dārava-pupphāni antalikkhā papatanti, tāni Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya, dibbāni pi candana-cuṇṇāni antalikkhā papatanti,⁴ tāni⁵ Tathāgatassa sarīraṃ⁶ okiranti ajjhokiranti abhippakiranti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi turīyāni anta-likkhe vajjenti Tathāgatassa pūjāya. Dibbāni pi saṅgītāni antalikkhe vattanti⁷ Tathāgatassa pūjāya.

‘No kho Ānanda ettāvatā Tathāgato sakkato vā hoti garukato vā mānito vā pūjito vā apacito vā. Yo⁸ kho Ānanda bhikkhu vābhikkhunī vā upāsako vā upāsikā vā dhammānu-

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1. We have here the unusual case of the Buddha being called Tathāgata, not by himself, but by a third person, the compiler of the Sutta. The paragraph is perhaps moulded by inadvertence on the next one. But see § 10. Compare the note above on IV, 25.
 2. S^c pāliphūlako; S^d phāliphullakokhā; B^m phāliphullā kho.
 3. B^m adds te.
 4. B^m pat^o, put K papat^o.
 5. B^m tānitāni.
 6. B^m sariyaṃ (a second time).
 7. B^m patt^o.
 8. S^{cdt} ye; B^m K yo.

dhamma-paṭipanno viharati samīci-paṭipanno¹ anudhamma-cārī, so Tathāgataṃ sakkroti garukaroti māneti pūjeti paramāya pūjāya. Tasmāt ih' Ānanda "dhammānudhamma-paṭipannā viharissāma samīci-paṭi-pannā anudhamma-cārino" ti, evaṃ² hi vo Ānanda sikkhitabban' ti.

3. Then the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda and said:— 'The twin Sāla trees are all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season; all over the body of the Tathāgata these drop and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly Mandārava flowers, too, and heavenly sandal-wood powder come falling from the sky, and all over the body of the Tathāgata they descend and sprinkle and scatter themselves, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly music sounds in the sky, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old. And heavenly songs come wafted from the skies, out of reverence for the successor of the Buddhas of old!

'Now it is not thus, Ānanda, that the Tathāgata is rightly honoured, revered, venerated, held sacred or revered. But the brother or the sister, the devout man or the devout woman, who continually fulfils all the greater and the lesser duties, who is correct in life, walking according to the precepts—it is he who rightly honours, reverences, venerates, holds sacred, and reveres the Tathāgata with the worthiest homage. Therefore, O Ānanda, be ye constant in the fulfilment of the greater and of the lesser duties, and be ye correct in life, walking according to the precepts ; and thus Ānanda, should it be taught.'

4. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Upavāṇo³ Bhagavato purato ṭhito hoti Bhagavantam vījamāno. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Upavāṇaṃ apasādesi:⁴ 'Apehi bhikkhu, mā me purato aṭṭhāsīti.'

Atha kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahoṣi: 'Ayaṃ kho

1. B^m paṭippannā.

2. B^m K -ñ.

3. S^{cd} -no *throughout* ; S^t -vaṇo, *afterwards* -vāṇo.

4. B^m -sāreti; K -sādeti (*throughout*).

āyasmā Upavāṇo dīgha-rattaṃ Bhagavato upaṭṭhāko santikāvacaro samīpa-cārī. Atha ca pana¹ Bhagavā pacchime kāle āyasmantaṃ Upavāṇaṃ apasādesi : “Apehi bhikkhu, mā me purato aṭṭhāsīti.” Ko nu kho hetu ko paccayo yaṃ Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Upavāṇaṃ apasādesi: “Apehi bhikkhu, mā me purato aṭṭhāsīti ?” ’

4. Now at that time the venerable Upavāna was standing in front of the Exalted One, fanning him. And the Exalted One was not pleased with Upavāna, and he said to him :— ‘Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me !’

Then this thought sprang up in the mind of the venerable Ānanda:—‘This venerable Upavāna had long been in close personal attendance and service on the Exalted One. And now, at the last moment, the Exalted One is not pleased with Upavāna, and has said to him :— “Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me !” What may be the cause and what the reason that the Exalted One is not pleased with Upavāna, and speaks thus with him ?’

5. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

‘Ayaṃ bhante āyasmā Upavāṇo dīgha-rattaṃ Bhagavato upaṭṭhāko santikāvacaro samīpa-cārī, atha ca pana Bhagavā pacchimi kāle āyasmantaṃ Upavāṇaṃ apasādeti. “Apehi bhikkhu, mā me purato aṭṭhāsīti.” Ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo yaṃ Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Upavāṇaṃ apasādesi: “Apeni bhikkhu mā me purato aṭṭhāsīti” ?’

‘Yebhuyyena Ānanda dasasu loka-dhātusu devatā san-nipatitā Tathāgataṃ dassanāya. Yāvataṃ Ānanda Kusi-nārā-Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ² sāmantaṃ dvādasa yojanāni n’atthi so padeso vālagga-koṭi-nittud-danamatto³ pi mahesakkhāhi devatāhi apphuṭo.⁴ Devatā Ānanda ujjhāyanti⁵:

1. B^m om.

2. B^m upavattansālavanaṃ omitting Kus^o and Mall^o.

3. B^m nituddhana^o. (See Aṅguttara i. 65.)

4. B^m apuṭo.

5. B^m upajjh^o.

“Dūrā¹ vat’ amhā āgatā Tathāgatam² dassanāya. Kadāci karahaci³ Tathāgatā⁴ loke uppajjanti⁵ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, ajja ca⁶ rattiyaṃ pacchima-yāme Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati, ayañ ca mahesakkho bhikkhu Bhavagato purato ṭhito ovārento, na mayaṃ labhāma pacchime kāle Tathāgatam dassanāyāti” devatā Ānanda ujjhāyantīti.⁷

5. And the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One :— ‘This venerable Upavāna has long been in close personal attendance and service on the Exalted One. And now, at the last moment, the Exalted One is not pleased with Upavāna, and has said to him :— “Stand aside, O brother, stand not in front of me! “ What may be the cause and what the reason that the Exalted One is not pleased with Upavāna, and speaks thus with him ?’

‘In great numbers, Ānanda, are the gods of the ten world-systems assembled together to behold the Tathāgata. For twelve leagues, Ānanda, around the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā, there is no spot in size even as the pricking of the point of the tip of a hair which is not pervaded, by powerful spirits⁸. And the spirits, Ānanda, are mur-muring,

1. B^m inserts ca.

2. K -tassa.

3. S^c -hāci; so S^d corrected to -haci; B^m karassaci.

4. B^m K -to.

5. K -jati araham-ddho (B^m -o).

6. B^m ajj’ eva.

7. K omits dev-tīti.

8. Buddhaghosa explains that even twenty to sixty angels or gods (devatāyo) could stand āragga-koti-nittūdana- (MS. Nittad-dana-) matte pi, ‘on a point pricked by the extreme point of a gimlet,’ without inconveniencing one another (aññam aññam avyā-bādhenti). It is most curious to find this exact analogy to the notorious discussion as to how many angels could stand on the point of a needle in a commentary written at just that period of Buddhist history which corresponds to the Middle Ages of Christendom. The passage in the text does not really imply or suggest any such doctrine, though the whole episode is so absurd that the author of the text

and say :— “From afar have we come to behold the Tathāgata. Few and far between are the Tathā-gatas, the Arahant Buddhas who appear in the world : and now to-day, in the last watch of the night, the death of a Tathāgata will take place ; and this eminent brother stands in front of the Tathāgata, concealing him, and in his last hour we are prevented from beholding the Tathāgata” ; thus, Ānanda, do the spirits murmur.’

6. ‘Katham-bhūtā pana bhante Bhagavā devatā man-asikarotīti’ ?¹

‘Sant’ Ānanda devatā ākāse paṭhavi-saññiniyo, kese pakiriya kandanti, bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papā-taṃ² papatanti āvaṭṭanti³ vivaṭṭanti: “Atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbāyissati, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbā-yissati, atikhippaṃ cakkhum⁴ loke antaradhāyissatīti !”

‘Sant’ Ānanda devatā paṭhaviyā paṭhavi-saññiniyo, kese pakiriya kandanti, bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papā-taṃ papatanti āvaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti: “Atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbāyissati, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbāyissati, atikhippaṃ cakkhum loke antaradhāyissatīti !” Yā pana tā devatā vīta-rāgā, tā satā sampajānā adhivāsenti: “Aniccā saṃkhārā, taṃ kut’ ettha labbhā ?”⁵ ti.’

6. ‘But of what kind of spirits is the Exalted One thinking?’

‘There are spirits, Ānanda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms’

could not have hesitated to say so, had such an idea been the common belief of the early Buddhists. With these sections should be compared the similar sections in Chapter VI, of which these are perhaps merely an echo.

There is no comment on nittūdana, but there can be little doubt that Childers’s conjectural reading is correct.

1. K karontīti.
2. K chinna-pātaṃ viya, *and below*; B^m chinna-pātaṃ papat^o
3. S^{cdt} -ṭenti, *and below*; B^m K -ṭanti.
4. K cakkhumā (*text*), cakkhum (*note*), *and below*.
5. Cp 3. 63; 6. 39.

and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought:— “Too soon will the Exalted One die ! Too soon will the Exalted One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away¹!”

‘There are spirits, too, Ānanda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, who stretch forth their arms and weep, who fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought:— “Too soon will the Exalted One die ! Too soon will the Happy One pass away ! Full soon will the Eye of the world disappear from sight.”

‘But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins:— “Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [whereas anything whatever, when born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then is it possible that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist² !”]

7. ‘Pubbe bhante disāsu vassaṃ vutthā bhikkhū āgacchanti Tathāgataṃ dassanāya, te mayaṃ labhāma manobhāvanīye³ bhikkhū dassanāya labhāma payirupāsānāya. Bhagavato pana mayaṃ bhante accayena na labhissāma manobhāvanīye bhikkhū dassanāya na labhissāma payirupāsānāyāti.’

1. It is literally, ‘the Eye in the world will vanish away,’ where Eye is of course used figuratively of that by the aid of which spiritual truths can be perceived, corresponding exactly to the similar use in Europe of the word Light. The Master is often called ‘He with the Eye,’ ‘He of the Spiritual Eye’ (see, for instance, the last verses in this Book), and here by a bold figure of speech he is called the Eye itself, which was shortly about to vanish away from the world, the means of spiritual insight which was no longer to be available for the common use of all men. But this is, it will be noticed, only the lament of the foolish and ignorant.
2. The words in brackets have been inserted from par. III, 48 above. See par. VI, 19 below.
3. K -nīye; SS *all niye* here; *but in* Sum-nīye.

7. 'In times past, lord, the brethren, when they had spent the rainy season in different districts, used to come to see the Tathāgata, and we used to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Exalted One. But, lord, after the end of the Exalted One, we shall not be able to receive those very reverend brethren to audience, and to wait upon the Exalted One.'

8. 'Cattār' imāni Ānanda saddhassa kula-puttassa dassanīyāni¹ saṃvejanīyāni² ṭhānāni. Katamāni cattāri ?

' "Idha Tathāgato jāto" ti Ānanda saddhassa kulaputtassa dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ.

' "Idha Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambuddho" ti Ānanda saddhassa kula-puttassa dassa-niyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ.

' "Idha Tathāgatena anuttaraṃ dhamma-cakkaṃ pavat-titaṇ" ti Ānanda saddhassa kula-puttassa dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ.

' "Idha Tathagato anupādisesāya nibbāna-dhātuyā parinibbuto" ti Ānanda saddhassa kula-puttassa dassanīyaṃ saṃvejanīyaṃ ṭhānaṃ.

'Imāni kho Ānanda cattāri saddhassa kula-puttassa dassanīyāni saṃvejanīyāni ṭhānāni. Āgamisanti kho Ānanda saddhā bhikkhu³-bhikkhuniyo upāsaka⁴-upāsi-kāyo "Idha Tathāgato jāto" ti pi ' "Idha Tathāgato anuttaraṃ sammā-sambodhiṃ abhisambuddho" ti pi, "Idha Tathāgatena anuttaraṃ dhamma-cakkaṃ pavat-titaṇ" ti pi, "Idha Tathāgato anupādisesāya nibbāna-dhātuyā parinibbuto" ti pi.

'Ye hi keci Ānanda cetiya-cārikaṃ āhiṇḍantā pasanna-cittā kālaṃ karissanti, sabbe te kāyassa bhedaṃ paramaṃ maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjissantīti.'

8. 'There are these four places, Ānanda, which the believing clansman should visit with feelings of reverence. Which are the four ?

1. S^{ct} throughout i; so at first S^d. K throughout i.

2. S^{ct} throughout i; so at first S^d. K throughout i.

3. K -khū.

4. B^m K -kā.

‘The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say:—
“Here the Tathāgata was born !” is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence.

‘The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say:—
“Here the Tathāgata attained to the supreme and perfect insight!” is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence.

‘The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say:—
“Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathāgata!” is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence.

‘The place, Ānanda, at which the believing man can say:—
“Here the Tathāgata passed finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind!” is a spot to be visited with feelings of reverence. These are the four places, Ānanda, which the believing clansman should visit with feelings of reverence.

‘And there will come, Ānanda, to such spots. believers, brethren and sisters of the Order, or devout men and devout women, and will say :— “Here was the Tathāgata born!” or, “Here did the Tathāgata attain to the supreme and perfect insight!” or, “Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathāgata!” or, “Here the Tathāgata passed away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind !”

‘And they, Ānanda, who shall die while they, with believing heart, are journeying on such pilgrimage, shall be reborn after death, when the body shall dissolve, in the happy realms of heaven.’

9. ‘Kathaṃ mayam bhante mātuḡāme paṭipajjāmāti ?’

‘Adassanam ānandāti.’

‘Dassane Bhagavā sati kathaṃ paṭipajjitabban ?’ ti.

‘Anālāpo ānandāti.’

‘Ālapantena pana bhante kathaṃ paṭipajjitabban ?’ ti.

‘Sati ānanda upaṭṭhāpetabbā’ ti.

9. ‘How are we to conduct ourselves, lord, with regard to womankind ?’

‘As not seeing them, Ānanda.’

‘But if we should see them, what are we to do ?’

‘No talking, Ānanda.’

‘But if they should speak to us, lord, what are we to do ?’

‘Keep wide awake, Ānanda.’

10. ‘Kathaṃ mayam bhante Tathāgatassa sarīre pati-pajjāmāti ?’

‘Avyāvaṭā tumhe Ānanda hotha Tathāgatassa sarīra-pujāya, iṅha tumhe Ānanda sadatthe ghaṭṭatha, sadat-tham¹ anuyuñjatha, sadatthe appamattā ātāpino pahitattā viharatha. Sant’ Ānanda khattiya-paṇḍitā pi brāhmaṇa-paṇḍitā pi gahapati-paṇḍitā pi Tathāgate abhippasannā,² te Tathāgatassa sarīra-pūjaṃ karissanṭīti.’

10. ‘What are we to do, lord, with the remains of the Tathāgata ?’

‘Hinder not yourselves, Ānanda, by honouring the remains of the Tathāgata. Be zealous, I beseech you, Ānanda, in your own behalf! Devote yourselves to your own good! Be earnest, be zealous, be intent on your own good! There are wise men, Ānanda, among the nobles, among the brāhmins, among the heads of houses, who are firm believers in the Tathāgata ; and they will do due honour to the remains of the Tathāgata.

11. ‘Kathaṃ pana bhante Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipaj-jitabban’ ?’ ti

‘Yathā kho Ānanda rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipaj-janti,³ evaṃ Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭire paṭipajjitabban’ ti.

‘Kathaṃ pana bhante rañño cakkavattissa sarīre pati-pajjanṭīti’ ?

‘Rañño Ānanda cakkavattissa sarīraṃ ahatena⁴ vat-thena veṭhenti. Ahatena vatthena veṭhetvā vihatena kappāsena veṭhenti, vihatena kappāsena veṭhetvā ahatena vatthena veṭhenti. Etena upāyena pañcahi yuga-satehi rañño

1. B^m -ttho ; K -tthe. See Mil. 408.

2. B^m atitapas^o.

3. B^m paṭipajjitabbanti.

4. B^m āhatena *always*.

cakkavattissa sarīraṃ¹ veṭhetvā ayasāya² tela-doṇiyā pak-
khipitvā aññissā ayasāya doṇiyā paṭikujjetvā sabba-gandhā-
naṃ citakaṃ karitvā rañño cakkavattissa sarīraṃ jhāpentī,
cātummahāpathe³ rañño cakkavattissa thūpaṃ karonti. Evaṃ
kho Ānanda rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti.

‘Yathā kho Ānanda rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipaj-
janti evaṃ Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjitabbaṃ. Cātum-
mahāpathe Tathāgatassa thūpo kātabbo. Tattha ye mālaṃ vā
gandhaṃ vā vaṇṇakaṃ⁴ vā āropessanti abhivā-dessanti vā,
cittaṃ vā pasādessanti,⁵ tesāṃ taṃ bhavissati dīgharattaṃ
hitāya sukhāya.

11. ⁶But what should be done, lord, with the remains of
the Tathāgata ?

‘As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ānanda,
should they treat the remains of a Tathāgata.’

‘And how, lord, do they treat the remains of a king of
kings⁷ ?

‘ They wrap the body of a king of kings, Ānanda, in a new
cloth. When that is done they wrap it in carded cotton wool⁸.

1. K -re.

2. B^m āyasāya *corrected to* -saya.

3. B^m catumahāpate.

4. B^m K cuṇṇakaṃ. *See below* 6. 17; Vin. iv. 341.

5. B^m pasādevāssanti.

6. This conversation occurs also below (VI, 17), and the older tradi-
tion probably had it only in that connexion.

7. King of kings is an adequate rendering of the ‘King of the Rolling
Wheel,’ the wheels of whose chariot roll unhindered through the
land; that is to say, a king whose power no other king can dispute,
who is an acknowledged overlord. The idea, which is explained
very fully in the next Sutta, may have arisen with the rise of the
Kosala power; but it may also be later. If we could trace its history
it would afford us a guide to the date at which the Mahā Parinibbāna
Sutta assumed its present form.

8. Buddhaghosa explains this passage thus:— ‘As Benares cloth, by
reason of its fineness of texture, does not take the oil, he therefore
says:— “with vihata cotton wool,” that is, with cotton wool that

When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth, and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron¹. They then build a funeral pyre of all kinds of perfume, and burn the body of the king ô kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a cairn² to the king of kings. This, Ānanda, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

has been well forced asunder.' The technical use of the word, as applied to cotton wool, has only been found in this passage. It usually means 'torn' with grief.

1. *Ayasāya tela-doniyā*, where one would expect *āyasāya*, but my MS. of the *Dīgha Nikāya* confirms twice over here, and twice again below (VI, 33, 35) the reading given by Childers. Buddhaghosa says the word here means gold. *Ay* as was originally used for bronze, and only later for iron also, and at last exclusively of iron. As *kamsa* is already a common word for bronze in very early Buddhist Pāli texts, I think *āyasa* (not *ayasa*) would here mean 'of iron.' When Buddhaghosa says it is here a name for gold, we can only conclude that iron had become, in his time, a metal which he might fairly consider too base for the purpose proposed. The whole process as described is not very intelligible; and one might suppose that *ayasa* after all had nothing to do with any metal, and was a technical term descriptive of some particular size or shape or colour of oil vessel. But it is frequently found in the MSS. when iron is clearly meant. Thus in the popular verse at *Samyutta I*, 77 on which a *Jātaka* is based (II, 140), which is inserted in the 'Anthologies' (*Dhammapada* 345, Khar. MS. No. 102), and twice quoted in the *Netti* (35, 153), the MSS. have both forms in spite of the metre favouring the long vowel. In this passage both Paññānanda's Colombo edition of 1877, and Samarasekara's version (Col. and Lond 1905) have the short vowel only.
2. *Thūpa*. A solid mound or tumulus or barrow, in the midst of which the bones and ashes are to be placed. The dome of St. Paul's as seen from the Thames Embankment gives a very good idea of one of the later of these Buddhist monumental mounds.

‘And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Ānanda, should they treat the remains of the athagata. At the four cross roads a cairn should be erected to the Tathāgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.’

12. ‘Cattāro’ me Ānanda thūpārahā. Katame cattāro ?

¹ ‘Tathāgato Arahaṃ Sammā-Sambuddhe thūpāraho, Pacceka-Buddho thūpāraho, Tathāgata-sāvako² thūpāraho, rājā cakkavattī thūpāraho.

³ Katamañ c’ Ānanda³ attha-vasaṃ paṭicca Tathāgato Arahaṃ Sammā-Sambuddho thūpāraho ? “Ayaṃ tassa Bhagavato arahato Sammā-Sambuddhassa thūpo” ti Ānanda bahu-jano cittaṃ pasādeti,⁴ te tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā kāyassa bhedaṃ param marañā sugatiṃ saggāṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti.⁵ Idaṃ kho Ānanda attha-vasaṃ paṭicca Tathāgato Arahaṃ Sammā-Sambuddho thūpāraho.

⁶ Katamañ c’ Ānanda⁶ attha-vasaṃ paṭicca Pacceka-Sambuddho thūpāraho ? “Ayaṃ tassa Bhagavato Pacceka-Sambuddhassa thūpo” ti Ānanda bahu-jano cittaṃ pasādeti, te tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā kāyassa bhedaṃ param marañā sugatiṃ saggāṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti. Idaṃ kho Ānanda attha-vasaṃ paṭicca Pacceka-Sambuddho thūpāraho.

‘Katamañ c’ Ānanda attha-vasaṃ paṭicca Tathāgata-sāvako thūpāraho ? “Ayaṃ tassa Bhagavato Arahaṃ Sammā-Sambuddhassa sāvaka-thūpo” ti Ānanda bahu-jano cittaṃ pasādeti, te tattha cittaṃ pasādetvā kāyassa bhedaṃ param

1. *Recurs Aṅguttara* ii. 245.

2. B^m K Tathāgatassa sāvado, and so below.

3.3. S^{cdt} Katamānanda ; K Kiñcān^o (text) : in a note, Katamācān^o. In each subsequent par. Kiñcān^o.

4. B^m K bahujaṇā . . . pasādentī throughout. B^m in serts te after cittaṃ.

5. B^m K apap^o, and below.

6.6. S^t Kañcānanda; S^t Katamānanda; so each in next pat. B^m K Kiñcān^o, and below.

marañā sugatiṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti. Idaṃ kho Ānanda attha-vasaṃ paṭicca Tathāgata-sāvako thūpāraho.

‘¹Katamañ c’ Ānanda¹ attha-vasaṃ paṭicca rājā cak-kavattī thūpāraho ? “Ayaṃ tassa dhammikassa dhamma-rañño thūpo” ti Ānanda bahu-jano cittaṃ pasādeti, te tattha cittaṃ pasāde tvā kāyassa bhedā param marañā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti. Idaṃ kho Ānanda attha-vasaṃ paṭicca rājā vakkavattī thūpāraho.

‘Ime² kho Ānanda cattāro thūpārahā’ ti.

12. ‘The men, Ānanda, worthy of a cairn, are four in number. Which are the four ?

‘A Tathāgata, an Able Awakened One, is worthy of a cairn. One awakened for himself alone is worthy of a cairn. A true hearer of the Tathāgata is worthy of a cairn. A king of kings is worthy of a cairn.

‘And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a Tathāgata, an Able Awakened One, worthy of a cairn ?

‘At the thought, Ānanda:— “This is the cairn of that Exalted One, of that Able Awakened One,” the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a Tathāgata, an Able Awakened One, is worthy of a cairn.

‘And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is one awakened for himself alone³ worthy of a cairn ?

‘At the thought, Ānanda :— “This is the cairn of that Exalted One awakened for himself alone” the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that one awakened for himself alone is worthy of a cairn.

1 1. S^c katamāncān^o; S^{dt} katamānanda; B^m kiñcāpinanda.

2. S^{cdt} iti; B^m K ime.

3. Pacceka-buddho. One who has attained to the supreme and perfect insight; but dies without proclaiming the truth to the world.

‘And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a true hearer of the Exalted One, the Able Awakened One, worthy of a cairn ?

‘At the thought, Ānanda:— “This is the cairn of that true hearer of the Exalted Able Awakened One,” the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a true hearer of the Exalted One, the Able Awakened One, is worthy of a cairn.

‘And on account of what circumstance, Ānanda, is a king of kings worthy of a cairn ?

‘At the thought, Ānanda:— “This is the cairn of that righteous king who ruled in righteousness,” the hearts of many shall be made calm and happy ; and since they there had calmed and satisfied their hearts they will be reborn after death, when the body has dissolved, in the happy realms of heaven. It is on account of this circumstance, Ānanda, that a king of kings is worthy of a cairn.

‘These four, Ānanda, are the personsworthy of a cairn.’

13. *Atha kho āyasmā Ānando vihāraṃ pavisitvā kapisīsaṃ*¹ *ālambitvā rodamāno atthāsi :* “*Āhañ ca vat’ amhi sekho*² *sakaraṇīyo, Satthu ca me parinibbānaṃ bhavissati*³ *yo*⁴ *mamaṃ anukampako’ ti.*

Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi : ‘*Kahan nu kho bhikkhave Ānando’? ti.*

‘*Eso bhante āyasmā Ānando vihāraṃ pavisitvā kapisīsaṃ ālambitvā rodamāno tthito: “Āhañ ca vat’ amhi sekho sakaraṇīyo, Satthu ca me parinibbānaṃ bhavissati yo mamaṃ anukampako” ti.*’

Atha kho Bhagavā aññataraṃ bhikkhuṃ āmantesi : ‘*Ehi tvaṃ bhikkhu, mama vacanena Anandam āmantehi :* “*Satthā taṃ āvuso Ānanda āmantetīti.*” ’

1. See Jāt. iii. 23.; Vin. ii. 121.

2. K sekkho. See Thera-Gāthā 1045.

3. S^{cdt} om., and below.

4. S^{cdt} so, and below.

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho so bhikkhu Bhagavato paṭissutvā yen’ āyasmā Ānando ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānantaṃ etad avoca : ‘Satthā taṃ āvuso Ānanda āmanteti.’

‘Evaṃ āvuso’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando tassa bhikkhuno paṭissutvā yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃka-mitvā Bhagavantaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi.

13. ‘Now the venerable Ānanda went into the Vihāra¹, and stood leaning against the lintel of the door, and weeping at the thought :— ‘Alas! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection². And the Master is about to pass away from me—he who is so kind!’

Now the Exalted One called the brethren, and said :— ‘Where then brethren, is Ānanda ?’

‘The venerable Ānanda, lord, has gone into the Vihāra, and stands leaning against the lintel of the door, and weeping at the thought:— “Alas ! I remain still but a learner, one who has yet to work out his own perfection. And the Master is about to pass away from me—he who is so kind !” ’

And the Exalted One called a certain brother, and said :— ‘Go now, brother, and call Ānanda in my name, and say:— “Brother Ānanda, the Master calls for thee”.

‘Even so, lord!’ said that brother, in assent, to the Exalted One. And he went up to the place where the Exalted One was :

1. The expression that Ānanda went ‘into the Vihara’ at the end of a conversation represented as having taken place in the Sāla Grove, would seem to point to the fact that this episode originally stood in some other connexion. Buddhaghosa attempts to explain away the discrepancy by saying that Vihāra here means Mandala. As the spot was the place for the performance of the communal ceremonies of the clan there was most likely a Mandala there, and there must, from the context below, § 25, have been also some small closed-in building, a hut or cottage. It is only this latter that could have been called a Vihara.

1. Ānanda had entered the Noble Path, but had not yet reached the end of it. He had not attained to Nirvana.

and when he had come there, he said to the venerable Ānanda:—
'Brother Ānanda, the Master calls for thee.'

'Very well, brother,' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to that brother. And he went up to the place where the Exalted One was, and when he had come there, he bowed down before the Exalted One, and took his seat respectfully on one side.

14. Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ kho āyasmantaṃ Anandaṃ Bhagavā etad avoca:

'Alaṃ Ānanda mā soci¹ mā paridevi.² Na nu etaṃ Ānanda mayā patigacc' eva akkhātaṃ, sabbe' eva piyehi manāpehi nānā-bhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññathā-bhāvo ? Taṃ kut' ettha Ānanda labbhā ? yaṃ taṃ jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṅkhatam paloka-dhammaṃ, taṃ vata mā palujjīti³ n' etaṃ thānaṃ vijjati. Dīgha-rattaṃ kho te Ānanda Tathāgato paccupatthito mettena kāya-kammaṃ hitena sukhena advayena appamāṇena, mettena vacī-kammaṃ . . . pe . . . mettena manokammaṃ hitena sukhena advayena appamāṇena. Katapuññ 'si tvaṃ Ānanda. Padhānaṃ anuyuñja khippaṃ hohisi⁴ anāsavo' ti.

14. Then the Exalted One said to the venerable Ānanda, as he sat there by his side:— 'Enough, Ānanda! Do not let yourself be troubled; do not weep! Have I not already, on former occasions, told you that it is in the very nature of all things most near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them ? How, then, Ānanda, can this be possible— whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how, then, can this be possible, that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist! For a long time, Ānanda, have you been very near to me by acts of love, kind and good, that never varies⁵, and is beyond all measure.

1. B^m soca.

2. B^m -vā.

3. B^m taṃ vata Tathāgatassapi sariraṃ (sic) mā paluj-jitaṃ.

4. S^{cdt} hosi; K hohipi. See Sum i. 10.

5. Advayena, which Buddhaghosa explains as not being that kind of

For a long time, Ānanda, have you been very near to me by words of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. For a long time, Ānanda, have you been very near to me by thoughts of love, kind and good, that never varies, and is beyond all measure. You have done well, Ānanda! Be earnest in effort, and you too shall soon be free from the Intoxications—[of sensuality, and individuality, and delusion, and ignorance.]¹

15. Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi :

‘Ye pi te bhikkhave ahesuṃ atītaṃ addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, tesam pi Bhagavantānaṃ eta-paramā yeva upatṭhākā ahesuṃ seyyathā pi mayhaṃ Ānando. Ye pi te bhikkhave bhavissanti anāgatam addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, tesam pi Bhagavantānaṃ eta-paramā yeva upatṭhākā bhavissanti seyyathā pi mayhaṃ Ānando.

²Paṇḍito kho³ bhikkhave Ānando jānāti : “Ayaṃ kālo Tathāgataṃ dassetvā upasaṃkhamitūṃ bhikkhūnaṃ,⁴ ayaṃ kālo bhikkhunīnaṃ, ayaṃ kālo upāsakānaṃ, ayaṃ kālo upāsikānaṃ,⁵ ayaṃ kālo rañño rāja-mahāmat-tānaṃ titthiyānaṃ⁶ titthiya-sāvakaṇaṃ” ti.

15. Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:— ‘Whosoever, brethren, have been Able Awakened Ones through the long ages of the past, they also had servitors just as devoted to those Exalted Ones as Ānanda has been to me.

‘He is a clever man, brethren, is Ānanda, and wise⁷. He knows when it is the right time for the brethren or for the sisters of the Order, for devout men and devout women, for a

love which is now one thing and now another, or which varies in the presence or the absence of the object loved.

1. That is, you too shall become an Arahant, shall attain Nirvana in this life.
2. B^m ekapparamā, and below. See S. v. 164.
3. B^m K om.
4. B^m K repeat ayaṃ kālo before bhikkhūnaṃ.
5. B^m omits this phrase.
6. K has ayaṃ kālo before both last terms ; and B^m omits titthiyānaṃ.
7. A word has here slipped out of the text, medhāvi should stand before jānāti.

king, or for a king's ministers, or for other teachers or for their disciples, to come and visit the Tathāgata.

16. 'Cattāro 'me bhikkhave acchariyā abbhutā¹ dhammā Ānande. Katame cattāro ?

'Sace bhikkhave bhikkhu-parisā Ānandaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamati, dassanena sā attamanā hoti, tatra ce Ānando dhammaṃ bhāsati bhāsitena pi sā attamanā hoti, atittā 'va bhikkhave bhikkhu-parisā hoti atha² Ānando tuṇhī hoti.

'Sace bhikkhave bhikkhunī-parisā . . .³ upāsaka-parisā . . . upāsikā-parisā Ānandaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamati, dassanena sā attamanā hoti, tatra ce Ānando dhammaṃ bhāsati bhāsitena pi sā attamanā hoti, atittā 'va bhikkhave upasikā-parisā hoti atha Ānando tuṇhī hoti.⁴

'Cattāro 'me bhikkhave acchariyā abbhutā dhammā raññe cakkavattimhi.⁵

'Sace bhikkhave khattiya-parisā⁶ . . . brāhmaṇa-parisā . . . gahapati - parisā . . . samaṇa - parisā rājānaṃ cakkavattim dassanāya upasaṃkamati, dassanena sā attamanā hoti, tatra ce rājā cakkavattī bhāsati bhāsitena pi sā attamanā hoti, atittā 'va bhikkhave samaṇa-parisā hoti atha rājā cakkavattī tuṇhī hoti.

'Evam eva kho bhikkhave cattāro acchariyā abbhutā dhammā Ānande. Sace bhikkhave bhikkhu-parisā⁷ bhikkhunī-khunī - parisā . . . upāsaka-parisā . . . upāsikā-parisā

-
1. K abbhūta, and below : B^m here abbhudhā but abbhūta below. See Aṅguttara ii. 132.
 2. B^m adds kho, and so below.
 3. K B^m repeat the previous sentence with each of the other three parisās.
 4. B^m K add Ime kho bhikkhave cattāro acchariyā abbhūta-dhammā Ānande.
 5. The usual link katame cattāro is not in SS B^m or K. It is in the Aṅguttara ii. 133.
 6. K places rājānaṃ . . . hoti here first ; and continues Sace bhikkhave brāhmaṇa - parisā . . . gahapati-parisā . . . samaṇa-parisā rājānaṃ . . . hoti. B^m has it twice, for Khattiyas and Samaṇas.
 7. K arranges this par like the preceding.

Ānandaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamati, dassanena pi¹ sā attamanā hoti, tatra ce Ānando dhammaṃ bhāsati bhāsitena pi sā attamanā hoti, atittā 'va bhikkhave upāsikāparisā hoti atha Ānando tuṇhī hoti.

'Ime kho bhikkhave cattāro acchariyā abbhutā dhammā Ānande' ti.

16. 'Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in Ānanda. Which are the four ?

'If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the' Order should come to visit Ānanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if Ānanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse ; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ānanda is silent.

'If, brethren, a number of the sisters of the Order, ... or of devout men, ... or of devout women, should come to visit Ānanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him ; and if Ānanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of sisters is ill at ease, brethren, when Ānanda is silent.

'Brethren, there are these four wonderful and marvellous qualities in a king of kings. What are the four?

'If, brethren, a number of nobles, or brahmins, or heads of houses, or members of a religious order should come to visit a king of kings, they are filled with joy on beholding him; and if the king of kings should then speak, they are filled with joy at what is said ; while they are ill at ease, brethren, when the king of kings is silent.

'Just so, brethren are the four wonderful and marvellous qualities in Ānanda.

'If, brethren, a number of the brethren of the Order, or of the sisters of the Order, or of devout men, or of devout women, should come to visit Ānanda, they are filled with joy on beholding him ; and if Ānanda should then preach the truth to them, they are filled with joy at the discourse; while the company of brethren is ill at ease, brethren, when Ānanda is silent.

1. B^m K omit.

‘Now these, brethren, are the four wonderful and marvelous qualities that are in Ānanda.’

17. *Evam vutte āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca:*

‘Mā bhante Bhagavā imasmiṃ kuḍḍa-nagarake¹ ujjāṅgala-nagarake sākha-nagarake² parinibbāyatu.³ Santi he⁴ bhante aññāni mahā-nagarāni seyyathidaṃ Campā Rājagahaṃ Sāvattī Sāketam Kosambi Bārāṇasi. Ettha Bhagavā parinibbāyatu, ettha bahū khattiya-mahāsālā brāhmaṇa-mahāsāla gahapati-mahāsālā Tathāgate abhippa-sannā, te Tathāgatassa sarīra-pūjaṃ karissantīti.’

‘Mā h’evaṃ Ānanda avaca, mā h’evaṃ Ānanda avaca kuḍḍa nagarakam⁵ ujjāṅgala-nagarakam sākha⁶-nagarakam ti.

17. When he had thus spoken,⁷ the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One:—

‘Let not the Exalted One die in this little wattle-and-daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township⁸. For, lord, there are other great cities, such as Champā,

1. S^c kuḍḍha-; B^m K khuddaka-. *Comp.* J.v. 102, 105, 106, and below, p. 169.
2. S^d Ka sākha-.
3. B^m K -bāyi.
4. S^c B^m K *om*.
5. S^{ct} khudda-; B^m K khuddaka-.
6. B^m sabbharaṇa.
7. From here down to the end of section 18 is found also, nearly word for word, in the beginning of the Mahā-Sudassana Sutta, translated below.
8. Kudda-nagarake ti patirūpake sambādhe khuddakana-gare. Uggangaja-nagarake ti visama-nagarake (S. V, fol. thau) Kudda, if this explanation be right, seems to be merely an old and unusual form for kshudra, and the Burmese correction into khudda to be unnecessary: but I venture to think it is more likely to be = kudya, and to mean a wall built of mud and sticks, or what is called in India, of wattle and daub. When Buddhaghosa explains uangala as ‘lawless,’ he is expressing his view that a town in the jungle is likely to be a heathen, pagan sort of place.

Rājagaha, Sāvatti, Sāketa, Kosambi, and Benares. Let the Exalted One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and brahmins and heads of houses, believers in the Tathāgata, who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathāgata¹.

‘Say not so, Ānanda! Say not so, Ānanda, that this is but a small wattle-and-daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township.

18. ‘Bhūta - pubbaṃ Ānanda Rājā Mahā-Sudassano nāma ahosi cakkavattī dhammiko dhamma-rājā cāturato vijitāvī² janapadatthāvariyaṃ appatto³ satta-ratana-saman-nāgato. Rañño Ānanda Mahā-Sudassanassa ayaṃ Kusinārā Kusāvati nāma rājadhānī ahosi, puratthimena ca pacchimena ca dvādasa yojanāni āyāmena uttarena ca dakkhiṇena ca satta yojanāni vitthārena.

‘Kusāvati Ānanda rājadhānī iddhā c’eva ahosi phītā⁴ ca bahu-janā ca ākiṇṇa-manussā ca subhikkhā ca. Sevyathā pi Ānanda devānaṃ Ālakamandā⁵ nāma rājadhanī iddhā⁶ c’eva⁷ phītā ca bahu-janā ca ākiṇṇa-yakkhā ca subhikkhā ca, evaṃ kho Ānanda Kusāvati rājadhānī iddhā c’eva ahosi phītā ca bahu-janā ca ākiṇṇa-manussā ca subhikkhā ca.

‘Kusāvati Ānanda rājadhānī dasahi saddehi avivittā⁸ ahosi divā c’eva ratti⁹ ca, seyyathīdaṃ hatthi-saddena assa-

1. With reference to Childers’s note his Dictionary on mahāsala, with which every one must entirely agree, Buddhaghosa’s explanation of the word will be interesting as a proof (if proof be needed) that the Ceylon scholars are not always trustworthy. He says:—Khattiya-mahāsālā ti khattiya-mahāsārā, sārappattā mahakhattiyā. Eso nayo sabbatha.

2. B^m jivijitāvi.

3. B^m -ttāpariya-.

4. S^{cdt} pītā; Sⁱ pitātā; afterwards S^{cdt} always pītā, B^m pītā. See ante, p. 106, below p. 170, and J. i. 29 (verse 212).

5. B^m oṃanta.

6. B^m attha.

7. B^m K hoti.

8. B^m avittvā. See J. i. 3. Asl. 319.

9. B^m K -tiñ.

saddena ratha-saddena bheri-saddena mutiṅga¹-sad-dena
vīṇā-saddena gīta-saddena² samma-saddena tāla-³ saddena
asnātha⁴-pivatha-khādathāti dasamena saddena.

18. 'Long ago, Ānanda, there was a king, by name Maha-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinārā, Ānanda, was the royal city of King Mahā-Sudassana, under the name of Kusāvati, and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth.

'That royal city Kusāvati, Ānanda, was mighty and prosperous and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. Just, Ānanda, as the royal city of the gods, Ālakamandā by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so. Ānanda, was the royal city Kusāvati mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food.

'Both by day and by night, Ānanda, the royal city Kusāvati resounded with the ten cries ; that is to say, the noise of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots ; the sounds of the drum, of the tabor, and of the lute ; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong ; and lastly, with the cry :— "Eat, drink, and be merry !" '

19. 'Gaccha tvaṃ Ānanda, Kusinārāyaṃ⁵ pavisitvā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocehi: "Ajja kho Vāsetṭhā⁶ rattiyā pacchime yāme Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Abhikkhamatha Vāsetṭhā ! abhikkhamatha Vāsetṭhā! mā pacchā vippaṭi sārino ahuvattha: Am-hākañ ca no gāmak-

1. B^m K mud^o; adds aṇava-s^o.

2. B^m saṅkha-s^o.

3. B^m pāṇi.

4. B^m K asatha.

5. S^c -nāraṃ.

6. K Vāsetṭhā in text, and at 6. 12 : in note Vāsetṭhā.

khetṭe Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ ahoṣi, na mayaṃ labhimhā pacchime kāle Tathāgataṃ dassanāyāti.” ’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paṭissutvā nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya atta-dutiyo¹ Kusinārāyaṃ pāvisi.

19. Go now, Ānanda, and enter into Kusinārā, and inform the Mallas of Kusinārā, saying:— “This day, O Vāsetthas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathāgata will take place. Be favourable herein, O Vāsetthas, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying:— ‘In our own village did the death of our Tathāgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathāgata in his last hours.’

‘Even so, lord,’ said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One; and he robed himself and taking his bowl, entered into Kusinārā attended by another member of the order².

20. Tana kho pana samayena Kosinārakā Mallā santhāgāre sannipatitā honti kenacid eva karaṇīyena. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ santhāgāraṃ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Kosinā-rakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocesi :

‘Ajja kho Vāsetṭhā rattiyā pacchime yāme Tathāga-tassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Abhikkhamatha Vāsetṭhā! abhikkhamatha Vāsetṭhā ! mā pacchā vippaṭisāriṇo shuvattha:

1. K adutiyo (*text*) ; attadutiyo (*note*).

2. Literally ‘Put on his under-garment, and taking his upper-garment and his bowl, etc.’ This sounds complicated; and why should he take his bowl ? The Wanderers when at their lodging places on their travels lived (naturally in that beautiful climate) in undress—with only one robe on, the one from the waist to the feet. When they set out for the village on a visit, or on any ceremonious occasion, they put on the second robe, and (just as a European often carries his great-coat on his arm) carried the third with them. At some convenient spot near the village they would put this also on, and enter—so to speak—in full canonicals. And the bowl belonged to, formed part of, their official costume. See J. I, 55 ; III, 379 ; Sum. I, 45, 186; and the note above on Ch. IV, § 37, p. 145.

‘Amhākañ ca no gāmakkhette Tathāgatassa parinibbānaṃ na mayaṃ labhimhā pacchime kāle Tathāgataṃ dassanāyāti.’

20. Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinārā were assembled in the council hall on some [public] affair¹.

And the venerable Ānanda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinārā ; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying :— ‘This day, O Vāsethas, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Tathāgata will take place. Be favourable herein, O Vāsettas, be favourable. Give no occasion to reproach yourselves hereafter, saying :— “In our own village did the death of our Tathāgata take place, and we took not the opportunity of visiting the Tathāgata in-his last hours.” ’

21. Idam āyasmato Ānandassa sutvā Mallā ca Malla-puttā ca Malla-suñisā ca Malla-pajāpatiyo ca aghāvino dummanā ceto-dukkha-samappitā app ekacce kese pakiriya kandanti, bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papā-taṃ² papatanti āvaṭṭanti³ vivaṭṭanti³: ‘Atikhippam Bhagavā parinibbāyissati, atikhippam Sugato parinibbāyissati, atikhippam cakkhum⁴ loke antaradhāyissatīti.’

Atha kho Mallā Malla-puttā ca Malla-suñisā ca Malla-pajāpatiyo ca aghāvino dummanā ceto-dukkha-samappitā yena Upavattanaṃ⁵ Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ yen’ āyasmā Ānando ten’ upasaṃkamaṃsu.

21. And when they had heard this saying of the venerable Ānanda, the Mallas with their young men and maidens and their wives were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelled their hair, and stretched forth their arms

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1. Kenakid eva karanīyena. Professor Pischel, in his edition of the Assalāyana Sutta (p. 1), prints this expression kenaki devakara-nīyena, and translates it (p. 28), ‘for some religious purpose.’ It seems to me that he has been misled by the commentary, which really presupposes the more correct division.
 2. K chinna-pātaṃ viya, *cp.* § 6 and vi. 24.
 3. S^{cdt} -ṭenti, *cp.* § 6, *ante*: K -ṭanti, *om.* viv^o.
 4. K cakkhumā (*without note*).
 5. S^{cdt} -tān^o.

and wept, fell prostrate on the ground, and rolled to and fro in anguish at the thought :— ‘Too soon will the Exalted One die ! Too soon will the Happy One pass away! Full soon will the Light of the world vanish away!’

Then the Mallas, with their young men and maidens and their wives, being grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart, went to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, to the Upavattana, and to the place where the venerable Ānanda was.

22. Atha kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahoṣi :

‘Sace kho ahaṃ Kosinārake Malle ekam-ekam Bhagavantam vandāpessāmi, avandito Bhagavā Kosinārakehi Mellehi bhavissati athāyaṃ ratti vibhāyissati. Yan nūnāhaṃ Kosinārake Malle kula-parivattaso kula-parivattaso ṭhapetvā Bhagavantam vandāpeyyam: “Itthannāmo bhante Mallo saputto sabhāriyo sapariso sāmacco Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatīti.” ’

Atha kho āyasmā Ānando Kosinārake Malle kula-parivattaso kula-parigattaso ṭhapetvā Bhagavantam vandāpesi: ‘Itthannāmo bhante Mallo saputto sabhāriyo sapariso sāmacco Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatīti.’

Atha kho āyasmā Ānando etena upāyena paṭhamen’ eva yāmena Kosinārake¹ Malle Bhagavantam vandāpesi.

22. Then the venerable Ānanda thought:— ‘If I allow the Mallas of Kusinārā, one by one, to pay their respects to the Exalted One, the whole of the Mallas of Kusinārā will not have been presented to the Exalted One until this night brightens up into the dawn. Let me, now, cause the Mallas of Kusinārā to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so present them to the Exalted One, saying :— “Lord ! a Malla of such and such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Exalted One.” ’

And the venerable Ānanda caused the Mallas of Kusinārā to stand in groups, each family in a group, and so presented them to the Exalted One, and said :— ‘Lord ! a Malla of such and

1. K Kos^o as above; SS Ch Kus^o.

such a name, with his children, his wives, his retinue, and his friends, humbly bows down at the feet of the Exalted One.

And after this manner the venerable Ānanda presented all the Mallas of Kusinārā to the Exalted One in the first watch of the night.

23. Tena kho pana-samayena Subhaddo nāma paribbājako Kusinārāyaṃ paṭivasati. Assosi kho Subhaddo paribbājako : ‘Ajj’ eva¹ kira rattiyaṃ pacchime yāme samaṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissatīti.’

Atha kho Subhaddassa paribbājakassa etad ahoṣi.

‘Sutaṃ kho pana me taṃ paribbājakānaṃ vudhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya - pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ : “Kadāci karahaci Tathāgatā loko uppajjanti Arahanto Sammā-Sambuddhā”² ti. Ajja ca rattiyaṃ pacchime yāme samaṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Atthi ca me ayaṃ kaṅkhā-dhammo uppanno, evaṃ pasanno ahaṃ samaṇe Gotame,³ pahoti me samaṇo Gotamo tathā dhammaṃ desetum yathā ahaṃ imaṃ kaṅkhā-dhammaṃ pajaheyyan’ ti.

23. Now at that time a Wanderer named Subhadda. who was not a believer, was dwelling at Kusinārā. And the Wanderer Subhadda heard the news :— ‘This very day, they say, in the third watch of the night, will take place the final passing away of the Samana Gotama.’

Then thought the Wanderer Subhadda:— ‘This have I heard from fellow Wanderers old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said :— “Sometimes and full seldom do Tathāgatas appear in the world, the Able Awakened Ones.” Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind; and this

1. S^{cdt} -ajja; B^m K ajj’ eva.

2. S^c Tathāgato loka uppanno araham sammāsambuddho; S^{dt} pl. as in text; S^{cdt} K omit ti, here and below in § 24. Comp. vi. 28 (below p. 168).

3. S^{ct} samaṇo Gotamo.

faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty.'

24. Atha kho subhaddo paribbājako yena Upavattanaṃ Mallānaṃ sālavanaṃ yen' āyasmā Ānando ten' upasaṃ-kamī, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avoca :

'Sutaṃ me taṃ bho Ānanda paribbājakaṇaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ: "Kadāci karahaci Tathāgatā loke uppajjanti Arahanto Sammā-Sambuddhā" ti. Ajja ca rattiyā pacchime yāme samaṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Atthi ca me ayaṃ kaṅkhā-dhammo uppanno, evaṃ pasanno ahaṃ samaṇe Gotame, pahoti me samaṇo Gotamo tathā dhammaṃ desetum yathā ahaṃ imaṃ kaṅkhā-dhammaṃ pajaheyyaṃ. Svāhaṃ¹ bho Ānanda labheyyaṃ samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāyāti.'

Evaṃ vutte āyasmā Ānando Subhaddaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca: 'Alaṃ āvuso Subhadda, mā Tathāgataṃ viheṭhesi. Kilanto Bhagavā' ti.

Dutiyam pi kho Subhaddo paribbājako . . . pe . . . Tatiyam pi kho Subhaddo paribbājako ayyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avoca :

'Sutaṃ me taṃ bho Ānanda paribbājakaṇaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ: "Kadāci karahaci Tathāgatā loke uppajjanti Arahanto Sammā-Sambuddhā" ti Ajja ca rattiyā pacchime yāme sama-ṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Atthi samaṇassa Gotamassa parinibbānaṃ bhavissati. Atthi ca me ayaṃ kaṅkahā-dammo uppanno, evaṃ pasanno ahaṃ samaṇe Gotame, pahoti me samaṇo Gotamo tathā dhammaṃ desetum yathā ahaṃ imaṃ kaṅkhā-dhammaṃ pajaheyyaṃ. Svāhaṃ bho Ānanda labheyyaṃ samaṇaṃ pajaheyyaṃ. Svāhaṃ bho Ānanda labheyyaṃ samaṇaṃ Gotamaṃ dassanāyāti.'

Tatiyam pi kho āyasmā Ānando Subhaddaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca: 'Alaṃ āvuso Subhadda, mā Tathāgataṃ viheṭhesi. Kilanto Bhagavā' ti.

1. K sādhaṃ (with svāhaṃ in note).

24. Then the Wanderer Subhadda went to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, to the Upayattana of Kusinārā, to the place where the venerable Ānanda was.

And when he had come there he said to the venerable Ānanda:— ‘Thus have I heard from fellow Wanderers, old and well stricken in years, teachers and disciples, when they said:— “Sometimes and full seldom do Tathāgatas appear in the world, the Able Awakened Ones.” Yet this day, in the last watch of the night, the final passing away of the Samana Gotama will take place. Now a certain feeling of uncertainty has sprung up in my mind ; and this faith have I in the Samana Gotama, that he, methinks, is able so to present the truth that I may get rid of this feeling of uncertainty. O that I, even I, Ānanda, might be allowed to see the Samana Gotama!’

And when he had thus spoken the venerable Ānanda said to the Wanderer Subhadda :— ‘Enough! friend Subhadda. Trouble not the Tathāgata. The Exalted One is weary.’

And again the Wanderer Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply]: and the third time the Wanderer Subhadda [made the same request in the same words, and received the same reply].

25. Assosi kho Bhagavā āyasmato Ānandassa Subhaddena paribbājakena saddhiṃ imaṃ kathā-sallāpaṃ. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānantaṃ āmantesi :

‘Alaṃ Ānanda, mā Subbaddaṃ vāresi, labhataṃ Ānanda Subbaddo Tathāgataṃ dassanāya. Yaṃ kiñci maṃ Subhaddo pucchissati, sabbaṃ taṃ aññā-pekho¹ ’va pucchissati no vihesā²-pekho, yañ c’ assāhaṃ puṭṭho vyākari-ssāmi taṃ khippam eva ājānissatīti.’

Atha kho āyasmā Ānando Subhaddaṃ paribbājakaṃ etad avoca: ‘Gacch’ āvuso Subhadda, karoti te Bhagavā okāsaṃ’ ti.

25. Now the Exalted One overheard this conversation of the venerable Ānanda with the Wanderer Subhadda. And the

1. K pekkho, and in next clause.

2. So S^d K; S^c viheṭham ; S^t viheṭho.

Exalted One called the venerable Ānanda, and said:—‘It is enough, Ānanda ! Do not keep out Subhadda. Subhadda, Ānanda, may be allowed to see the Tathāgata. Whatever Subhadda may ask of me, he will ask from a desire for knowledge, and not to annoy me. And whatever I may say in answer to his questions, that he will quickly understand.’

Then the venerable Ānanda said to Subhadda, the Wanderer :— ‘Enter in, friend Subhadda ; for the Exalted One gives you leave.’

26. Atha kho Subhaddo paribbājako yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavatā saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho Subhaddo paribbājako Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca:

¹ ‘Ye ’me bho Gotama samaṇa-brāhmanā saṃghino gaṇino gaṇācariyā nātā yasassino tittakara sādhu-sam-matā va² bahu-janassa, seyyathidaṃ Pūraṇo Kassapo, Makkhali Gosālo, Ajita-Kesakambalī,³ Pakudho⁴ Kaccāyano, Saṅjayo Belaṭṭhi⁵-putto, Nigaṇṭho Nātha-putto, sabbe te sakāya paṭiññāya abbhaññaṃsu, sabbe ’va na abbhaññaṃsu, ekacce abbhaññaṃsu, ekacce na abbhaññaṃsūti’ ?

⁶ ‘Alaṃ Subhadda! Tiṭṭhat’ etaṃ “Sabbe te sakāya paṭiññāya abbhaññaṃsu, sabbe va na abbhaññaṃsu, udāhu ekacce abbhaññaṃsu ekacce na abbhaññaṃsūti ?” Dhammaṃ te Subhadda desessāmīti.’

‘Evaṃ bhante’ ti kho Subhaddo paribbājako Bhagavato paccassosi, Bhagavā etad avoca :

26. Then Subhadda, the Wanderer, went in to the place where the Exalted One was, and saluted him courteously, and after exchanging with him the compliments of esteem and of

1. *Rekurs Majjhima* i. 198.

2. S^{dt} va; M omits.

3. M. and D. i. p. 48 Ajito ; K -kambalo (with -lī in foot-note).

4. S^{dt} kak^o.

5. K Velaṭṭha (with Velaṭṭhi in note). See M. i. 547.

6. *Quoted Saddhamma Pakāsinī* 15.

civility, he took his seat on one side. And when he was thus seated, Subhadda, the Wanderer, said to the Exalted One :— ‘The leaders in religious life¹ who are heads of companies of disciples and students, teachers of students, well known, renowned, founders of schools of doctrine, esteemed as good men by the multitude—to wit. Pūrana Kassapa. Makkhali of the cattle-pen, Agita of the garment of hair, Kakkāyana of the Pakudha tree. Saṅgaya the son of the Belatthi slave-girl, and Nigantha of the Nātha clan —have they all, according to their own assertion, thoroughly understood things ? or have they not ? or are there some of them who have understood, and some who have not ?’

‘Enough, Subhadda! Let this matter rest whether they, according to their own assertion, have thoroughly understood things, or whether they have not, or whether some of them have understood and some have not! The truth, Subhadda, will I teach you. Listen well to that, and give ear attentively, and I will speak!

‘Even so, lord! said the Wanderer Subhadda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

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1. Samana-brāhmaṇā, which compound may possibly mean Samanas and Brāhmanas as it has usually been rendered, but I think not necessarily. Not one of those here specified were brahmins by birth, as is apparent from the Sumangala Vilāsinī on the Sāmañña-Phala Sutta, §§ 3-7. Compare the use of Kshatriya-brahmano, ‘a soldier priest,’ a Kshatriya who offered sacrifice; and of Brāhmano, absolutely, as an epithet of an Arahant. In the use of the word samana there seems to me to be a hopeless confusion between, a complete mingling of the meanings of, the two roots śram and śam (which, in Pāli, would both become sam). It connotes both asceticism and inward peace, and might best be rendered ‘devotee,’ were it not for the intellectual inferiority implied by that word in our language. A Samana-brahmin should therefore mean a man of any birth, who by his saintliness of life, by his renunciation of the world, and by his reputation as a religious thinker, had acquired the position of a quasi-brahmin and was looked up to by the people with as much respect as they looked up to a brahmin by birth. Compare further my ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ vol. I, p. 260; and see J. I, 57, 187 ; M. I. 285-6, 400; 11, 54; A.I, 180; III, 228.

27. ¹ ‘Yasmiṃ kho Subhadda dhamma-vinmaue Ariyo Aṭṭhaṅgiko Maggo na upalabbhati, samaṇo pi tattha na upalabbhati, dutiyo pi tattha samaṇo na upalabbhati, tatiyo pi tattha samaṇo na upalabbhati, catuttho pi tattha samaṇo na upalabbhati. Yasmiṃ ca kho Subhadda dhamma-vina ye Ariyo Aṭṭhaṅgiko Maggo upalabbhati, samaṇo pi tattha upalabbhati, dutiyo pi tattha samaṇo upalabbhati, tatiyo pi tattha samaṇo upalabbhati, catut-tho pi tattha samaṇo upalabbhati. Imasmiṃ kho Subhadda dhamma-vinaye Ariyo Aṭṭhaṅgiko Maggo upalabbhati,² idh’ eva Subhadda samaṇo, idha dutiyo samaṇo, idha tatiyo samaṇo, idha catuttho samaṇo. Suññā parappavādā samaṇehi aññe, ime ca³ Subhadda bhikkhū sammā vihareyyum, asuñño loko⁴ arahantehi assa.

Ekūnatimso⁵ vayasā Subhadda

Yaṃ pabbajim⁶ kiṃ-kusalānuesī.

Vassāni paññāsa-samādhikāni

Yato ahaṃ pabbajito Subhadda,

Ñāyassa⁷ dhammassa padesa-vattī.

Ito bahiddhā samaṇo pi n’atthi,

dutiyo pi samaṇ n’atthi, tatiyo pi samaṇo n’atthi, catuttho pi samaṇo n’atthi. Suññā parappavādā samaṇehi aññe, ime ca Subhadda bhikkhū sammā vihareyyum, asuñño loko arahantehi assāti.’

27. And the Exalted One spake :— ‘In whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the Aryan eightfold path is not found, neither in it is there found a man of true saintliness of the first, or of the second, or of the third, or of the fourth degree. And in whatsoever doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, the Aryan

1. Quoted Kathā Vatthu 601.

2. Two lines here recur at Majjhima i. 63 and at Aṅguttara ii. 238.

3. S^{cdt} idheva both here and below. See Sum. and Mil. 130.

4. S^{cdt} lokethi.

5. K -sa (with -so in footnote).

6. S^{dt} -ji.

7. Sum. ñāṇassa. But see Aṅg. v. 184; S. v. 388.

eightfold path is found, in it is found the man of true saintliness of the first, and the second, and the third, and the fourth degree¹. Now in this doctrine and discipline, Subhadda, is found the Aryan eightfold path, and in it too, are found, Subhadda, the men of true saintliness of all the four degrees. Void are the systems of other teachers—void of true saints. And in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the Life that's Right, so that the world be not bereft of Arahants².

‘But twenty-nine was I when I renounced
The world, Subhadda, seeking after Good.
For fifty years and one year more, Subhadda,
Since I went out, a pilgrim have I been
Through the wide realm of System and of Law—
Outside of that no victory can be won !³

1. On these degrees in the religious life, see M. I, 63; A. II, 238. They are described in my ‘Buddhism’ (21st ed., pp. 108 foil.).
2. ‘Arahants are those who have reached Nirvana, the ‘supreme goal, the highest fruit’ of the Aryan Eightfold Path. To live ‘the Life that's Right’ (sammā) is to live in the Noble Path, each of the eight divisions of which is to be sammā, round, right and perfect, normal and complete. To live right (sammā) is therefore to have :— (1) Right views, free from superstition ; (2) right aims, high and worthy of the intelligent and earnest man; (3) right speech, kindly, open, truthful; (4) right conduct, in all concerns of life ; (5) right livelihood, bringing hurt or danger to no living thing; (6) right perseverance, in all the other seven; (7) right mindfulness, the watchful, active mind; (8) right contemplation, earnest thought on the deep mysteries of life. In each of these the word right is sammā, and the whole paragraph being on the Aryan Path, the allusion is certainly to this central doctrine of the Buddhist Dhamma.

Buddhaghosa says that bhikkhu samīnā viharati, who, having himself entered the Aryan Path, leads his brother into it, and this is, no doubt, good Buddhism. But it is a practical application of the text, a theological exegesis, and not a philological explanation. Even so it seems to lay the stress too much on ‘bereft,’ and too little on ‘Arahants.’

3. Literally ‘There is no samana.’ See note on § 26. I have followed, though with some doubt, Childers’s punctuation. Buddhaghosa re-

‘Yea, not of the first. nor of the third, nor of the fourth degree. Void are the systems of other teachers —void of true saints. But in this one, Subhadda, may the brethren live the perfect life, that the world be not bereft of Arahants.’

28. *Evam vutte Subhaddo paribbājako Bhagavantam etad avoca: ‘Abhikkantam bhante, abhikkantam bhante ! Seyyathā pi bhante nikkujjitam vā ukkujjeyya, paṭicchanaṃ vā vivareyya, mūlhasa vā maggaṃ ācikkheyya, andhakāre vā telappajotaṃ dhāreyya cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhintīti, evam eva Bhagavatā aneka-pariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Esāham bhanto Bhagavantam saraṇam gacchāmi dhammaṃ ca bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ ca. Labheyyāham¹ Bhagavato santike pabbajjam, labheyyam² upasampadan’ ti.*

³ ‘Yo kho Subhadda añña-titthiya-pubbo imasmim dhamma-vinaye ākaṅkhati pabbajjam, ākaṅkhati upasampadam, so cattāro māse parivasati. Catunnam māsānam accayena āraddha-cittā bhikkhū pabbājenti upasampādentī bhikkhu-bhāvāya. Api ca m’ettha puggala-vemat-tatā veditā’ ti.

28. And when he had thus spoken, Subhadda, the Wanderer, said to the Exalted One :— ‘Most excellent, lord, are the words of thy mouth, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which is thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that those who have eyes can see external forms;—just even so, lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Exalted One. And I, even I, betake myself, lord, to the Exalted

padesa-vatti to samano ; and ito, not to padesa, but to magga, understood; and it is quite possible that this is the correct explanation. On samādhikāni see the comment at Jātaka II, 383 : Walters, ‘On Yuan Chwāng,’ II, 33, and Ed. Hardy, ‘Buddhismus,’ p. 44. Both Paññānanda and Samarasekhara render it as above.

1. S^c K insert bhante.
2. S^d -yāham.
3. *Recurs D.* i. 176; *M.* i. 391, 494; *S.* ii. 21, etc.

One as my refuge, to the truth, and to the Order. I would fain be accepted as a probationer under the Exalted One, as a full member in his Order.'

29. 'Sace bhante añña - titthiya - pubbā imasmiṃ dhamma-vinaye ākaṅkhaṇṭā pabbajjaṃ, ākaṅkhaṇṭā upasampadaṃ, cattāro māse parivasanti, catunnaṃ māsānaṃ accayena āraddha-cittā bhikkhū pabbājenti upasampādentī bhikkhu-bhāvāya, ahaṃ cattāri vassāni pariva-sissāmi, catunnaṃ accayena āraddha-cittā bhikkhū pabbājentū upasampādentū bhikkhu-bhāvāyāti.'

Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi: 'Tena h' Ānanda Subhaddaṃ pabbājethāti.'

'Evaṃ bhante' ti kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavato paccassosi.

29. 'Whosoever, Subhadda, has formerly been a follower of another doctrine, and thereafter desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline, he remains on probation for the space of four months ; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the order. Nevertheless in this case I acknowledge the difference in persons.'

'If, lord, whosoever has formerly been a follower of another doctrine, and then desires to be received into the higher or the lower grade in this doctrine and discipline,—if, in that case, such a person remains on probation for the space of four months ; and at the end of the four months, the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive him into the lower or into the higher grade of the Order—I too, then, will remain on probation for the space of four months ; and at the end of the four months let the brethren, exalted in spirit, receive me into the lower or into the higher grade of the Order!'

But the Exalted One called the venerable Ānanda, and said:— 'As it is, Ānanda, receive Subhadda into the Order!'

'Even so, lord!' said the venerable Ānanda, in assent, to the Exalted One.

30. Atha kho Subhaddo paribbājako āyasmantaṃ
Ānandaṃ etad avoca :

‘Lābhā vo āvuso Ānanda, suladdhaṃ vo āvuso Ānanda,
ye¹ ettha Satthārā² sammukhā antevāsābhisekena abhisittā’³
ti.

Alatha kho Subhaddo paribbājako Bhagavato santike
pabbajjaṃ, alattha upasampadaṃ. Acirūpasampanno kho pan’
āyasmā Subhaddo eko vūpakaṭṭho appamatto ātāpī pahitatto
viharanto. Na cirass’ eva yass’ atthāya kulaputtā sammad eva
agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajanti, tad anuttaraṃ brahmacariya-
pariyosānaṃ diṭṭhe ’va dhamme sayamaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā
upasampajja vihāsi : ‘Khīṇā jāti, vusitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ,
kataṃ karaṇīyaṃ, nāparaṃ itthattāyāti’ abhhaññāsi.

Aññatara kho pan’ āyasmā Subhaddo arahataṃ ahosi.
So Bhagavato pacchimo sakkhi-sāvako ahoṣīti.

30. And Subhadda, the Wanderer, said to the venerable
Ānanda :— ‘Great is your gain, friend Ānanda, great is your
good fortune, friend Ānanda, in that you all have been sprinkled
with the sprinkling of discipleship in this brotherhood at the
hands of the Master himself!’

So Subhadda, the Wanderer, was received into the higher
grade of the Order under the Exalted One ; and from immedi-
ately after his ordination the venerable Subhadda remained alone
and separate, earnest, zealous, and resolved. And ere long he
attained to that supreme goal of the higher life⁴, for the sake of
which the clansmen go out from all and every household gain
and comfort to become houseless wanderers yea, that supreme
goal did he, by himself, and while yet in this visible world, bring
himself to the knowledge of, and continue to realize, and to see
face to face! And he became conscious that birth was at an end,

1. S^{cdt} yo.

2. S^{cdt} Satthari.

3. S^c -to; S^d abhipitto.

4. That is, Nirvana. Compare Mangala Sutta 10, 11, and the
Dhammapada, verses 180, 354, and above, Chap. I, § 7.

that the higher life had been fulfilled, that all that should be done had been accomplished, and that after this present life there would be no beyond!

So the venerable Subhadda became yet another among the Arahants; and he was the last disciple whom the Exalted One himself converted¹.

Hiraññavatiya-Bhāṇavāraṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ Pañcamam.

End of the Hiraññavatiya portion, being the Fifth
Portion for Recitation.

-
1. Buddhaghosa says that the last five words in the text (the last twelve words in my translation) were added by the Theras who held the Council. On Subhadda's ordination he has the following interesting note:— 'The Thera (that is, Ānanda), they say, took him on one side, poured water over his head from a water vessel, made him repeat the formula of meditation on the impermanency of the body (see my "Buddhist Birth Stories," p. 161), shaved off his hair and beard, clad him in the yellow robes, made him repeat the "Three Refuges," and led him back to the Exalted One. The Exalted One himself admitted him then into the higher rank of the brotherhood, and pointed out to him a subject for meditation (kammattāna). He accepted this, and walking up and down in a quiet part of the grove, he thought and meditated upon it, till overcoming the Evil Spirit, he had acquired Arahantship, and with if the discriminating knowledge of all the Scriptures (Patisambhida). Then, returning, he came and took his seat beside the Exalted One.

According to this, no set ceremony for ordination (Saṅghakammam), as laid down in the Vinaya, took place; and it is otherwise probable that no such ceremony was usual in the earliest days of Buddhism.

CHAPTER VI

6. 1. Atha kho Bhagavā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

‘Siyā kho pan’ Ānanda tumhākam evam assa: “Atūta-satthukaṃ pāvacaṇaṃ, n’atthi no Satthā” ti. Na kho pan’ etaṃ Ānanda evaṃ datṭhabbaṃ. Yo vo Ānanda mayā Dhammo ca Vinayo ca desito paññatto, so vo mam’ accayena Satthā.

1. Now the Exalted One addressed the venerable Ānanda, and said :— ‘It may be, Ānanda, that in some of you the thought may arise, “The word of the master is ended, we have no teacher more! But it is not thus, Ānanda, that you should regard it. The Truths, and the Rules of the Order, which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you.’

2. ‘Yathā kho pan’ Ānanda etarahi bhikkhū aññaṃ aññaṃ āvuso-vādena samudācaranti, na vo mam’ accayena evaṃ samudācaritabbaṃ. Theratarena Ānanda bhikkhunā navakataro bhikkhu nāmena vā gottena vā āvuso-vādena vā¹ samudācaritabbo, navakatarena bhikkhunā therataro bhikkhu “bhante” ti vā “āyasmā” ti vā samudācaritabbo.

2. ‘Ānanda! when I am gone address not one another in the way in which the brethren have heretofore addressed each other—with the epithet that is. of “Āvuso” (Friend). A younger brother may be addressed by an elder with his name, or his family name, or the title “Friend. But an elder should be addressed by a younger brother as “Sir” or as “Venerable Sir².” ’

1. Sst om.

2. Bhante or āyasmā. This question has been fully discussed by Prof. Franke in the ‘Journal of the Pāli Text Society,’ 1908.

3. ¹ ‘Ākaṅkhamāno Ānanda saṃgho mam’ accayena khuddānukhuddakāni sikkhāpadāni samūhantu.

3. ‘When I am gone, Ānanda, let the Order, if it should so wish, abolish all the lesser and minor precepts².’

4. ‘Channassa Ānanda bhikkhuno mam’ accayena brahma-daṇḍo kātabbo’ ti.

‘Katamo pana bhante brahma-daṇḍo’ ti ?

‘Channo Ānanda bhikkhu yaṃ iccheyya taṃ vadeyya, so bhikkhūhi n’eva vattabbo na ovaditabbo na anusāsitabbo’ ti.

4. ‘When I am gone, Ānanda, let the higher penalty be imposed on brother Channa.’

‘But what, lord, is the higher penalty ?’

‘Let Channa say whatever he may like, Ānanda, the brethren should neither speak to him, nor exhort him, nor admonish him³.’

5. Atha Bhagavā bhikkhūāmantesi:

4 ‘Siyā kho pana bhikkhave eka-bhikkhussa pi kaṅkhā vā vimati⁵ vā Buddhhe vā dhamme vā saṃghe vā magge vā paṭipadāya vā. Pucchatha bhikkhave. Mā pacchā vippaṭisārino ahuvattha : “Sammukhī-bhūto no Satthā ahoṣi, na mayaṃ

1. Quoted Mil. 142 (reading samūhanatu).

2. According to tradition (trans. by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, ‘Vinaya Texts,’ III, 377 foll.) the Order considered this matter shortly after the Buddha’s death, and declined to avail themselves of this permission. As to what these lesser precepts were see Rhys Davids, ‘Questions of King Milinda,’ I, 202 foll.

3. This brother is represented as an obstinate, perverse man; so destitute of the proper *esprit de corps* that he dared to take part with the sisterhood, and against the brotherhood, in a dispute which had arisen between them. But after the social penalty here referred to had been duly imposed upon him, even his proud and independent spirit was tamed; he became humble; his eyes were opened; and he, also, attained to the ‘supreme goal’ of the Buddhist faith. (The passages are shown in the index to ‘Vinaya Texts.’)

4. Recurs Aṅg. ii. 79, 80.

5. SS vary between i and ī.

sakkhimha¹ Bhagavantam sammukhā paṭipucchitun” ’ ti.

Evam vutte te bhikkhū tuṇhī ahesum.

Dutiyam pi kho Bhagavā. . .

Tatiyam pi kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi:

‘Siyā kho pana bhikkhave eka-bhikkhussa pi kaṅkhā vā vimati vā Buddhhe vā dhamme vā saṃghe vā magge vā paṭipadāya vā. Pucchatha bhikkhave. Mā pacchā vipphaṇṇasārino ahuvattha: “sammukhī-bhūto no Satthā ahosi, na mayam sakkhimha Bhagavantam sammukhā paṭipucchitun” ’ ti.

Tatiyam pi kho te bhikkhū tuṇhī ahesum.

Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi :

‘Siyā kho pana bhikkhave Satthu-gāravena pi² na puccheyyātha. Sahāyako pi³ bhikkhave sahāyakassa ārocetūti.’

Evam vutte te bhikkhū tuṇhī ahesum.

5. Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:—

‘It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the doctrine, or the path, or the method⁴. Inquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought :— “Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to inquire of the Exalted One when we were face to face with him.”’

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

And again the second and the third time the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:— ‘It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the doctrine, or the path, or the method. Inquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought— “Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to inquire of the Exalted One when we were face to face with him.” ’

And even the third time the brethren were silent.

1. K -hā; Aṅg. nāsakkhimha (*omitting* mayam).

2. So all MSS. and K and Aṅg.

3. S^{cdt} omit ; K Sum and Aṅg. have it.

4. Comp. D. II, 287.

Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said :—
‘It may be, brethren, that you put no questions out of reverence for the teacher. Let one friend communicate to another.’

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

6. *Atha kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca:*

‘*Acchariyam bhante abbhutam¹ bhante ! Evaṃ pasanno aham bhante imasmim bhikkhu-saṃghe, n’atthi eka-bhikkhusa² pi kaṅkhā vā vimati vā Buddhhe vā dhamme vā saṃghe vā magge vā³ paṭipadāya vā’ ti.*

‘*Pasādā kho tvam Ānanda vadesi. Nānam eva h’ettha Ānanda Tathāgatassa: “N’atthi imasmim bhikkhusaṃghe, n’atthi eka-bhikkhusa pi kaṅkhā vā vimati vā Buddhhe vā dhamme vā saṃghe vā magge vā paṭipadāya vā. Imesaṃ hi Ānanda pañcannaṃ bhikkhu-satānaṃ yo pacchimako bhikkhu so sotāpanno avinipāta-dhammo niyato sambodhi-parāyano’ ti.*

6. And the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One :—
‘How wonderful a thing is it, lord, and how marvellous! Verily, I believe that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the doctrine, or the path, or the method !’

‘It is Out of the fullness of faith that thou hast spoken, Ānanda! But, Ānanda, the Tathāgata knows for certain that in this whole assembly of the brethren there is not one brother who has any doubt or misgiving as to the Buddha, or the doctrine, or the path, or the method ! For even the most backward, Ānanda, of all these five hundred brethren has become converted, is no longer liable to be born in a state of suffering, and is assured of hereafter attaining to the Enlightenment [of Arahantship]⁴.

1. K *abbhūtam*.

2. K *n’atthi imasmim bhikkhu-saṃghe eka-bhikkhussāpi*. *Ang. also adds im^o bh^o.*

3. *S^{cdt} omit magge vā.*

4. Compare abover, Chap. II, § 7. By ‘the most backward’ according to Buddhaghosa, the Exalted One referred to Ānanda, and he said this to encourage him.

7. Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi :

‘Handa dāni bhikkhave āmantayāmi vo: “Vaya-dhammā saṃkhārā, appamādena sampādethāti.”

Ayaṃ Tathāgatassa pacchimā vācā.

7. Then the Exalted One addressed the brethren, and said:— ‘Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying:— “Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence !” ’

This was the last word of the Tathāgata !

8. Atha kho Bhagavā paṭhamajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Paṭhamajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā dutiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Dutiyajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā tatiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Tatiyajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Catutthajjhānā vuṭṭhahitvā ākāśānañcāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Ākāśānancāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā viññāṇañcāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Viññāṇañcāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Ākiñcaññāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Navasaññā-nāsaññāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā saññā-vedayita-nirodhaṃ samāpajji.¹

Atha kho āyasmā Ānando ayasmantaṃ Anuruddhaṃ etad avoca:

‘Parinibbuto bhante Anuruddha Bhagavā’ ti.

‘Na āvuso Ānanda Bhagavāparinibbuto, saññā-vedayita-nirodhaṃ samāpanno’ ti.

8. Then the Exalted One entered into the first stage of Rapture². And rising out of the first stage he passed into the second. And rising out of the second he passed into the third. And rising out of the third stage he passed into the fourth. And rising out of the fourth stage of Rapture, he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present³. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he

1. *Comp. Ang.* iv. 410-448 on these 9 anupubba-vihāras.

2. The full text and an explanation of this Rapture will be found in the translator’s ‘Buddhism,’ pp. 174-6.

3. Compare above, Chap. III, § 33, p. 119.

entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone, present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into a state of mind to which nothing at all was specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he fell into a state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he fell into a state in which the consciousness both of sensations and of ideas had wholly passed away¹.

Then the venerable Ānanda said to the venerable Anuruddha :— ‘O my lord, O Anuruddha, the Exalted One is dead !’

‘Nay! brother Ānanda the Exalted One is not dead. He has entered into that state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be !’

9. *Atha kho Bhagavā saññā-vedayita-nirodha-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Nevasaññā-nāsaññāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā ākiñcaññāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Ākiñcaññāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā viññāṇaṇcāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Viññāṇaṇcāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā ākāśaṇcāyatanaṃ samāpajji. Ākāśaṇcāyatana-samāpattiyaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā catut-thajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Catutthajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā tatiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Tatiyajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā dutiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Dutiyajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā paṭhamajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Paṭhamajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā dutiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Dutiyajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā tatiyajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Tatiyajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā catutthajjhānaṃ samāpajji. Catutthajjhānaṃ vuṭṭhahitvā samanantarā Bhagavā parini-bbāyi.*

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1. These nine states are called in the Milinda, p. 176, the nine Anupubba-Vihāras. We have therefore, in this list, a technical, scholastic, attempt to describe the series of ideas involved in what was considered the highest thought. No one, of course, can have known what actually did occur; and the eight boundary lines between the nine states are purely conjectural.

9. Then the Exalted One passing out of the state in which both sensations and ideas have ceased to be, entered into the state between consciousness and unconsciousness. And passing out of the state between consciousness and unconsciousness he entered into the state of mind to which nothing at all is specially present. And passing out of the consciousness of no special object he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of thought is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of thought he entered into the state of mind to which the infinity of space is alone present. And passing out of the mere consciousness of the infinity of space he entered into the fourth stage of Rapture. And passing out of the fourth stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the second. And passing out of the second he entered into the first. And passing out of the first stage of Rapture he entered into the second. And passing out of the second stage he entered into the third. And passing out of the third stage he entered into the fourth stage of Rapture. And passing out of the last stage of Rapture he immediately expired.

10. Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā mahābhūmicālo ahosi bhiṃsanako lomahaṃso deva-dundubhiyo ca phalimsu.

Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā Brahmā Shampati imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi :

‘Sabbe ’va¹ nikkhipissanti bhūtā loke samussayaṃ,
Yathā etādiso Satthā loke appaṭipuggalo
Tathāgato balappatto sambuddho parinibbuto’ ti.

**Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā Sakko de vānam
indo imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi :**

‘Aniccā vata saṃkhārā uppāda-vaya-dhammino,
Uppajjitvā nirujjhanti, tesam vūpasamo sukho’ ti.

**Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā āyasmā
Anuruddho imā gāthāyo abhāsi:**

1. S^{cdt} om. va.

‘Nāhu assāsa-passāso t̥hita-vittassa tādino.
Anejo santim ārabba yaṃ kālam akarī muni
Asallīnena cittena vedanaṃ¹ ajjhavāsaya:
Pajjotass’ eva nibbhānaṃ vimokho cetaso ahūti.²

Parinibbute Bhagavati saha parinibbānā āyasmā Ānando
imaṃ gāthaṃ abhāsi :

‘Tadā ’si yaṃ bhimsanakaṃ tadā ’si loma-haṃsanaṃ
sabbākara-varūpete Sambuddhe parinibbute’ ti.³

Parinibbute Bhagavati tattha ye te bhikkhū avīta-rāgā
appekacce bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papātaṃ⁴
papatatanti āvaṭṭanti⁵ vivaṭṭanti:⁶ ‘Atikhippaṃ Bhagavā
parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ
cakkhuṃ loke antarahitaṃ’ ti.

Ye pana te bhikkhū vīta-rāgā te satā sampajānā adhivā-
senti, ‘Aniccā saṃkhārā, taṃ kut’ ettha labbhā’ ti.

10. When the Exalted One died there arose, at the moment
of his passing out of existence, a mighty earthquake, terrible and
awe-inspiring : and the thunders of heaven burst forth .

When the Exalted One died, Brahmā Sahampati, at the
moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza:—

They all, all beings that have life, shall lay
Aside their complex form—that aggregation
Of mental and material qualities,
That gives them, or in heaven or on earth,
Their fleeting individuality!
E’en as the teacher—being such a one,
Unequalled among all the men that are,
Successor of the prophets of old time,

1. S^d vedhanaṃ.

2. Thera-Gathā 905, 6.

3. Thera-Gathā 1046.

4. K chinna-pātaṃ viya.

5. S^{dt} āvaṭṭanti, *here and onwards*, in 5. 12 -enti; S^c -enti.

6. S^{dt} vivaṭṭanti, *here and onwards*. S^c- enti (S^d enti corrected to anti).

Mighty by wisdom, and in insight clear— Hath died !¹

When the Exalted One died, Sakka, the king of the gods, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza :—

‘They’re transient all, each being’s parts and powers,
Growth is their very nature, and decay.

They are produced, they are dissolved again :

To bring them all into subjection—that is bliss².

1. Brahma, the first cause, the highest result of Indian theological speculation, the one God of the Indian Pantheists, is represented as using expressions full of deep allusions to the most characteristic Buddhist doctrines. The Samussaya is the result of the temporary collocation of the ‘aggregations’ (khandha) of mental and material qualities which give to each being (bhūto, that is, man, animal, god, ghost, fairy, or what not) its outward and visible shape, its individuality. Loka is here not the world in our sense, but the ‘locality’ in the Buddhist universe which such an individual occupies until it is dissolved. (Comp. Chap. II, §§ 12, 26.) Brahmā appears therefore as a veritable Doctor in theology, and I have been obliged to expand the translation to bring out all the meaning in the text.
2. On this celebrated verse see below the Introduction to Maha-Sudassana-Sutta. It must be the original of the first verse in the Chinese work, Fa Kheu Pi Hu (Beal, Dhammapada, p. 32), though it is there so changed that every clause has lost its point.

‘Whatever exists is without endurance,
And hence the terms ‘flourishing’ and ‘decaying.’

A man is born, and then he dies.

Oh, the happiness of escaping from this condition!’

The very meaning which is here the most essential connotation of saṅkhira is lost in the phrase ‘whatever exists.’ By a misapprehension of the, no doubt, difficult word Dhamma, which, however, never means ‘term,’ the second clause has lost its point. And by a grammatical blunder the third clause in the Chinese confines the doctrine, erroneously, to man. In a Chinese tale, called Ngan shih niu, translated by Mr. Beal, in the ‘Indian Antiquary’ for May, 1880, the following verses occur; and they are possibly another reflection of this stanza:—

When the Exalted One died, the venerable Anuruddha, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered these stanzas :—

‘When he who from all craving want was free,
Who to Nirvana’s tranquil state had reached,
When the great sage finished his span of life,
No gasping struggle vexed that steadfast heart!
All resolute, and with unshaken mind,
He calmly triumphed o’er the pain of death.
E’en as a bright flame dies away, so was
The last emancipation of his heart.’

When the Exalted One died, the venerable Ānanda, at the moment of his passing away from existence, uttered this stanza:—

‘Then was there terror !
Then stood the hair on end !
When he endowed with every grace—
The supreme Buddha—died !¹’

²When the Exalted One died, of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their

‘All things that exist are transitory,
They must of necessity perish and disappear;
Though joined together, there must be separation ;
Where there is life there must be death.’

Compare the constantly repeated phrase:— ‘Whatsoever hath an origin in that is inherent the necessity of dissolution.’ The perception of this is emphatically called the Eye for the Truth : and the doctrine is referred to in the next section.

1. In these four stanzas we seem to have the way in which the death of the Buddha would be regarded, as the early Buddhist thought, by four representative persons—the exalted God of the theologians; the Jupiter of the multitude (allowing in the case of each of these for the change in character resulting from their conversion to Buddhism); the holy, thoughtful Arahant; and the loving, childlike disciple.
2. Nearly = V, § 6; and below, VI, 19.

arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, rolling to and fro in anguish at the thought:—‘Too soon has the Exalted One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world!’

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions [the Arahants] bore their grief collected and composed at the thought:— ‘Impermanent are all component things ! How is it possible that [they should not be dissolved] ?’

11. Atha kho āyasmā Anuruddho bhikkhū āmantesi :

‘Alaṃ āvuso mā socittha mā paridevittha. Na nu etaṃ āvuso Bhagavatā paṭigacc’ eva akkhātaṃ, sabbehi’ eva piyehi manāpehi nānā-bhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññathābhāvo ? Taṃ kut’ettha āvuso labbhā ? Yaṃ taṃ jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṃkhatam paloka-dhammaṃ tam vata mā palujjīti n’etaṃ tṭhānaṃ vijjati. Devatā āvuso ujjhāyantīti.’¹

² ‘Kathaṃ-bhūtā pana bhante āyasmā Anuruddho devatā manasikarotīti ?’

‘Sant’ āvuso Ānanda devatā ākāse paṭhavi-saṇṇiniyo kese pakiriya kandanti, bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papātaṃ papatanti āvaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti: “Atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ like antarahitaṃ” ti.

‘Sant’ āvuso Ānanda devatā paṭhaviyā paṭhavi-saṇṇiniyo kese pakiriya kandanti, bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papātaṃ³ papatanti āvaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti: “Ati-khippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ loke antarahitaṃ” ti.

‘Yā pana devatā vīta-rāgā tā satā sampajānā adbhivāsenti, “Aniccā saṃkhārā, taṃ kut’ettha labbhā” ’ ti.

11. Then the venerable Anuruddha exhorted the brethren, and said :— ‘Enough, my brethren ! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Exalted One formerly declared this to us, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear unto us, that we

1. S^t vijjhāyantīti.

2. See 5. 12.

3. K pātaṃ viya.

must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them ? How then, brethren, can this be possible— that whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized, contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist ! Even the spirits, brethren, will reproach us¹.

1. Uggahāyanti. I have followed the reading of my own MS., which is confirmed by the Sumangala Vilāsinī and the Mālālaṅkāra-vatthu. Vigghāyanti, which Childers reads, would be questionable Buddhism. The spirits do not become extinct ; that is, not as a general rule, as would be implied by the absolute statement :— ‘Even the spirits, brethren, become extinct.’ It is no doubt true that all spirits, from the lowest to the highest, from the most insignificant fairy to the God of theological speculation, are regarded as temporary. But when they cease to exist as gods or spirits (*devatā*), they do not go out, they are not extinguished (*vigghāyanti*); they continue to exist in some other form. And though that other form would, from the European point of view, be a different being, as there would be no continuity of consciousness, no passage of a ‘soul’ from the one to the other; it would, from the Buddhist point of view, be the same being, as it would be the resultant effect of the same Karma. There would follow on the death of a *devatā*, not extinction, but a transmutation of force, a transmigration of character, a passing on, an inheritance of Karma. Only in the exceedingly rare case of an anagamin, of which an instance will be found above Chap. II, § 7, could it be said that a spirit becomes extinct.

The expression ‘of worldly mind,’ here and above in V, 6, is in Pāli *pathavi-saññiniyo*, an ambiguous phrase which has only as yet been found in this connexion. The word is here opposed to *vitariṅga*, ‘free from passion,’ and I have therefore taken it in a spiritual sense. There is another possibility, viz. that it is used in an intellectual sense, ‘making the idea of earth present to their mind’ ; and this would be in accordance with the use of *saññi* in the Kasina meditations, in which spirits, like men, were supposed to indulge; see *Dīgha* II, 108. But how easily, especially in Buddhism, the intellectual merges into the religious may be seen from such a Kasina phrase as *marāṇi-saññino*, used at *Mahāvamsa* V, 159, of good men.

‘But of what kind of spirits, Sir, is the venerable Anuruddha thinking ?’

‘There are spirits, brother Ānanda, in the sky, but of worldly mind, who dishevel their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought : — “Too soon has the Exalted One died ! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world !”

‘There are spirits, too, Ānanda, on the earth, and of worldly mind, who tear their hair and weep, and stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought:— “Too soon has the Blessed One died ! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world !”

‘But the spirits who are free from passion bear it, calm and self-possessed, mindful of the saying which begins:— “Impermanent indeed are all component things. How then is it possible [. . . that such a being should not be dissolved] ?” ’

12. Atha kho āyasmā ca Anuruddho āyasmā ca Ānando taṃ rattāvasesaṃ dhammiyā kathāya vītināmesuṃ. Atha kho āyasmā Anuruddho āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ āmantesi:

‘Gacch’ āvuso Ānanda, Kusināraṃ pavisitvā Kosināra-kānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocehi: “Parinibbuto Vāsetṭhā Bhagavā, yassa dāni kālaṃ maññathāti.” ’

‘Evaṃ bhate’ ti kho āyasmā Ānanda āyasmato Anuruddhassa paṭissutvā pubbaṇha-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya atta-dutiyo Kusināraṃ pāvisi.

Tena kho pana samayena Kosinārakā Mallā santhāgāre sannipatitā hout ten’ eva karaṇīyena. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ santhāgāraṃ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ ārocesi : ‘Parinibbuto Vāsetṭhā Bhagavā, yassa dāni kālaṃ maññathāti.’

Idam āyasmato Ānandassa sutvā Mallā ca Malla-puttā ca Malla-suṇisā² ca Malla-pajāpatiyo ca aghāvino dummanā

1. See the end of the first paragraph of this section.

2. S^{cdt} suni^o.

ceto-dukkha-samappitā app ekacce kese pakiriya kandanti, bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papātam¹ papatanti āvaṭṭanti vivatṭanti vivatṭanti : ‘Atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ cakkhuṃ loke antarahitaṃ; ti.

12. Now the venerable Anuruddha and the venerable Ānanda spent the rest of that night in religious discourse. Then the venerable Anuruddha said to the venerable Ānanda :— ‘Go now, brother Ānanda, into Kusinārā and inform the Mallas of Kusinārā, saying:— “The Exalted One, O Vāsetthas, is dead ; do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit!” ’

‘Even so, lord!’ said the venerable Ānanda in assent, to the venerable Anuruddha. And having robed himself early in the morning, he took his bowl, and went into Kusinārā with one of the brethren as an attendant.

Now at that time the Mallas of Kusinārā were assembled in the council hall concerning that very matter.

And the venerable Ānanda went to the council hall of the Mallas of Kusinārā; and when he had arrived there, he informed them, saying :— ‘The Blessed One, O Vāsetthas, is dead ; do, then, whatever seemeth to you fit!’

And when they had heard this saying of the venerable Ānanda, the Mallas, with their young men and their maidens and their wives, were grieved, and sad, and afflicted at heart. And some of them wept, dishevelled their hair, and some stretched forth their arms and wept, and some fell prostrate on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought:— Too soon has the Exalted One died! Too soon has the Happy One passed away! Too soon ‘has the Light gone out in the world !’

13. Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā purise āṇāpesuṃ:² ‘Tena hi bhaṇe Kusinārāyaṃ gandha-mālaṃ ca sabbaṃ ca tātāvacaraṃ³ sannipātethāti.’

1. K pātāṃ viya See v. 21.

2. S^{dt} ānā^o.

3. S^{ct} tal^o.

Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā gandha-mālāñ ca sabbañ ca tālāvacaraṃ¹ pañca ca dussa-yuga-satāni ādāya yena Upavattanaṃ² Mallānaṃ sāla-vanaṃ yena Bhagavato sarīraṃ ten' upasamkamim̐su, upasamkamitvā Bhagavato sarīraṃ naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā cela-vitānāni karontā maṇḍalamālāni paṭiyādentā evaṃ taṃ divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ.

Atha kho Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ etad ahosi : “Ativikālo kho ajja Bhagavato sarīraṃ jhāpetuṃ. Svedāni mayaṃ Bhagavato sarīraṃ jhāpessāmāti.” Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā Bhagavato sarīraṃ naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā cela-vitānāni karontā maṇḍala-mālāni paṭiyādentā dutiyam pi divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ, tatiyam pi divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ, vatuttham pi divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ, pañcamam pi divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ, chaṭṭham pi divasaṃ vītināmesuṃ.

13. Then the Mallas of Kusinārā gave orders to their attendants, saying :— ‘Gather together perfumes and garlands, and all the music in Kusinira!’

And the Mallas of Kusinārā took the perfumes and garlands, and all the musical instruments, and five hundred suits of apparel, and went to the Upavattana, to the Sāla Grove of the Mallas, where the body of the Exalted One lay. There they passed the day in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Exalted One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes ; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon³.

1. S^cdt tāl^o.

2. S^cdt -tān^o.

3. The dress of the Mallas consisted probably of mere lengths of muslin or cotton cloth; and a suit of apparel consisted of two or, at the outside, of three of these—one to wrap around the loins, one to throw over the shoulders, and one to use as a turban. To make a canopy on occasions of state they would join such pieces together: to make the canopy into a tent they would simply add walls of the same material; and the only decoration, as simple as it is

Then the Mallas of Kusinārā thought :—

‘It is much too late to burn the body of the Exalted One to-day. Let us now perform the cremation to-morrow.’ And in paying honour, reverence, respect, and homage to the remains of the Exalted One with dancing, and hymns, and music, and with garlands and perfumes; and in making canopies of their garments, and preparing decoration wreaths to hang thereon, they passed the second day too, and then the third day, and the fourth, and the fifth, and the sixth day also.

14. Atha kho sattamaṃ divasaṃ Kosinārakānaṃ Mal-lānaṃ etad ahoṣi: ‘Mayaṃ Bhagavato sarīraṃ naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānenta pūjentā, dakkhiṇena dakkhiṇaṃ nagarassa haritvā bāhirena bāhiraṃ dakkhiṇato nagarassa Bhaga vato sarīraṃ jhāpessāmāti.’

Tena kho pana samayena aṭṭha Malla-pāmokkhā sīsaṃ nahātā¹ ahatāni vatthāni nivatthā: ‘Mayaṃ Bhagavato sarīraṃ uccāressāmāti,’ na sakkonti uccāretuṃ.

Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā āyasmantaṃ Anuruddhaṃ etad avocum: ‘Ko nu kho bhante hetu ko paccayo yena ’me² aṭṭha Malla-pāmokkhā sīsaṃ nahātā ahatāni vatthāni nivattha,’ na sakkonti uccāretun’ ? ti.

‘Aññathā kho Vāseṭṭhā tumhākaṃ adhippāyo, aññathā devatānaṃ adhippāyo’ ti.

14. Then on the seventh day the Mallas of Kusinārā thought:—

‘Let us carry the body of the Exalted One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with

beautiful, would be wreaths of flowers, or single lotuses, hanging from the roof or stretched along the sides. Ever)- civil servant travelling on duty in remote districts in Ceylon has such a tent or canopy put up for him by the peasantry.

1. S^d nhāta; K sīsanhātā (and so below, but in § 21 adds sīsaṃ in a note).
2. K yen’ ime, and so at § 21.

dance, and song, and music, with garlands and perfumes,—and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony!’

And thereupon eight chieftains among the Mallas bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Exalted One. But, behold, they could not lift it up!

Then the Mallas of Kusinārā said to the venerable Anuruddha :— ‘What, lord, can be the reason, what can be the cause, that eight chieftains of the Mallas who have bathed their heads, and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of bearing the body of the Exalted One, are unable to lift it up?’

‘It is because you, O Vāsetthas, have one purpose, and the spirits have another purpose.’

15. ‘Kathaṃ pana bhante devatānaṃ adhippāyo’? ti.

‘Tumhākaṃ kho Vāsetṭhā adhippāyo: “Mayaṃ Bhagavato sarīraṃ naccehi gīthehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā, dakkhiṇena dakkhiṇaṃ nagarassa haritvā, bāhirena bāhiraṃ dakkhiṇato nagarassa Bhagavato sarīraṃ jhāpessāmāti.” Devatānaṃ kho Vāsetṭhā adhippāyo: “Mayaṃ Bhagavato sarīraṃ dibbehi naccehi gīthehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā uttarena uttaraṃ nagarassa haritvā, uttarena dvārena nagaraṃ pavesetvā, majjhena majjhaṃ nagarassa haritvā, puratthimena dvārena nikkha-mitvā puratthimato nagarassa Makuṭa-bandhanaṃ nāma Mallānaṃ cetiyaṃ, ettha Bhagavato sarīraṃ jhāpessāmāti.”’

‘Yathā bhante devatānaṃ adhippāyo, tathā hotūti.’

15. ‘But what, lord, is the purpose of the spirits ?’

‘Your purpose, O Vāsetthas, is this :—Let us carry the body of the Exalted One, by the south and outside, to a spot on the south, and outside of the city,—paying it honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage, with dance, and song, and music, with garlands and perfumes,—and there, to the south of the city, let us perform the cremation ceremony. But the purpose of the spirits, Vāsetthasas, is this :—Let us carry the body of the Ex-

alted One by the north to the north of the city, and entering the city by the north gate, let us bring it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof. And going out again by the eastern gate,— paying honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Exalted One, with heavenly dance, and song, and music, and garlands, and perfumes,— let us carry it to the shrine of the Mallas called Makuta-bandhana, to the east of the city, and there let us perform the cremation ceremony.’

‘Even according to the purpose of the spirits, so, lord, let it be.’

16. Tena kho pana samayena Kusinārā yāva sandhi-samala-saṅkaṭṭirā¹ jannu²-mattena odhinā mandārava-pup-phehi santhatā hoti. Atha kho devatā ca Kosinārakā ca Mallā Bhagavato sarīraṃ dibbehi ca mānusakehi ca naccehi gīthehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarontā garukarontā mānentā pūjentā, uttarena uttaraṃ nagarassa haritvā, uttarena dvārena nagaraṃ pavesetvā, majjhena majjhaṃ nagarassa haritvā, puratthimena dvārena nikkhamitvā—puratthimato nagarassa Makuṭa-bandhanaṃ nāma Mallānaṃ cetiyaṃ—ettha Bhagavato sarīraṃ nikkhipiṃsu.

16. Then immediately all Kusinārā down even to the dust bins and rubbish heaps became strewn knee-deep with Mandārava flowers from heaven! and while both the spirits from the skies, and the Mallas of Kusinārā upon earth, paid honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to the body of the Exalted One, with dance, and song, and music, with garlands, and with perfumes, they carried the body by the north to the north of the city; and entering the city by the north gate they carried it through the midst of the city into the midst thereof; and going out again by the eastern gate they carried it to the shrine of the Mallas, called Makuta-bandhana; and there, to the east of the city, they laid down the body of the Exalted One³.

1. K sakaṭṭirā.

2. Ch jaṇṇu.

3. The point of this interesting legend is that the inhabitants of an Indian village of that time would have considered it a desecration

17. Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā āyasmantaṃ Ānandaṃ etad avocum: 'Kathaṃ mayaṃ bhante Ānanda Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjāmāti ?'

'Yathā kho Vāseṭṭhā rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti, evaṃ Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjitabban' ti.

'Kathaṃ pana bhante Ānanda rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjantīti ?'

'Rañño Vāseṭṭhā cakkavattissa sarīraṃ ahatena vat-thena veṭhenti, ahatena vatthena veṭhetvā vihatena kappāsena veṭhenti, vihatena kappāsena veṭhetvā ahatena vatthena veṭhenti, etena upāvena pañcahi yuga-satehi rañño cakkavattissa sarīraṃ veṭhetvā ayasāya tela-doṇiyā pakkhipitvā, aññissā ayasāya doṇiyā paṭikujjitvā, sabba-gandhānam citakaṃ karitvā rañño cakkavattissa sarīraṃ jhāpenti, cātummahāpathe rañño cakkavattissa thūpaṃ karonti, Evaṃ kho Vāseṭṭhā rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti

'Yathā kho Vāseṭṭhā rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti, evaṃ Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjitabbaṃ. Cātummahāpathe Tathāgatassa thūpo kātabbo. Tattha ye mālaṃ vā gandhaṃ vā gandhaṃ vā vaṇṇakaṃ¹ vā āropessanti,² abbhivādessanti vā, cittaṃ va, pasādessanti, tesam taṃ bhavissati dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāyāti.'

17. ³Then the Mallas of Kusinārā said to the venerable Ānanda :— 'What should be done, lord, with the remains of the Tathāgata ?'

or pollution to bring a dead body into or through their village. Authorities differ as to the direction in which it should be taken to avoid this. The old custom, according to Caland (p. 23) was to take it to the East or the West. Later priestly books (Manu, for instance, V, 93) say to the North. The Mallas wanted to go to the South. The remedy proposed by the spirits who are shocked at this impropriety, is more shocking still.

1. S^c vaṇṇaṃ ; K cuṇṇakaṃ. See 5.11.
2. K adds vā.
3. Compare Chap. V, §§ 11, 12.

‘As men treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Vāsetthas, should they treat the remains of a Tathāgata.’

‘And how, lord,’ do they treat the remains of a king of kings?’

‘They wrap the body of a king of kings, Vāsetthas, in a new cloth. When that is done they wrap it in carded cotton wool. When that is done they wrap it in a new cloth,—and so on till they have wrapped the body in five hundred successive layers of both kinds. Then they place the body in an oil vessel of iron, and cover that close up with another oil vessel of iron. They then build a funeral pyre of all kinds of perfumes, and burn the body of the king of kings. And then at the four cross roads they erect a cairn to the king of kings. This, Vāsetthas, is the way in which they treat the remains of a king of kings.

‘And as they treat the remains of a king of kings, so, Vāsetthas, should they treat the remains of the Tathāgata. At the four cross roads a cairn should be erected to the Tathāgata. And whosoever shall there place garlands or perfumes or paint, or make salutation there, or become in its presence calm in heart—that shall long be to them for a profit and a joy.’

18. Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā purise āṇāpesuṃ, Tena hi bhāṇe Mallānaṃ vihatam kappāsaṃ sannipātethāti.’

Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā Bhagavato sarīraṃ ahatena vatthena veṭhesuṃ, ahatena vatthena veṭhetvā vihatena kappāsena veṭhesuṃ, vihatena kappāsena veṭhetvā ahatena vatthena veṭhesuṃ, etena upāyena pañcahi yuga-satehi Bhagavato sarīraṃ veṭhetvā ayasāya tela-dōṇiyā pakkhi-pitvā aññissā ayasāya dōṇiyā paṭikujjitvā sabba-gandhānaṃ citakaṃ karitvā Bhagavato sarīraṃ citakaṃ āroposum.

18. Therefore the Mallas gave orders to their attendants, saying :— ‘Gather together all the carded cotton wool of the Mallas !’

Then the Mallas of Kusinārā wrapped the body of the Exalted One in a new cloth. And when that was done, they wrapped it in carded cotton wool. And when that was done, they wrapped it in a new cloth. —and so on till they had wrapped the

body of the Exalted One in five hundred layers of both kinds. And then they placed the body in an oil vessel of iron, and covered that close up with another oil vessel of iron. And then they built a funeral pyre of all kinds of perfumes, and upon it they placed the body of the Exalted One.

19. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo Pāvāya Kusināraṃ addhāna-magga paṭipanno hoti mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañcamattehi bhikkhu-satehi. Atha kho āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo maggā okkamma¹ aññatarasmiṃ rukkhamaṇe nisīdā.

Tena kho pana samayena aññataro ājīvako Kusinārāya mandārava-pupphaṃ gahetvā Pāvāṃ addhāna-magga-paṭipanno hoti.

Addasā kho āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo² ājīvakaṃ dūrato 'va āgacchantam. Disvā tam ājīvakaṃ etad avoca: 'Ap' āvuso amhākaṃ Satthāraṃ jānāsīti.'

'Āma āvuso jānāmi. Ajja sattāha-parinibbuto samaṇo Gotamo. Tato me idaṃ mandārava-pupphaṃ gahitaṃ' ti.

Tattha ye te bhikkhū avīta-rāgā app ekacce bāhā paggayha kandanti, chinna-papātaṃ³ papatani āvaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti vivaṭṭanti; 'Atikhippaṃ Bhagavā parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ Sugato parinibbuto, atikhippaṃ cakkhum loke antarathitaṃ' ti.

Ye pana te bhikkhū vīta-rāgā, te satā sampajānā adhi-vāsenti : 'Aniccā saṃkhārā, taṃ kut' ettha labbhā ?' ti.

19. Now at that time the venerable Mahā Kassapa was journeying along the high road from Pāvā to Kusinārā with a great company of the brethren, with about five hundred of the brethren. And the venerable Mahā Kassapa left the high road, and sat himself down at the foot of a certain tree.

Just at that time a certain naked ascetic⁴ who had picked up a Mandārava flower in Kusinārā was coming along the high road to Pava.

1. Scdt uk^o.

2. K inserts tam.

3. K (as before) pātaṃ viya.

4. An Ājīvaka. See the note above at Vol. I, p. 71.

Now the venerable Mahā Kassapa saw the naked ascetic coming in the distance ; and when he had seen him he said to that naked ascetic:—

‘O friend ! surely thou knowest our Master ?’

‘Yea, friend! I know him. This day the Samana Gotama has been dead a week! That is how I obtained this Mandārava flower.’

On that of those of the brethren who were not yet free from the passions, some stretched out their arms and wept, and some fell headlong on the ground, and some reeled to and fro in anguish at the thought:— ‘Too soon has the Exalted One died ! Too soon has the Happy One passed away ! Too soon has the Light gone out in the world !’

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions [the Arahants] bore their grief self-possessed and composed at the thought :— ‘Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that [they should not be dissolved] ?’

20. Tena kho pana samayena Subhaddo nāma buddha-pabbajito tassaṃ parisāyaṃ nisinno hoti. Atha kho Subhaddo duddha-pabbajito te bhikkhū etad avoca:

‘Alaṃ āvuso mā socitthamā paridevittha. Sumuttā mayam tena mahā-samaṇena. Uppadutā ca homa “Idaṃ vo¹ kappati, idaṃ vo na kappatīti,” idāni pana mayam yaṃ icchissāma taṃ karissāma, yaṃ na icchissāma taṃ na² karissāmāti.’

Atha kho āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo bhikkhū āmantesi;

‘Alaṃ āvuso mā socittha mā paridevittha. Nanu etaṃ āvuso Bhagavatā paṭigacc’ eva akkhātaṃ : “Sabbhe’ eva piyehi manāpehi nānā-bhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññatthā-bhāvao, taṃ kut’ ettha āvuso labbhā ? yaṃ taṃ jātaṃ bhūtaṃ saṃkhatam paloka-dhammaṃ, taṃ vata mā pahrjīti n’etaṃ tṭhānaṃ vijjatīti.” ’

20. Now at that time a brother named Subhadda, who had

1. K (text) te; (note) vo.

2. S^{ct} na taṃ.

been received into the Order in his old age, was seated in that company¹.

And Subhadda the recruit in his old age said to those brethren:— ‘Enough, sirs! Weep not, neither lament! We are well rid of the great Samana. We used to be annoyed by being told:— “This beseems you, this beseems you not.” But now we shall be able to do whatever we like; and what we do not like, that we shall not have to do!’

But the venerable Mahā Kassapa exhorted the brethren :— ‘Enough, my brethren ! Weep not, neither lament! Has not the Exalted One formerly declared this, that it is in the very nature of all things near and dear unto us that we must divide ourselves from them, leave them, sever ourselves from them : How then, brethren, can this be possible—whereas anything whatever born, brought into being, and organized contains within itself the inherent necessity of dissolution—how then can this be possible that such a being should not be dissolved ? No such condition can exist!’

21. Tena kho pana samayena cattāro Malla-pāmokkhā sīsaṃ nahātā² ahatāni vatthāni nivatthā: ‘Mayaṃ Bhagavato citakaṃ ālimpessāmāti’ na sakkonti ālimpetuṃ.

Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā āyasantaṃ Anuruddhaṃ etad avocum:

‘Ko nu kho bhante Anuruddha hetu ko paccayo yena ’me³ cattāro Malla-pāmokkhā sīsaṃ nahātā⁴ ahatāni vatthāni⁴

1. At p. xxvi of the Introduction to his edition of the Vinaya, Prof. Oldenberg identifies this Subhadda with Subhadda the last convert, mentioned above at the end of Chap. V. They are different persons; the last convert being represented as a man of high character, incapable of the conduct here ascribed to this Subhadda. The last convert was a brahmin, traditionally supposed to be younger brother to Añña Kondañña, the first convert; this Subhadda had been a barber in the village Ātumā.

2. K sīsaṇhātā (*and below*); K Sī sīsaṃ nah°. See pp. 160, 172.

3. K yen’ ime as at § 14.

4. Ch. ahatena vatthena.

nivatthā ‘Mayaṃ Bhagavato citakaṃ ālimpes-sāmāti’ na sakkoti ā, impetun ?’ ti.

‘Aññathā kho Vāsetṭhā devatānaṃ adhippāyo’ ti.

‘Kathaṃ pana bhante devatānaṃ adhippāyo’ ? ti.

‘Devatānaṃ kho Vāsetṭhā adhippāyo: “Ayaṃ āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo Pāvāya Kusināraṃ addhāna-magga-paṭi-panno mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañcamattehi bhikkhu-satehi, na tāva Bhagavato citako pajjalissati yāv’ āyasmā-Kassapo Bhagavato ¹pāde sirasā na vandissatī¹.”’

‘Yathā bhante devatānaṃ adhippāyo tathā hotuti.’

21. Now just at that time four chieftains of the Mallas had bathed their heads and clad themselves in new garments with the intention of setting on fire the funeral pyre of the Exalted One. But, behold, they were unable to set it alight!

Then the Mallas of Kusinārā said to the venerable Anuruddha:— ‘What, lord, can be the reason, and what the cause [of this] ?’

‘The purpose of the spirits, O Vāsetthas, is different.’

‘But what, sir, is the purpose of the spirits ?’

‘The purpose of the spirits, O Vāsetthas, is this :— That venerable brother Mahā Kassapa is now journeying along the way from Pāvā to Kusinārā with a great company of the brethren, with five hundred brethren. The funeral pyre of the Exalted One shall not catch fire until the venerable Mahā Kassapa shall have been able reverently to salute the feet of the Exalted One.’

‘Even according to the purpose of the spirits so, sir, let it be!’

22. Atha kho āyasmā Mahā-Kassapo yena Kusinārā-Makuṭa-bandhanaṃ² Mallānaṃ cetiyaṃ yena Bhagavato citako ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā ekaṃsaṃ cīva-raṃ katvā añjalim pañāmetvā tikkhattuṃ citakaṃ padak-khiṇaṃ katvā, pādato vivaritvā Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandi.

Tāni pi kho pañca bhikkhu-satāni ekaṃsaṃ cīvaraṃ

1. 1. S^{dt} pāde na sahatthā vandissatī; so S^c K, omitting the na.

2. K Kusinārāyaṃ Mak^o.

katvā añjalim paṇāmetvā tikkhattuṃ citakaṃ padakkhi-ṇaṃ
katvā katvā Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandimsu.

Vandite va pan' āyasmata Mahā-Kassapena tehi ca
pañcahi bhikkhu-satehi, sayam eva Bhagavato citako pajjali.

22. Then the venerable Mahā Kassapa went on to Makuta-bandhana of Kusinārā, to the shrine of the Mallas, to the place where the funeral pyre of the Exalted One was. And when he had come up to it he arranged his robe on one shoulder ; and after bowing down with clasped hands, he thrice walked reverently round the pyre, and then, uncovering the feet, he bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Exalted One.

And those five hundred brethren arranged their robes on one shoulder ; and bowing down with clasped hands, they thrice walked reverently round the pyre, and then bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Exalted One.

And when the homage of the venerable Mahā Kassapa and of those five hundred brethren was ended, the funeral pyre of the Exalted One caught fire of itself¹.

23. Jhāyamānassa² pana Bhagavato sarīrassa, yaṃ ahosi chavīti vā camman ti vā maṃsan ti vā hahārūti vā lasikā ti vā tassa n'eva chārikā paññāyittha na masi, sarīrān' eva avasissimsu.

1. It is possible that we have here the survival of some ancient custom. Spence Hardy appropriately refers to a ceremony among Jews (of what place or time is not mentioned) in the following terms :— 'Just before a Jew is taken out of the house to be buried, the relatives and acquaintances of the departed stand round the coffin; when the feet are uncovered; and each in rotation lays hold of the great toes, and begs pardon for any offence given to the deceased, and requests a favourable mention of them in the next world' ('Manual of Buddhism,' p. 348).

The Buddhist bhikkhus in Siam and the great majority of those in Ceylon (the adherents of the Siyam-samāgama) always keep one shoulder uncovered. It is evident that the bhikkhus in Burma and those in Ceylon, who belong to the Amara-pura-samāgama, are more in accordance with ancient custom in wearing the robe ordinarily over both shoulders.

2. K inserts kho. Comp. udāna viii. 9.

Seyyathā pi nāma sappissa vā telassa vā jhāyamānassa n' eva chārikā paññāyati na masi, evam eva¹ Bhagavato sarīrassa jhāyamānassa yaṃ ahosi chaīti vā camman ti vā maṃsan ti vā nahārūti vā lasikā ti vā tassa n'eva chārikā paññāyittha na masi, sarīrān' eva avasissimṣu. Tesaṃ ca pañcannaṃ dussa-yuga-satānaṃ dve va dussāni dayhimṣu yaṃ ca sabba-abbhantarimaṃ yaṃ ca bāhiraṃ.

Daddhe kho pana Bhagavato sarīre antalikkhā udaka-dhārā pātu bhavitvā Bhagavato citakaṃ nibbāpesi, ²udaka-sālato pi² abbhunnamitvā Bhagavato citakaṃ nibbhāpesi. Kosinārakā pi Mallā sabba-gandhodakena Bhagavato citakaṃ nibbāpesuṃ.

Atha kho Kosinārakā Mallā Bhagavato sarīrāni sattāhaṃ santhāgāre satti-pañjaraṃ karitvā dhanu-pākāraṃ parikkhipitvā naccehi gītehi vāditehi mālehi gandhehi sakkarimṣu parikarimṣu mānesuṃ pūjesuṃ.

23. Now as the body of the Exalted One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen. Only the bones remained behind. Just as one sees no soot or ash when ghee or oil is burned ; so, as the body of the Exalted One burned itself away, from the skin and the integument, and the flesh, and the nerves, and the fluid of the joints, neither soot nor ash was seen. Only the bones remained behind. And of those five hundred pieces of raiment the very innermost and outermost were both consumed.

And when the body of the Exalted One had been burnt up, there came down streams of water from the sky and extinguished the funeral pyre of the Exalted One ; and there burst forth streams of water from the storehouse of the waters [beneath the earth], and extinguished the funeral pyre of the Exalted One. The Mallas of Kusinārā also brought water scented with all kinds of per

1. SS evaṃ.

2.2. S^{ct} omit udaka-sālato pi; S^d omits down to hibbā-pesi (continues Kosin^o) ; K udakaṃ pi; Sum -sālake.

fumes, and extinguished the funeral pyre of the Exalted One¹.

Then the Mallas of Kusinārā surrounded the bones of the Exalted One in their council hall with a lattice work of spears, and with a rampart of bows; and there for seven days they paid honour, and reverence, and respect, and homage to them with dance, and song, and music, and with garlands and perfumes.

24. Assosi kho Rājā Māgadho Ajāta-sattu Vedehi-putto: ‘Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto’ ti.

Atha kho Rājā Māgadho Ajāta-sattu Vedehi-putto Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pāhesi: ‘Bhagavā pi khat-tiyo ahaṃ pi khattiyo. Aham pi arahāmi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, aham pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpaṇ ca mahaṇ ca karissāmāti.’

Assosum kho Vesālikā Licchavī: ‘Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto’ ti. Atha kho Vesālikā Licchavī Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pāhesum: ‘Bhagavā pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyā. Mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpaṇ ca mahaṇ ca karissāmāti.’

Assosum kho Kāpilavatthavā Sakyā: ‘Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto’ ti. Atha kho Kāpilavatthavā Sakyā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pāhesum: ‘Bhagavā ambhākaṃ nāti-settho. Mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpaṇ ca mahaṇ ca karissāmāti.’

1. There is something very quaint in the way in which the faithful Mallas are here represented as bringing coals to Newcastle. The ‘storehouse of the waters’ is in Pāli udaka-sālā, on which Buddhaghosa has two theories: first, that the Sālā trees around shed down a miraculous rain from their trunks and branches and leaves; and next, that the waters burst up from the earth and became as it were a diadem of crystal round the pyre. On the belief that water thus burst up miraculously through the earth, see ‘Buddhist Birth Stories,’ pp. 64, 67. If the reading be correct it is scarcely possible that sālā can here have anything to do with Sālā trees; but the other interpretation is open to the objections that still a means in open hall rather than a storehouse, and that the belief in a ‘storehouse of water’ has not, as yet, been found elsewhere.

Assosum kho Allakappakā¹ Bulayo² : ‘Bhagavā kirā Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto’ ti. Atha kho Allakappakā Bulayo Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pahesum : ‘Bhagavā pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyā. Mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpaṇ ca mahaṇ ca karissāmāti.’

Assosum kho Rāmagāmakā Koliyā³ ‘Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto’ ti. Atha kho Rāmagāmakā Koliyā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pahesum : ‘Bhagavā pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyā. Mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpaṇ ca mahaṇ ca karissāmāti.’

Assosi kho Veṭṭhadīpako⁴ brāhmaṇo: ‘Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto’ ti. Atha kho Veṭṭhadīpako brāhmaṇo Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pahesi: ‘Bhagavā pi khattiyo aham asmi brāhmaṇo. Aham pi arahāmi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, aham pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpaṇ ca mahaṇ ca karissāmāti.’

Assosum kho Pāveyyakā Mallā; ‘Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto’ ti. Atha kho Pāveyyakā Mallā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ dūtaṃ pahesum : ‘Bhagavā pi Khattiyo mayam pi khattiyā. Mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, bhāgaṃ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpaṇ ca mahaṇ ca karissāmāti.’

24. Now the king of Magadha, Ajātasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā.

Then the king of Magadha, Ajātasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying,— ‘The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so am I. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the

1. S^{ct} adds pi; S^d allakappakapilayo.

2. K Bhūlayo (*text*), Bulayo (*note*), and below, § 27.

3. K ko!° always.

4. K Veṭṭhad°, and below, § 27.

remains of the Exalted One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will I celebrate a feast!’

And the Licchavis of Vesālī heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the Licchavis of Vesālī sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying:— ‘The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we . We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!’

And the Sākiyas of Kapila-vatthu heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the Sākiyas of Kapila-vatthu sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying :— ‘The Exalted One was the pride of our race. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!’

And the Bulis of Allakappa heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the Bulis of Allakappa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying:— ‘The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!’

And the Koliyas of Rāmāgāma heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the Koliyas of Rāmāgāma sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying:— ‘The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!’

And the brahmin of Vethadīpa heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā. And the brahmin of Vethadīpa sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying:— ‘The Exalted One was a Kshatriya, and I am a brahmin. I am worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will I put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!’

And the Mallas of Pāvā heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā.

Then the Mallas of Pāvā sent a messenger to the Mallas, saying :— ‘The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacrea cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!’

25. Evaṃ vutte Kosinārakā Mallā te saṃghe gaṇe etad avocaṃ:

‘Bhagavā amhākaṃ gāma-kkhette parinibbuto. Na mayaṃ dassāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ’ ti.

Evaṃ vutte Doḇo brāhmaṇo te saṃghe gaṇe etad avoca:

Suṇantu bhonto mama eka-vākyam.

Amhākaṃ Buddho ahu khanti-vādo.

Na hi sādhu yaṃ¹ uttama-puggalassa

Sarīra-bhaṅge² siya³ sampahāro.

Sabbe ’va bhonto sahitā samaggā

Sammodamānā karom’ aṭṭha bhāge,

Vitthārikā⁴ hontu disāsu thūpā

Bahujjano⁵ cakkhumato pasanno’ ti.

‘Tena hi brāhmaṇa tvaṃ yeva⁶ Bhagavato sarīrāni aṭṭhaddhā samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhajāhīti.’

‘Evaṃ bhe’ ti⁷ kho Doḇo brāhmaṇo tesam saṃghānaṃ gaṇānaṃ paṭissutvā Bhagavato sarīrāni aṭṭhaddhā samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhajitvā te saṃghe gaṇe etad avoca:

‘Imaṃ me bhonto kumbhaṃ⁸ dadantu,⁹ aham pi kumbhassa thūpaṃ ca mahaṃ ca karissāmīti.’

1. S^{dt} sādhayam : so K.

2. K. bhāge.

3. SS siyā.

4. S^t -tā; S^c -ko.

5. K bahū janā.

6. K tvañceva. SS tvaññeva.

7. K ‘evaṃ bhoti’ twice.

8. K tumbaṃ, and below.

9. K dentu.

Adaṃsukho te Doṇassa brāmaṇassa kumbhaṃ.

25. When they heard these things the Mallas of Kusinārā spoke to the assembled crowds, saying:— ‘The Exalted One died in our village domain. We will not give away any part of the remains of the Exalted One !’

When they had thus spoken, Dowa the brahmin addressed the assembled crowds, and said:—

‘Hear, gracious sirs, one single word from me.
 Forbearance was our Buddha wont to teach.
 Unseemly is it that over the division
 Of the remains of him who was the best of beings
 Strife should arise, and wounds, and war !
 Let us all, sirs, with one accord unite
 In friendly harmony to make eight portions.
 Wide spread let cairns spring up in every land
 That in the Light of the world mankind may trust!’

‘Do thou then, O brahmin, thyself divide the remains of the Exalted One equally into eight parts, with fair division¹.’

‘Be it so, sirs !’ said Dona the brahmin, in assent, to the assembled brethren. And he divided the remains of the Exalted One equally into eight parts, with fair division. And he said to them :— ‘Give me, sirs, this vessel, and I will set up over it a sacred cairn, and in its honour will I establish a feast.’

And they gave the vessel to Dona the brahmin.

26. Assosum kho Pippalivaniyā Moriyā: ‘Bhagavā kira Kusinārāyaṃ parinibbuto’ ti. Atha kho Pippaliva-niyā Moriyā Kosinārakānaṃ Mallānaṃ pāhesum: ‘Bhagavā pi khattiyo mayam pi khattiyā. Mayam pi arahāma Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ bhāgaṃ, mayam pi Bhagavato sarīrānaṃ thūpañ ca mahañ ca karissāmāti.’

‘N’atthi Bhagavato sarīrānāṃ bhāgo, vibhattāni² Bhagavato sarīrāni, ito aṅgā ṃ harathāti.’ Te tato aṅgāraṃ harimsu.³

1. Here again the commentator expands and adds to the comparatively simple version of the text.

2. S^{cdt} vibhatti.

3. K āhar^o.

26. And the Moriyas of Pippalivana heard the news that the Exalted One had died at Kusinārā.

Then the Moriyas of Pippalivana sent a messenger to the Mallas. saying:— 'The Exalted One was a Kshatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of the relics of the Exalted One. Over the remains of the Exalted One will we put up a sacred cairn, and in their honour will we celebrate a feast!'

And when they heard the answer, saying:— 'There is no portion of the remains of the Exalted One left over. The remains of the Exalted One are all distributed,' then they took away the embers.

27. Atha kho Rājā Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehi-putto Rājagahe Bhagavato sarirānaṃ thūpaṃ ca mahaṃ ca akāsi.

Vesālīkā pi Licchavī Vesāliyaṃ Bhagavato sarirānaṃ thūpaṃ ca mahaṃ ca akaṃsu.

Kāpilavattavā pi Sakyā Kapila-vatthusmiṃ Bha-gavato sarirānaṃ thūpaṃ ca mahaṃ ca akaṃsu.

Allakappakā pi Bulayo¹ Allakappe Bhagavato sarirānaṃ thūpaṃ ca mahaṃ ca akaṃsu.

Rāmagāmakā pi Koliyā Rāmagāme Bhagavato sarirānaṃ thūpaṃ ca mahaṃ ca akaṃsu.

Veṭṭhadīpako pi brāhmaṇo Veṭṭhadīpe Bhagavato sarirānaṃ thūpaṃ ca mahaṃ ca akāsi.

Pāveyyakā pi Mallā Pāvāyaṃ Bhagavato sarirānaṃ thūpaṃ ca mahaṃ ca akaṃsu.

Kosinārakā pi Mallā Kusinārāyaṃ Bhagavato sarirānaṃ thūpaṃ ca mahaṃ ca akaṃsu.

Doṇo pi brāhmaṇo kumbhassa² thūpaṃ ca mahaṃ ca akāsi.

Pippalivaniyā pi Moriyā Pippalivane aṅgārānaṃ thūpaṃ ca mahaṃ ca akaṃsu.

Iti aṭṭ' assa³ sarīra-thūpā navamo kumbha⁴-thūpo dasamo aṅgāra-thūpo. Evam etaṃ bhūta-pubban ti.

1. K Bhūlayo ; S^d Bulayo (*here only*).

2. K tumbassa.

3. K omits : (text) aṭṭha sarīratthūpā; (note) aṭṭhasariāt thūpānanca.

4. K tumba.

27. So the king of Magadha, Ajātasattu, the son of the queen of the Videha clan, made a cairn in Rājagaha over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Licchavis of Vesālī made a cairn in Vesālī over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Sākiyas of Kapila-vatthu made a cairn in Kapila-vatthu over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Bulis-of Allakappa made a cairn in Allakappa over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Koliyas of Rāmagāma made a cairn in Rāmagāma over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And Vetthadīpaka the brahmin made a cairn in Vethadīpa over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Mallas of Pāvā made a cairn in Pāvā over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And the Mallas of Kusinārā made a cairn in Kusinārā over the remains of the Exalted One, and celebrated a feast.

And Dona the brahmin made a cairn over the vessel [in which the remains had been collected] and celebrated a feast.

And the Moriyas of Pippalivana made a cairn over the embers, and celebrated a feast.

Thus were there eight cairns (Thupas) for the remains, and one for the vessel, and one for the embers. This was how it used to be¹.

28. Atṭha-doṇaṃ cakkhumato sarīraṃ, satta-doṇaṃ Jambu-dīpe mahenti,

Ekañ ca doṇaṃ purisa-varuttamassa Rāmagāme nāga rājā mahenti.

Ekā pi dāṭhā Tidivehi pūjitā, ekā pana Gandhāra-pure mahīyati,

1. Here closes Buddhaghosa's long and edifying commentary. He has no note on the following verses, which he says were added by Theras in Ceylon. The additional verse found in the Phayre MS. was in the same way probably added in Burma.

Kāliṅga-rañño vijite pun ekaṃ, ekaṃ puna nāga-rājā mahenti.¹

Tass' eva tejena ayaṃ vasundharā āyāga-setṭhehi mahī alaṃkatā.

Evam imaṃ cakkhumato sarīraṃ susakkataṃ sakkata-sakkatehi.

Devinda-nāginda-narinda-pūjito manussa-setṭhehi tath' eva pūjito

Taṃ vandatha pañjalikā bhavitvā, Buddho² have kappasatehi dullabho³ ti.]

Eight measures of relics there were of him of the far-seeing eye,

Of the best of the best of men. In India seven are worshipped,

And one measure in Rāmagāma, by the kings of the serpent race.

One tooth, too, is honoured in heaven, and one in Gandhara's city,

One in the Kāliṅga realm, and one more by the Nāga race.

Through their glory the bountiful earth is made bright with offerings painless—

For with such are the Great Teacher's relics best honoured by those who are honoured,

By gods and by Nāgas and kings, yea, thus by the noblest of humans—

Bow down with clasped hands!

Hard, hard is a Buddha to meet with through hundreds of ages!]

Mahā-Parinibbāna-Suttaṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ.⁴

End of the Book of the Great Decease.

1. See Buddha Vamsa 68.

2. S^{ct} K Buddhā . . . dullabhā. *Comp.* v. 23.

3. K and BP add :

Cattāḷisa-samā dantā kesā lomā ca sabbaso,

Devā harimṣu ekekaṃ cakkhavāḷa-param.

parāti.

4. So S^{cd}; S^t Nibbāna-Suttaṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ; K Mahā-Parinibbāna Suttaṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Mahā-Sudassana-Sutta

The Seventeenth is the Mahāsudassana Sutta. There is a Jātaka known as Mahāsuddassana Jātaka in Fausboll's edition of the Jatakas, but it differs from the Sutta in some important particulars. The Sudassana story in a Sutta form finds mention in the cullaniddesa as a typical example of the Jātakas then known to the Buddhists. "The Sutta commences with a long description of the riches and glory of Mahāsudassana and reveals in its details".

The Mahāsudassana seems to afford a useful example both of the extent to which the theory may be accepted, and of the limitations under which it should always be applied. It must at once be admitted that whether the whole story is based on sum-story, or whether certain parts or details of it are derived from things first spoken about the sun or not, it is still essentially Buddhistic.

The Sutta is like a fairy tale which describes the greatest king, the royal city and its palace of Righteousness. It describes the extent of his kingdom and his enjoyment. The object of this Sutta is perhaps to show that all is vanity except righteousness. This Sutta also teaches us that everything is impermanent, that which has come into being must pass away. To attain this object the author had recourse to rhetorical phrases and other figurative expressions, the use where of was not peculiar to Buddhist literature.

M. Senart in his valuable Work, "La legende du Bouddha", has traced the rhetorical Phrases used in the description of the seven treasures mentioned in this Sutta to their earliest appearance in the Vedic hymns. But this does not exhaust the interesting bearing of Buddhist literature on the history of philosophy so far as Buddhist forms of speech are concerned.

The eloquent description in the Mahāsudassana Sutta of the magnificence and lost glory of the ancient city kusāvatī, the capital of king Sudassana, was a literary development in Pāli in the edification of the Buddha's explanations offered in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, for his choosing as the place for his passing away in a daub town like kusīnārā of his day.

Mahā-Sudassana-Sutta

The Great King of Glory¹

CHAPTER I

1. 1. Evam me sutam. Ekam samayam Bhagavā Kusinārāyam viharati Upavattane Mallānam sāla-vane antarena yamaka-sālānam² parinibbāna-samaye.

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying at Kusinārā in the Upavattana, the Sāla grove of the Mallas, between the twin Sāla trees, at the time of his death.

2. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyamā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca:

'Mā bhante Bhagavā imasmim kuḍḍa³-nagarake ujjāṅgala-nagarake sākha-nagarake⁴ parinibbhāyi. Santi bhante aññāni mahā-nagarāni seyyathidaṃ Campā Rājagahaṃ Sāvatti Sāketam⁵ Kosambi⁶ Bārāṇasi,⁷ ettha Bhagavā parinibbāyatu. Ettha bahū khattiyamahāsālā brāhmaṇa-mahāsālā, gahapati-mahāsālā Tathā gate abhippasannā, te Tathāgatassa sarīrā-pūjaṃ karissantīti ?

1. Sudassana means 'beautiful to see, having a glorious appearance,' and is the name of many kings and heroes in Indian legend.

2. B^m antare yamaka-sālānam ; B^p antare yatapaka-sāla.

3. So S^{dt} S^c kuḍḍha; B^m K khuddaka (so B^p below) ; B^p kudda. See xvi. 5. 17, p. 146.

4. K usākhā.

5. SS Saketaṃ.

6. SS Kosambi; B^m K bī.

7. SS Bārāṇasi; B^m K sī.

2. Now the venerable Ānanda went up to the place where the Exalted One was, and bowed down before him, and took his seat respectfully on one side. And when he was so seated, the venerable Ānanda said to the Exalted One :—

‘Let not the Exalted One die in this little wattle-and-daub town, in this town in the midst of the jungle, in this branch township. For, lord, there are other great cities, such as Champā, Rājagaha, Sāvatti, Sāketa, Kosambi, and Benares. Let the Exalted One die in one of them. There there are many wealthy nobles and brahmins and heads of houses, believers in the Tathāgata, who will pay due honour to the remains of the Tathāgata.’

3. ‘Mā h’evaṃ Ānanda avaca “kuḍḍa-nagarakaṃ¹ ujjaṅgala-nagarakaṃ sākha-nagarakaṃ² ti.” Bhūta-pubbaṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano nāma ahosi khattiyo muddhāvasitto³ cāturanto vijitāvi janapadatthāvariya-patto. Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa ayaṃ Kusinārā Kusāvati nāma rājadhāni⁴ ahosi. ⁵Sā kho Ānanda Kusāvati⁵ pacchimena ca puratthimena⁶ ca dvādasā-yojanāni ahosi⁷ āyāmena, uttarena ca dakkhiṇena ca satta-yojanāni vitthārena. Kusāvati Ānanda rājadhāni iddhā c’eva ahosi phitā ca bahu-jaṇā ca ākiṇṇa-manussā ca subhikkhā ca. Seyyathā pi Ānanda devānaṃ Ālaka-mandā⁸ nāma rājadhāni iddhā c’eva⁹ phitā ca bahu-jaṇā ca ākiṇṇa-yakkhā ca subhikkhā ca,¹⁰ evaṃ eva kho Ānanda Kusāvati rājadhāni iddhā c’eva ahosi phitā ca bahu-

1. So S^{dt}; S^c kuḍḍha; B^{mp} K khuddaka.

2. B^m sākha-, but sākha-above; K sākha-.

3. So SS K ; B^m muddhābhis^o ; B^p muddhābhis^o, but in § 7 muddhāvas^o.

4. SS -dhāni, and so throughout ; K -dhāni; B^m -ṭhāni; B^p ṭhāni, throughout.

5.5. B^{mp} K Ch omit.

6. B^m puratthimena ca pacchimena ca.

7. S^d B^{mp} Ch omit.

8. SS K Āla^o.

9. K adds ahosi.

10. SS omit subhikkhā ca.

janā ca ākiṇṇa-manussā ca subhikkhā ca. Kusāvatī Ānanda
rājdhāni dasahi saddehi avivittā ahosi divā c' eva rattī¹ ca,
seyyathīdaṃ hatthi-saddena assa-saddena² rathā-saddena
bheri-saddena mutiṅga-saddena³ viṇā-saddena gīta-saddena
samma-saddena tāḷa-saddena "asnātha⁴ pivatha khādathāti"
dasamena saddena.

3. 'Say not so, Ānanda ! Say not so, Ānanda, that this is but a small wattle-and-daub town, a town in the midst of the jungle, a branch township. Long ago, Ānanda, there was a king, by name Mahā-Sudassana, a king of kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, an anointed Kshatriya⁵, Lord of the four quarters of the earth, conqueror, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures. This Kusinārā, Ānanda, was the royal city of king Mahā-Sudassana, under the name of Kusāvatī, and on the east and on the west it was twelve leagues in length, and on the north and on the south it was seven leagues in breadth. That royal city Kusāvatī, Ānanda, was mighty, and prosperous, and full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all things for food. Just, Ānanda, as the royal city of the gods, Ālakamandā by name, is mighty, prosperous, and full of people, crowded with the gods, and provided with all kinds of food, so, Ānanda, was the royal city Kusāvatī mighty and prosperous, full of people, crowded with men, and provided with all kinds of food. Both by day and by night, Ānanda, the royal city Kusāvatī resounded with the ten cries ; that is to say, the noise

1. So SS and Ch B^m rattīñ ; K rattīm.

2. S^d omits.

3. B^{mp} K mudiṅga; S^{cd} and S^t (corrected for mutiṅga-saddena repeated) add panava- saddena. Comp. Dh.S. 621; Asl. 319; Jāt. i.3.

4. K asatha.

5. Khattiyo muddhāvasitto, which does not occur in the Mahā-parinibbāna, the Mahāpadana, and the Lakkhana Suttas, and other places where this stock description of a king of kings is found. It is omitted also in the Lalita Vistara. The Burmese Phayre MS. of the India Office reads here muddābhisitto, but this is an unnecessary correction. The epithet is probably inserted here from § 7 below.

of elephants, and the noise of horses, and the noise of chariots; the sounds of the drum, of the tabor, and of the lute ; the sound of singing, and the sounds of the cymbal and of the gong ; and lastly, with the cry:— “Eat, drink, and be merry¹!” ’

4. ‘Kusāvatī Ānanda rājadhāni sattahi pākārehi parikhittā ahosi. Tattha² eko pākāro sovaṇṇamayo, eko rūpimayo,³ eko veḷuriyamayo, eko phalikamayo, eko lohitaṅkamayo,⁴ eko masāragallamayo, eko sabbaratanamayo.

4. ‘The royal city Kusāvatī, Ānanda, was surrounded by Seven Ramparts. Of these, one rampart was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems !

5. ‘Kusāvatīyā Ānanda rājadhāniyā catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ dvārāni ahesuṃ. Ekam dvāraṃ sovaṇṇamayaṃ, ekam rūpimayaṃ ekam veḷuriya-mayaṃ, ekam phalika-mayaṃ. Ekam-ekasmiṃ⁵ dvāre satta⁶ esikā nikhātā ahesuṃ ti-porisaṅgā catu-porisa⁷ ubbedhena. Ekā esikā sovaṇṇamayā ekā rūpimayā, ekā veḷuriyamayā, ekā phalikamayā,⁸ ekā lohitaṅkamayā, ekā masāragallamayā, ekā sabbaratana⁹ mayā.

5. ‘To the royal city Kusāvatī, Ānanda, there were Gates of four colours. One gate was of gold, and one of silver, and one of jade, and one of crystal. At each gate seven pillars were fixed ; in height as three times or as four times the height of a man. And one pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of

1. This enumeration is found also at Jātaka I, 3, only that the chank is added there—wrongly, for that makes the number of cries eleven.
2. S^d ettha, B^m K omit.
3. B^{mp} K throughout rūpiyamayo.
4. B^m aṅga, andonwards.
5. B^m ekekasmiṃ.
6. S^c sattā; S^d sattha; S^t satthahi; B^{mp} K satta satta.
7. S^{ct} porisa; then S^{ct} add nikhātā dasa porisā; B^{mp} K read for the whole, ti-porisaṅga-tiporisā.
8. SS omit.
9. SS sattaratana.

beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

6. 'KusāvatiĀ Ānanda rājadhāni sattahi tāla-pantīhi parikkhittā ahoṣi. Ekā tāla-panti sovaṇṇamayā ekā rūpimayā ekā veḷuriyamayā, ekā phalikamayā, ekā lohi-taṅkamayā, ekā masāragallamayā, ekā sabbaratanamayā. Sovañṇamayassa tālassa sovaṇṇamayo khandho ahoṣi, rūpi-mayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Rūpimayassa tālassa rūpimayo khandho ahoṣi sovaṇṇamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Veḷuriyamayassa tālassa veḷuriyamayo khandho ahoṣi phalikamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Phalikamayassa tālassa phalikamayo khandho ahoṣi veḷuriyamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Lohitaṅkamayassa tālassa lohitaṅkamayo khandho ahoṣi masāragallamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Masāragallamayassa tālassa masāragallamayo khandho ahoṣi lohitaṅkamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Sabbaratanamayassa tālassa sabbaratanamayo khandho ahoṣi sabbaratana-mayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Tāsaṃ kho pan' Ānanda tāla-pantīnaṃ vāteritānaṃ saddo ahoṣi vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo¹ ca madanīyo ca. Seyyathā pi Ānanda pañcaṅgikassa turiyassa suvinītassa suppaṭipatālītassa² kusalehi³ samannāhatassa⁴ saddo hoti vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca, evam eva kho Ānanda tāsaṃ tāla-pantīnaṃ vāteri-tānaṃ saddo ahoṣi vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca. Ye kho pan' Ānanda tena⁵ samayena Kusāvatiyā rājadhāniyā dhuttā ahesuṃ soṇḍa pipāsā, te tāsaṃ tāla-pantīnaṃ vātetiṭānaṃ saddena paricāresuṃ.⁶

6. 'The royal city Kusāvati, Ānanda, was surrounded by Seven Rows of Palm Trees. One row was of palms of gold, and

1. K kammaniyo; BB and K spell these words with -niyo, Cp. § 29, 32.

2. So S^t S^c suppaṭikālītassa; S^d suppaṭipatulītassa; B^m suppaṭitālī^o; B^p supatālī^o; K suppaṭitālī^o. But see §§ 29, 32.

3. B^m sukusalehi.

4. K sus^o; K Sī susamannāg^o; SS samannāg^o.

5. SS add kho pana.

6. S^c here and at §§ parivār^o; Sc S^{dt} at §§

one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

‘And the Golden Palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. And the Silver Palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the Palms of Beryl had trunks of beryl, and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the Crystal Palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the Agate Palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the Coral Palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the Palms of every kind of Gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

¹ ‘And when those rows of palm trees, Ānanda, were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

‘Just, Ānanda, as the five kinds of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating—just even so, Ānanda, when those rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

‘And whoever, Ānanda, in the royal city Kusāvati were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to

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1. This section should be compared with one in the *Sukhāvati-vyūha*, translated by Professor Max Müller as follows (‘*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,’ 1880, p. 170):—

‘And again, O Śāriputra, when those rows of palm trees and strings of bells in that Buddha country are moved by the wind, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from them. Yes, O Śāriputra, as from a heavenly musical instrument consisting of a hundred thousand kotis of sounds, when played by Aryas, a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds ; a sweet and enrapturing sound proceeds from those rows of palm trees and strings of bells moved by the wind.

‘And when the men there hear that sound, reflection on Buddha arises in their body, reflection on the Law, reflection on the Assembly.’

Compare also below, § 32, and *Jātaka* I, 32.

dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind.'

7. 'Rājā¹ Ānanda Mahā-sudassano sattahi ratanehi samannāgato ahosi catūhi ca iddhīhi. Katamehi sattahi ?

Idh' Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa tadahu 'posathe paṇṇarase sīsaṃ nahātassa² uposathikassa upari-pāsādavara-gatassa dibbaṃ cakka-ratanaṃ pāturaṃ ahosi sahaṣṣāraṃ sanemikaṃ sanābhikaṃ sabbākāra-paripūaṃ. Disvā rañño, Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi : "Sutaṃ kho pana m' etaṃ³: 'Yassa rañño khattiyassa mud-dhāvasittassa⁴ tadahu 'posathe paṇṇarase sīsaṃ hahā-tassa uposathikassa upari-pāsāda-vara-gatassa dibbaṃ cakkaratanaṃ pātu bhavati sahaṣṣāraṃ sanemikaṃ⁵ sanābhikaṃ sabbākāra-paripūaṃ, so hoti rājā cakkavattīti. Assaṃ nu kho ahaṃ rājā cakkavattīti."

7. 'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was the possessor of Seven Precious Things, and was gifted with Four Marvellous Powers.

'What are those seven ?

6' In the first place. Ānanda, when the Great King of Glory, on the Sabbath day⁷, on the day of the full moon, had purified himself, and had gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day, there then appeared to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel,⁸ with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete.

'When he beheld it the Great King of Glory thought:—

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1. § 7 foll. in M. iii., 172 foll.
 2. B^{mp} nātassa, and below. See above p. 163.
 3. B^{mp} K pan' etaṃ; K (Sī) pana metaṃ.
 4. So here B^m.
 5. B^p sanemikkaṃ.
 6. The following enumeration is found word for word in several other Pāli Suttas, and occurs also, in almost identical terms, in the Lalita Vistara (Calcutta edition, pp. 14-19).
 7. Uposatha, a weekly sacred day ; being full-moon day, new-moon day, and the two equidistant intermediate days. Comp. §12.
 8. This is the disk of the sun.

‘ “This saying have I heard, ‘When a king of the warrior race, an anointed king, has purified himself on the Sabbath day, on the day of the full moon, and has gone up into the upper story of his palace to keep the sacred day ; if there appear to him the heavenly Treasure of the Wheel, with its nave, its tire, and all its thousand spokes complete—that king becomes a king of kings invincible.’ May I, then, become a king of kings invincible¹.’

8. ‘Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano utthāy¹ āsanā, ekamsaṃ uttarāsaṅgaṃ karitvā, vāmena hatthena bhiṅkāraṃ² gahetvā³, dakkhiṇena hatthena cakka-ratanaṃ abbhukkiri⁴ : “Pavattatu bhavaṃ cakkaratanaṃ, abhivijjātu bhavaṃ cakka-ratanaṃ ti.” Atha kho taṃ Ānanda cakka-ratanaṃ ti.” Atha kho taṃ Ānanda cakka-ratanaṃ puratthimaṃ disaṃ pavatti,⁵ anvad⁶ eva rājā Mahā-sudassano saddhiṃ caturaṅginīyā senāya. Yasmiṃ kho pan’ Ānanda padese cakka-ratanaṃ patitthāsi, tattha rājā Mahā-suddssano vāsaṃ upagacchi⁷ saddhiṃ caturaṅginīyā senāya.

8. ‘Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory rose from his seat, and reverently uncovering from one shoulder his robe, he held in his left hand a pitcher, and with his right hand he sprinkled water up over the Wheel, as he said :—

‘ “Roll onward, O my lord, the Wheel! O my lord, go forth and overcome !”

‘Then the wondrous Wheel, Ānanda, rolled onwards towards the region of the East, and after it went the Great King of Glory, and with him his army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men. And in whatever place, Ānanda, the Wheel stopped, there the Great King of Glory took up his abode,

1. A king of the rolling wheel.

2. B^m K insert suvaṇṇ-

3. B^p adds dakkhiṇena hatthena siṅgāraṃ gahetvā.

4. B^p abbhūkiri (B^m K agree with SS).

5. B^m pavattati.

6. S^c anvād; B^p anud, but B^m anvad; K anu deva; K (Sī) anvadeva, and so Sum.

7. S^{dt} upagañchi.

and with him his army, horses, and chariots, and elephants, and men.

9. 'Ye kho pan' Ānanda puratthimāya disāya paṭirājāno te rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṃ āhaṃsu:

' "Ehi kho Mahārāja, sāgataṃ¹ Mahārāja, sakan te Mahārāja, anusāsa Mahārājāti."

'Rājā Mahā-sudassano evaṃ āha: "Pāṇo na hantabbo. Adinnaṃ n' ādāttabbaṃ. Kāmesu micchā na caritabbā. Musāna bhāsitaṃ² Majjaṃ na pātābbaṃ. Yathabhuttaṃ ca bhuñjathāti."

'Ye kho pan' Ānanda puratthimāya disāya paṭirājāno te³ rañño Mahā-sudassanassa anuyuttā⁴ ahesuṃ.

9. Then, Ānanda, all the rival kings in the region of the East came to the Great King of Glory and said :—

' "Come, O mighty king! Welcome. O mighty king! All is thine, O mighty king! Do thou, O mighty king, be a Teacher to us!"

Thus spake the Great King of Glory :— "Ye shall slay no living thing. Ye shall not take that which has not been given. Ye shall not act wrongly touching the bodily desires. Ye shall speak no lie. Ye shall drink no maddening drink. Ye shall eat as ye have eaten⁵."

'Then, Ānanda, all the rival kings in the region of the East became subject unto the Great King of Glory.

10. 'Atha kho taṃ Ānanda cakka-ratanaṃ puratthimaṃ samuddaṃ⁶ ajjhogahetvā⁷ paccuttaritvā dakkhiṇaṃ disaṃ

1. S¹ sāgata; B^m svāgatan te; B^p K svāgataṃ *here and below*.

2. B^m bhaṇitabbā, *and below*.

3. SS tesam.

4. B^m anuyantā; K anuyantā (Sī) anuyuttā.

5. Yathābhuttaṃ bhuñjatha. Buddhaghosa has no comment on this. I suppose it means, 'Observe the rules current among you regarding clean and unclean meats.' If so, the Great King of Glory disregards the teaching of the Āmagandha Sutta (translated in my 'Buddhism,' p. 131).

6. S^d sudassanaṃ, B^p samuddhaṃ.

7. B^p K -gāhetvā, *and below*.

pavatti¹ . . . pe . . . dakkhiṇaṃ samuddaṃ ajjhogahetvā paccuttaritvā pacchimaṃ disaṃ pavatti . . . pe² . . . pacchimaṃ samuddaṃ ajjhogahetvā paccuttaritvā³ uttaraṃ disaṃ pavatti, anvad eva rājā Mahā-sudassano saddhiṃ caturaṅgi-niyāsenāya. yasmiṃ kho paṇ' Ānanda padese cakka-ratanam paṭiṭṭhāsi, tattha rājā Mahā-sudassano vāsaṃ upagacchi saddhiṃ caturaṅgiyā senāya.

'Ye kho paṇ' Ānanda uttarāya disāya paṭirājāno, te rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṃ āhaṃsu:

' "Ehi kho Mahārāja, sāgataṃ Mahārāja, sakan te Mahārāja, anusāsa Mahārājāti."

'Rājā Mahā-sudassano eam āha: "Pāṇo no hantabbo. Adinnaṃ n' ādātabbaṃ. Kāmesu micchā na caritabbā. Musā na bhāsitabbā. Majjaṃ na pātabbaṃ. Yathā-bhuttaṃ ca bhunjaṭhāti."

'Ye kho paṇ' Ānanda uttarāya disāya paṭirājāno, te rañño Mahā-sudassanassa anuyuttā ahesuṃ.

10. 'But the wondrous Wheel, Ānanda, having plunged down into the great waters in the East, rose up out again, and rolled onward to the region of the South [and there all happened as had happened in the region of the East. And in like manner the wondrous Wheel rolled onward to the extremest boundary of the West and of the North ; and there, too, all happened as had happened in the region of the East].

11. 'Atha kho taṃ Ānanda cakka-ratanam samudda-pariyantaṃ paṭhaviṃ abhivijinitvā Kusāvatiṃ⁴ rājadhāniṃ paccāgantvā rañño Mahā-sudassanassa anepura-dvāre attha-karaṇa-pamukhe⁵ akkhāhataṃ⁶ maññ atṭhāsi rañño Mahā-sudassanassa ante-puraṃ upasobhayamānaṃ.

Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa evarūpaṃ cakka-ratanam pāturaṃ ahoṣi.

1. B^m K pavattati, and below.

2. S^{cd} B^p omit pe.

3. SS omit.

4. S^d -vati; S^t -vati.

5. B^p mukhe.

6. S^d akkhātaṃ.

11. 'Now when the wondrous Wheel, Ānanda, had gone forth conquering and to conquer over the whole earth to its very ocean boundary, it returned back again to the royal city of Kusāvatī and remained fixed on the open terrace in front of the entrance to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory, as a glorious adornment to the inner apartments of the Great King of Glory.

'Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Wheel which appeared to the Great King of Glory.'

12. 'Puna ca param Ānanda raññ Mahā-sudassanassa hatthi-ratanam pātur ahōsi, sabba-seto sattappatiṭṭho iddhimā vehāsam-gamo Uposatho nāga-rājā. Disvā¹ rañño Mahā-sudassanassa cittam pasīdi: "Bhaddakam vata bho hatthi-yānam sace damatham upeyyāti." Atha kho tam² Ānanda hatthi-ratanam seyyathā pi nāma bhaddo hatthājāniyo³ dīgharattam suparidanto evam evam⁴ damatham⁵ upagacchi. Bhūta-pubbam Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano eva hatthi-ratanam vīmaṇsamāno pubbaṇha-samayam bhirūhitvā samudda-pariyantam paṭhaviṃ anusamsāyitvā⁶ Kusāvatim rājadhāniṃ paccāgantvā pātarāsam akāsi. Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudas-sanassa evarūpaṃ hatthi-ratanam pātur ahosi.

12. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Elephant Treasure⁷, all white, seven-fold firm⁸, wonderful in power, flying through the sky—the Elephant-King,

1. B^{mp} tam disvā.

2. SS omit.

3. B^p gandhahatthājāniyo.

4. B^{mp} K eva.

5. B^p damatām, and below.

6. S^c asaṃsāyitvā; S^t B^{mp} K anusāyitvā; see below.

7. Hatthi-ratana.

8. Satta-ppatittho, that is, perhaps, in regard to its four legs, two tusks, and trunk. The expression is curious, and Buddhaghosa has no note upon it. It is quite possible that it merely signifies 'exceeding firm,' the number seven being used without any hard and fast interpretation.

whose name was. "The Changes of the Moon¹."

'When he beheld it the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought:—

' "Auspicious were it to ride upon the Elephant, if only it would submit to be controlled!"

'Then, Ānanda, the wondrous Elephant—like a fine elephant of noble blood long since well trained—submitted to control.

'And long ago, Ānanda, when the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Elephant, had mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary, and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusāvati².

'Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Elephant that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

13. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa assa-ratanam pātur ahoṣi, sabba-seto kāka sīso³ muñjakeso iddhimā vehāsaṃ-gamo Valāhako nāma assa-rājā. Disvā⁴ rañño Mahā-sudassanassa cittaṃ paṣīdi: "Bhaddakaṃ vata bho assa-yānaṃ sace damathaṃ upeyyāti." Atha kho taṃ⁵ Ānanda assa-ratanam seyyathā pi nāma bhaddo assājānīyo⁶ dīgha-rattaṃ superidanto evaṃ evaṃ damathaṃ upagacchi.⁷ Bhūta-pubbaṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tam eva assa-

1. Uposatho. In the Lalita Vistara its name is 'Wisdom' (Bodhi). Uposatha is the name for the sacred day of the moon's changes—first, and more especially the full-moon day; next, the new-moon day; and lastly, the days equidistant between these two. It was, therefore, a weekly sacred day, and, as Childers says, may often be well rendered 'Sabbath.'
2. Compare on this and § 29 my 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' p. 85, where a similar phrase is used of Kanthaka.
3. B^m Kāla-siso [for kāḷa-]. Sum kāka-gīvā viya . . . kāḷa-vaṇṇena sīsena.
4. B^{mp} insert taṃ before disvā.
5. SS omit.
6. B^m assājānīyo; B^p assajānīyo.
7. S^c upagañchi.

ratanam vīmaṇsamāno pubbaṇha-samayaṃ abhirūhitvā samudda-pariyantaṃ paṭhaviṃ anusāyitvā¹ Kusāvatim rājadhāniṃ paccāgantavā pāta-rāsam akāsi. Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa evarūpaṃ assa-ratanam pātur ahoṣi.

13. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Horse Treasure², all white with a crow-black head, and a dark mane, wonderful in power, flying through the sky—the Charger-King, whose name was "Thunder-cloud"³.'

'When he beheld it, the Great King of Glory was pleased at heart at the thought:—

' "Auspicious were it to ride upon that Horse if only it would submit to be controlled !"

'Then, Ānanda, the wondrous Horse—like a fine horse of the best blood long since well trained— submitted to control.

'When long ago, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Horse, mounted on to it early in the morning, it passed over along the broad earth to its very ocean boundary and then returned again, in time for the morning meal, to the royal city of Kusāvatī.

'Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Horse that appeared to the Great King of Glory.

14. Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa maṇi-ratanam pātur ahoṣi. ⁴So ahoṣi⁴ maṇi-veluriyo subbo jātīā atthaṃso suparikamma-kato accho vip-passanno sabbākāra-sampanno. Tassa kho pan' Ānanda maṇi-ratanassa ābhā samantā yojanam phuṭṭā ahoṣi. Bhūta-pubbaṃ Ānanda

1. S^c anusāyāyitvā ; BP anusāritvā.

2. Assa-ratanam.

3. Valāhako. Compare the Valāhassa-Jātaka (Fausböll, No. 196), of which the Chinese story translated by Mr. Beal at pp. 332-40 of his 'Romantic History,' etc., is an expanded and altered version. In the Valāhakā Samyutta of the Samyutta Nikāya the spirits of the skies are divided into Unha-valāhakā Devā, Sīta-valāhakā Devā, Abbha-valāhakā Devā, Vāta-valāhakā Devā, and Vassa-valāhakā Devā, that is, the cloud-spirits of cold, heat, air, wind, and rain respectively.

4.4. K om.

rājā Mahā-sudassano tam eva maṇi-ratanam vīmaṇsamāno caturaṅgini¹-senam san-nayhitvā maṇi-dhajaggaṃ² āropetvā rattandhakāra-timisāyaṃ pāyāti.³ Ye kho pan' Ānanda samantā gāmā ahesuṃ, te ten' obhāsena kammante payojesuṃ "Divā ti" maññamānā. Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudassanssa evarūpam maṇi-ratanam pātur ahoṣi.

14. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Gem-Treasure⁴. That Gem was the Veluriya, bright, of the finest species, with eight facets, excellently wrought, clear, transparent, perfect in every way.

'The splendour, Ānanda, of that wondrous Gem spread round about a league on every side.

'When, long ago, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wondrous Gem, set all his fourfold army in array and raised aloft the Gem upon his standard top, he was able to march out in the gloom and darkness of the night.

'And then too, Ānanda, all the dwellers in the villages round about, set about their daily work, thinking :— "The day-light hath appeared."

'Such, Ānanda, was the wondrous Gem that appeared to the Great King of Glory.'

15. 'Puna ca param Ānanda rañño Mahā-Sudas-sanassa itthi-ratanam pātur ahoṣi, abhirūpā dassanīyā pāsādikā paramā vaṇṇa-pokkharatāya samannāgatā, nātīdīghā nātīrassā nātīkisā nātīṭhulā nātīkāli⁵ nāccodātā, atikkantā mānusam⁶ vaṇṇam appattā dibbam⁷ vaṇṇam. Tassa kho pan' Ānanda itthi-ratanassa evarūpo kāya-samphasso hoti, seyyathā pi nāma tūla-picuno vā kappāsa picuno vā. Tassa kho pan' Ānanda itthi-ratanassa sīte uṇhāni gattāni honti, uṇhe sītāni. Tassa kho pan' Ānanda itthi-ratanassa kāyato

1. B^m K nim.

2. B^m K maṇim dhajjaggaṃ.

3. B^{mp} K pāyāsi.

4. Mani-ratanam.

5. S^c kāli; S^{dt} kālī; B^{mp} K kālikā.

6. S^c mānusa; B^m si; K manussī.

7. B^m K dibba.

andana-gandho vāyati, mukhato uppala-gandho. Taṃ kho pan' Ānanda itthi-ratanam rañño Mahā-Sudassanassa pubbuṭṭhāyini ahoṣi pacchā-nipātini kiṃkāra-paṭissāvinī¹ manāpa-cārinī piyavādini.² Taṃ kho pan' Ānanda itthi-ratanam³ rājānam Mahā-sudassanam manasā pi no aticārī, kuto pana kāyena. Rañño⁴ Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa evarūpaṃ itthi-ratanam pātur ahoṣi.

15. 'Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory the Woman-Treasure⁵, graceful in figure, beautiful in appearance, charming in manner, and of the most fine complexion ; neither very tall, nor very short; neither very stout, nor very slim ; neither very dark, nor very fair ; surpassing human beauty, she had attained unto the beauty of the gods⁶.

'The touch too, Ānanda, of the skin of that wondrous Woman was as the touch of cotton or of cotton wool; in the cold her limbs were warm, in the heat her limbs were cool; while from her body was wafted the perfume of sandal wood and from her mouth the perfume of the lotus.

'That Pearl among Women too, Ānanda, used to rise up before the Great King of Glory, and after him retire to rest; pleasant was she in speech, and ever on the watch to hear what she might do in order so to act as to give him pleasure.

'That Pearl among Women too, Ānanda, was never, even in thought, unfaithful to the Great King of Glory— how much less then could she be so with the body !

'Such, Ānanda, was the Pearl among Women who appeared to the Great King of Glory.'

16. 'Puna ca param Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa gahapati-ratanam pātur ahoṣi. Tassa kamma-vipākajam

-
1. S^c paṭissāvinī; B^p K paṭissāvinī.
 2. S^c B^p omit.
 3. SS omit.
 4. B^m K insert pan'.
 5. Itthi-ratanam.
 6. The above description of an ideally beautiful woman is of frequent occurrence.

dibba¹-cakkhuṃ pātur ahoṣi yena nidhiṃ passati sassā-
mikam² pi assāmikam³ pi. So rājānaṃ Mahā-sudas-sanaṃ
upasaṃkamitvā evaṃ āha: “Apposukko⁴ tvaṃ deva hohi,
ahaṃ te dhanena dhana-karaṇīyaṃ karissāmīti.”

‘Bhūta-pubbaṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tam eva
gahapati-ratanaṃ vīmaṇsamāno nāvaṃ abhirūhitvā majjhe
Gaṅgāya nadiyā sotamaṃ ogāhetvā⁵ gahapati-ratanaṃ etad
avoca :

‘ “Attho me gahapati hiraṇṇa⁶-suvanṇenāti.”

‘ “Tena hi mahā-rāja ekaṃ⁷ va⁸ tīramm⁹ nāvā¹⁰
upetūti.”

‘ “Idh’ eva me gahapati attho hiraṇṇa¹¹-suvanṇenāti.”

‘Atha kho taṃ Ānanda gahapati-ratanaṃ ubhohi
hatthehi udakaṃ omasitvā¹² pūraṃ hiraṇṇa-suvanṇassa
kumbhiṃ uddharitvā rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ etad avoca:
“Alam ettāvatā mahā-rāja, katam ettāvatā¹³ mahā-rājāti ?”

‘Rājā Mahā-sudassano evaṃ āha: “Alam ettāvatā
gahapati, katam ettāvatā gahapati, pūjitam ettāvatā
gahapatīti.”

‘Raṇṇo Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa evarūpaṃ gaha-
pati-ratanaṃ pātur ahoṣi.

16. ‘Now further, Ānanda, there appeared unto the Great
King of Glory a Wonderful Treasurer¹⁴, possessed, through good

1. S^{dt} dibbaṃ.

2. B^{mp} sasāmikam.

3. B^m asām^o.

4. B^p sabbosukko; B^m apposukko.

5. B^m K ogāhitvā.

6. S^{cd} hiraṇṇe.

7. K eka-

8. B^m K omit. SS vā.

9. S^d tarīnaṃ ; S^t tarītaṃ.

10. S^c K nāvaṃ.

11. SS hiraṇṇe.

12. B^p omaṇsitvā.

13. B^p adds maha-rāja, pūjitam ettāvatā.

14. Gahapati-ratanaṃ. The word gahapati has been hitherto usually
rendered ‘householder,’ but this may often, and would certainly

deeds done in a former birth, of a marvellous power of vision by which he could discover treasure, whether it had an owner or whether it had not.

‘He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said :—

‘ “Do thou, O King, take thine ease ! I will deal with thy wealth even as wealth should be dealt with.”

‘Long ago, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, to test that wonderful Treasurer, went on board a boat, and had it pushed out into the current in the midst of the river Ganges. Then he said to the wonderful steward :—

‘ “I have need, O Treasurer, of yellow gold !”

‘ “Let the ship then, O Great King, go alongside either of the banks.”

‘ “It is here, O Treasurer, that I have need of yellow gold.”

‘Then the wonderful Treasurer reached down to the water with both his hands, and drew up a jar full of yellow gold, and said to the Great King of Glory :—

‘ “Is that enough, O Great King? Have I done enough, O Great King?”

here, convey a wrong impression. There is no single word in English which is an adequate rendering of the term, for it connotes a social condition now no longer known among us. The gahapati was the head of a family, the representative in a village community of a family, the *pater familias*. So the god of fire, with allusion to the sacred fire maintained in each household, is called in the Rig-veda the grihapati, the *pater familiaris*, of the human race. It is often used in opposition to brāhmana very much as we used ‘yeoman’ in opposition to ‘clerk’ (Jātaka I, 83); and the two combined are used in opposition to people of other ranks and callings held to be less honourable than that of clerk or yeoman (Jātaka I, 218). The compound brāhmana-gahapatika as a collective term comes to be about equivalent to ‘priests and laymen’ (see, for instance, below, § 21, and Vinaya I, 35, 36). Then again the gahapati is distinct from the subordinate members of the family, who had not the control and management of the common property (Sāmañña Phala Sutta 133, = Tevijja Sutta I, 47); and it is this implication of the term that is emphasized in the text. Buddhaghosa uses, as an explanatory phrase, the words setthi-gahapati.

‘And the Great King of Glory replied :—

‘ “It is enough, O Treasurer. You have done enough, O Treasurer. You have offered me enough, O Treasurer !”

‘Such was the wonderful Treasurer, Ānanda, who appeared to the Great King of Glory.’

17. ‘Puna ca param Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa parināyaka-ratanam pātur ahosi, paṇḍito viyatto¹ medhāvī paṭibalo rājānam Mahā-sudassanam upayāpetabbam² upayāpetum² apayāpetabbam³ apayāpetum⁴ ṭhapetabbam ṭhapetum.

So rājānam Mahā-sudassanam upasamkamitvā evam āha: “Appossukko tvaṃ deva hohi, aham anusāsis-sāmīti,”⁵

‘Rañño Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa evarūpaṃ parināyaka-ratanam pātur ahosi.

‘Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano imehi sattahi⁶ ratanehi samannāgato ahosi.

17. ‘Now further, Ānanda, there appeared to the Great King of Glory a Wonderful Adviser⁷, learned, clever, and wise ; and qualified to lead the Great King of Glory to undertake what he ought to undertake, and to leave undone what he ought to leave undone.

‘He went up to the Great King of Glory, and said :—

‘ “Do thou, O King, take thine ease ! I will be thy guide.”

‘Such, Ānanda, was the wonderful Adviser who appeared to the Great King of Glory.

‘The Great King of Glory was possessed of these Seven Precious Things.

1. S^t vyatto.

2. K upeyyāp^o.

3. K apeyyāp^o.

4. B^p aparāyāpetum; K upeyyāp^o (where up^o must be a misprint for ap^o).

5. S^c B^p anussā^o; S^d anusissamīti; S^t anuham.

6. SS satta.

7. Parināyaka-ratanam. Buddhaghosa says that he was the eldest son of the king. The Lalita Vistara makes him a general.

18. 'Puna ca param¹ Ānanda rājā ²Mahā sudassano catūhi iddhīhi samannāgato ahosi. Katamāhi³ catūhi iddhīhi? Idh' Ānanda rāja Mahā-sudassano abhirūpo ahosi dassanīyo pāsādiko paramāya vaṇṇa-pokkharatāya samannāgato ativiya aññehi manussehi. Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano imāya paṭhamāya⁴ iddhiyā samannāgato ahosi.

18. 'Now, further, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was gifted with Four Marvellous Gifts⁵.

'What are the Four Marvellous Gifts ?

'In the first place, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was graceful in figure, handsome in appearance, pleasing in manner, and of most beautiful complexion, beyond what other men are.

'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was endowed with this First Marvellous Gift.

19. 'Puna ca param Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano dīghāyuko ahosi ciraṭṭhitiko ativiya aññehi manussehi. Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano imāya dutiyāya iddhiyā samannāgato ahosi.

19. 'And besides that, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was of long life, and of many years, beyond those of other men.

'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was endowed with this Second Marvellous Gift.

20. 'Puna ca param Ānanda rājā Mahā-suddassano appābādho ahosi appātaṅko sama-vepākiniyā gahaṇiyā samannāgato nātisītāya nācunhāya ativiya aññehi manussehi. Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano imāya tatiyāya iddhiyā samannāgato ahosi.

1. B^{mp} omit.

2. SS omit.

3. SS katamehi. (In § 21 SS have imāhi.)

4. SS omit.

5. The Four Iddhis. Here again, as elsewhere, it will be noticed that there is nothing supernatural about these four Iddhis. See the passages quoted above, Vol. I, pp. 272 foll. They are merely attributes accompanying or forming part of the majesty (iddhi) of the King of kings.

20. 'And besides that, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was free from disease, and free from bodily suffering ; and his internal fire was neither too hot nor too cold, but such as to promote good digestion, beyond that of other men¹.

'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, was endowed with this Third Marvellous Gift.

21. 'Puna ca paraṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano brāhmaṇa-gahapatikānaṃ piyo ahosi manāpo. Seyyathā pi Ānanda pitā puttānaṃ piyo hoti manāpo, evam eva kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano brāhmaṇa-gahapatikānaṃ piyo ahosi manāpo. Rañño pi Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā piyā ahesuṃ manāpā. Sey-yathā pi Ānanda pitu puttā honti manāpā, evam eva kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa brāhmaṇa-gahapa-tikā piyā ahesuṃ manāpā. Bhūta-pubbaṃ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano caturaṅginiyā senāya uyyāna-bhūmiṃ niyyāsi. Atha kho Ānanda brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā rājā-naṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evam āhaṃsu: "Ataramāno deva yāhi yathā taṃ mayāṃ cirataraṃ passeyyāmāti." Rājā pi Ānanda Mahā-sudassano sārathīṃ āmantesi: "Ataramāno sārathī rathaṃ pesehi yathā ahaṃ¹ brāhmaṇa-gahapatike cirataraṃ passey-

1. The same thing is said of Ratthapāla in the Ratthapāla Sutta, where Gogerly renders the whole passage:— 'Ratthapāla is healthy, free from pain, having; a good digestion and appetite, being troubled with no excess of either heat or cold' ('Journal of the Ceylon Asiatic Society,' 1847-8, p. 98). The gahani is a supposed particular organ or function situate at the junction of the stomach and intestines. Moggallāna explains it, udare tu tathā pācanalasmim gahani (Abhidhāna-ppadīpikā 972), where Subhūti's Sinhalese version is 'kukshi, pākāgni,' and his English version, 'the belly, the internal fire which promotes digestion.' Buddhaghosa explains samavipākiyā kammaga-tejo-dhātuyā, and adds:— 'If a man's food is dissolved the moment he has eaten it, or if it remains like a lump, he has not the samavepākini gahani, but he who has appetite (bhatacchando) when the time for food comes round again, he has the samavepakini gahani,'—which is delightfully naive.
2. SS yathāhaṃ.

yan ti.” Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano imāya catutthāya¹ iddhiyā samannāgato ahosi.

‘Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano imāhi catūhi iddhīhi samannāgato ahosi.

21. ‘And besides that, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory was beloved and popular with priests and with laymen alike. Just, Ānanda, as a father is near and dear to his own sons, just so, Ānanda, was the Great King of Glory beloved and popular with priests and with laymen alike. And just, Ānanda, as his sons are near and dear to a father, just so, Ānanda, were priests and laymen alike near and dear to the Great King of Glory.

‘Once, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory marched out with all his fourfold army to the pleasure ground. There, Ānanda, the priests and laymen went up to the Great King of Glory, and said:—

‘“O King, pass slowly by, that we may look upon thee for a longer time !”

‘But the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, addressed his charioteer, and said :—

‘“Drive on the chariot slowly, charioteer, that I may look upon my people [priests and laymen] for a longer time!”

‘This was the Fourth Marvellous Gift, Ānanda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.

‘These are the Four Marvellous Gifts, Ānanda, with which the Great King of Glory was endowed.’

22. ‘Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi : “Yan² nūnāhaṃ imāsu tālantarikāsu dhanu-sate dhanu-sale pokkharāṇiyo³ māpeyyan ti.”

‘Māpisi kho⁴ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tāsu tālantarikāsu dhanu-sate dhanu-sate pokkharāṇiyo. Tā kho pan’ Ānanda pokkharāṇiyo catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ itthakāhi citā

1. B^m-tthiyā.

2. B^{mp} yaṃ.

3. B^m K -ṇiyo (and onwards).

4. S^{dt} insert pana.

ahesum, ekā itthakā¹ sovaṇṇamayā,² ekā rūpi-mayā,³ ekā veḷuriyamayā, ekā phalikamayā. Tāsu kho pan' Ānanda pokkharāṇīsu cattāri cattāri⁴ sopānāni ahesum catunnam, ekam sopānam sovaṇṇa-mayaṃ, ekam rūpimayaṃ, ekam veḷuriyamayaṃ, ekam phalikamayaṃ. Sovaṇṇamayassa sopānassa sovaṇṇamayā thambhā ahesum, rūpimayā sūciyo⁵ ca uṇhisaṇ ca; rūpimayassa sopānassa rūpimayā rūpimayā thambhā ahesum, sovaṇṇamayā sūciyo ca uṇhisaṇ ca; veḷuriyamayassa sopānassa veḷuriyamayā thambhā ahesum, phalikamayā sūciyo ca uṇhisaṇ ca; phalikamayassa sopānassa phalikamayā thambhā ahesum, veḷuriyamayā sūciyo ca uṇhisaṇ ca. Tā kho pan' Ānanda pokkharāṇīyo dvīhi vedikāhi parikkhittā ahesum, ekā vedikā sovaṇṇamayā ekā rūpi-mayā; sovaṇṇamayāya vedikāya vedikāka sovaṇṇamayā thambhā ahesum rūpimayā sūciyo ca uṇhisaṇ ca; rūpimayāya vedikāya rūpimayā thambhā ahesum sovaṇṇamayā sūciyo ca uṇhisaṇ ca.

22. 'Now to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, there occurred the thought :—

' "Suppose, now, I were to make Lotus-ponds in the spaces between these palms, at every hundred bow-lengths."

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory, in the spaces between those palms, at distances of a hundred bow-lengths, made Lotus-ponds.

'And those Lotus-ponds, Ānanda, were faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'And to each of those Lotus-ponds, Ānanda, there were four flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold,

1. S^c itthakāyā ; S^d -kāyo.

2. S^{ct} suv^o.

3. B^m K rūpiyamāyā : *and onwards*.

4. K *omits*.

5. SS B^{mp} suciyo *here*, but sūciyo *below*.

with the cross bars and the figure-head of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure-head of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figurehead of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure-head of beryl.

‘And round those Lotus-ponds there ran, Ānanda, a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its capitals of gold¹.

23. ‘*Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahoṣi: “Yan nūnāhaṃ imāsu pokkharāṇīsu evarūpam mālaṃ ropāpeyyaṃ² uppalaṃ padumaṃ³ kumudaṃ puṇḍarīkaṃ sabbotukaṃ sabba-janassa anācāraṇa⁴ ti.” Ropāpesi kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tāsu pokkharāṇīsu evarūpam mālaṃ uppalaṃ padumaṃ kumudaṃ puṇḍa-rīkaṃ sabbotukaṃ sabba-janassa anācāraṃ.⁵*

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1. Pokkharani, the word translated Lotus-pond, is an artificial pool or small lake for water-plants. There are some which are probably nearly as old as this passage still in good preservation in Anurādhapura in Ceylon. Each is oblong, and has its tiles and its four flights of steps, and some had railings. The balustrades, cross bars, figure-head, and railings are in Pāli thambha, sūciyo, unhīsa, and vedikā, of the exact meaning of which I am not quite confident. They do not occur in the description of the Lotus-lakes in Sukhāvatī. General Cunningham says that the cross bars of the Buddhist railings are called sūciyo in the inscriptions at Bharahat (‘The Stupa of Bharhut,’ p. 127). Buddhaghosa, who is good enough to tell us the exact number of the ponds—to wit, 84,000, has no explanation of these words, merely saying that of the two vedikās one was at the limit of the tiles and one at the limit of the parivena. See below § 31 ; and Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Figures 6, 7; pp. 74-6.
 2. SS ropāpeyya.
 3. S^c uppala-paduma-.
 4. SS anācavan; B^{mp} K anāvaṭṭan.
 5. S^c anācarim; B^m K anāvaṭṭam ; B^p anāvaṭṭa.

‘Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad
ahosi: “Yan nūnāhaṃ imāsaṃ pokkharāṇaṃ tīre naha-
pake¹ purise ṭhapeyyaṃ ye āgatāgataṃ janaṃ mahāpes-
santīti.” Ṭhapesi kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tāsāṃ
pokkharāṇaṃ tīre nahāpade purise ye āgatāgataṃ janaṃ
nahāpeyyuṃ.

‘Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad
ahosi: “Yan nūnāhaṃ imāsaṃ pokkharāṇaṃ tīre eva-rūpaṃ
dānaṃ paṭṭhapeyyaṃ annaṃ annatthikassa pānaṃ pānatthi-
kassa vatthaṃ vatthatthikassa yānaṃ yānatthi-kassa sayanaṃ
sayanatthikassa itthiṃ itthatthikassa² hiraññat-thikassa
suvanṇaṃ suvaṇṇatthikassāti.” Paṭṭhapesi kho Ānanda rājā
Mahā-sudassano tāsāṃ pokkharāṇaṃ tīre evarūpaṃ dānaṃ,
annaṃ annatthikassa pānaṃ pānatthikassa vatthaṃ
vatthatthikassa yānaṃ yānatthikassa sayanaṃ sayanatthi-
kassa itthiṃ itthatthikassa hiraññaṃ hiraññatthikassa
suvanṇaṃ suvaṇṇatthikassa.³

23. ‘Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, there oc-
curred the thought :—

‘ “Suppose, now, I were to have flowers of every season
planted in those Lotus-ponds for all the people to have garlands
to put on⁴ —to wit, blue water-lilies and blue lotuses, white
lotuses and white water-lilies.”

[And the king had such flowers planted there accordingly.]

‘Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, occurred the
thought :—

‘ “Suppose, now, I were to place bathing-men on the banks
of those Lotus-ponds, to bathe such of the people as come there
from time to time.”

1. B^{mp} K nhā°, and below.

2. B^m K itthitthik, and below.

3. All MSS and K -kasāti as above.

4. ‘Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, occurred the
thought:— Literally ‘have garlands planted for all the people to
put on’ —an elliptical expression revealing the ideas of that early
time as to the only possible use of flowers. I think the reading
should be anavaram.

‘Now, to the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, occurred the thought :—

“Suppose, now, I were to establish a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus-ponds—to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who have need of it, couches for the tired, wives for those who want wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who are in want.”

‘Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory established a perpetual grant by the banks of those Lotus ponds—to wit, food for the hungry, drink for the thirsty, raiment for the naked, means of conveyance for those who needed it, couches for the tired, wives for those who wanted wives, gold for the poor, and money for those who were in want.’

24. ‘Atha kho Ānanda brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ ādāya rājāma Mahā-sudassanaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṃ āhaṃsu: “Idaṃ deva pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ devaṃ yeva¹ uddissa āhataṃ,² taṃ devo paṭigaṇhatūti.”

“Alaṃ bho, mama³ pi⁴ pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ dhammikenā balinā abhisamkhatam. Taṃ vo hotu, ito ca bhīyo harathāti.”

“Te raññā paṭikkhittā ekamantaṃ apakkamma evaṃ samacintesuṃ: “Na kho etaṃ⁵ amhākaṃ paṭirūpaṃ yaṃ mayaṃ⁶ imāmo sāpateyyāni punda eva sakāni gharāni paṭihārāma.⁷ Yan nūna mayaṃ rañño Mahā-sudas-sanassa nivesanaṃ māpeyyāmāti.”

‘Te rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṃ āhaṃsu: “Nivessanaṃ te deva māpessāmāti.”

1. B^{mp} K -devass’ eva.

2. SS K āhataṃ; B^m ābhata; B^p ābhātaṃ. See p. 245.

3. S^c mam; K mamam.

4. B^{mp} p’ idaṃ; K idaṃ.

5. B^p K evaṃ.

K omits.

.. B^{mp} paṭihareyyāmāti; K paṭihāreyyāma.

‘ “**Adhivāsesi kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tunhī-bhāvena.**”

24. ‘Now, Ānanda, the people [priests and laymen] went to the Great King of Glory, taking with them much wealth. And they said :—

‘ “This abundant wealth, O King, have we brought here for the use of the King of kings. Let the King accept it of us !”

‘ “I have enough wealth, my friends, laid up for myself, the produce of righteous taxation. Do you keep this, and take away more with you !”

‘When those men were thus refused by the King they went aside and considered together, saying :—

‘ “It would not beseem us now, were we to take back this wealth to our own houses. Suppose, now, we were to build a mansion for the Great King of Glory.”

‘Then they went to the Great King of Glory, and said:—

‘ “A mansion would we build for thee, O King !”

‘Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.’

25. ‘**Atha kho Ānanda Sakko devānaṃ inndo rañño Mahā-sudassanassa cetasā ceto-parivitakkam aññāya Vissakamma¹ deva-puttaṃ āmantesi: “Ehi tvaṃ samma² Vissakamma rañño Mahā-sudassanassa nivesanaṃ mā-pehi Dhammaṃ³ nāma pāsādan ti.”**

‘ “**Evam bhaddan tavāti**”⁴ kho Ānanda Vissakammo deva-putto Sakkassa devānam indassa paṭossitvā, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ⁵ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evam eva⁶ devesu Tāvatiṃsesu antarahito rañño Mahā-sudassanassa purato

1. B^{mp} Visukamma, and below.

2. B^p omits ; SS mana.

3. S^{dt} dhammikaṃ.

4. S^d bhadantevāti; S^c bhaddante vā ti; B^{mp} bhaddan-tavāti; K bhaddam tavāti.

5. B^p sammiñcitaṃ.

6. SS evaṃ.

pātur ahosi. Atha kho Ānanda Vissakammo deva-putto rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ etad avoca: “Nivesanan te deva māpessāmi¹ Dhammaṃ nāma pāsādan ti.”

‘Adhivā kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano tuṇhī-bhāvena. Māpesi kho Ānanda Vissakammo deva-putto rañño Mahā-sudassanassa nivesanaṃ Dhammaṃ nāma pāsādaṃ.

25. ‘Now, Ānanda, when Sakka, the king of the gods, became aware in his mind of the thoughts that were in the heart of the Great King of Glory, he addressed Vissakamma the god, and said :—

‘ “Come now, Vissakamma, create me a mansion for the Great King of Glory—a palace which shall be called ‘Righteousness’.”

‘ “Even so, lord!” said Vissakamma, in assent, Ānanda, to Sakka, the king of the gods. And as instantaneously as a strong man might stretch forth his folded arm, or draw in his arm again when it was stretched forth, so quickly did he vanish from the heaven of the Great Thirty-Three, and appeared before the Great King of Glory.

‘Then, Ānanda, Vissakamma the god said to the Great King of Glory :—

‘ “I would create for thee, O King, a mansion—a palace which shall be called ‘Righteousness’!”

‘Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory signified, by silence, his consent.

‘So Vissakamma the god, Ānanda, created for the Great King of Glory a mansion—a palace to be called “Righteousness”.’

26. ‘Dhammo Ānanda pāsādo puratthimena ca pacchimaṃ ca yojanaṃ āyāmena ahosi, uttarena ca dakkhiṇena ca addha-yojanaṃ vitthārena.

‘Dhammassa Ānanda pāsādassa ti-porisaṃ uccattarena² vatthum³ citam ahosi catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ iṭṭha-kāhi,

1. SS B^{mp} māpessāmīti.

2. S^c uccasatanena; B^{mp} K uccatarena.

3. B^m vatthu.

ekā itṭhakā sovannamayā, ekā rūpimayā,¹ ekā veḷu-riyamayā, ekā phalikamayā.

Dhammassa Ānanda pāsādassa caturāsīti-thambha-sahassāni ahesum catunnam vaṇṇānam, eko thambho sovaṇṇamayō, eko rūpimayō, eko veḷuriyamayō, eko phali-kamayō.

‘Dhammo Ānanda pāsādo catunnam vaṇṇānam Phalakehi santhato ahosi, ekaṃ sovaṇṇamayam, ekaṃ rūpimayam, ekaṃ veḷuriyamayam, ekaṃ phalikamayam.

‘Dhammassa Ānanda pāsādassa cutu-vīsati sopānāni ahesum catunnam vaṇṇānam, ekaṃ sopānam sovaṇṇamayam, ekaṃ rūpimayam, ekaṃ veḷuriyamayam, ekaṃ phalikamayam. Sovaṇṇamayassa sopānassa sovaṇṇamayā thambhā ahesum rūpimayā sūciyo² ca uṇhīsaṇ ca; rūpi-mayassa sopānassa rūpimayā thambhā ahesum, sovaṇṇa-mayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsaṇ ca; veḷuriyamayassa sopānassa veḷuriyamayā thambhā ahesum, phalikamayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsaṇ ca; phalikamayassa sopānassa phalikamayā thambhā ahesum, veḷuriyamayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsaṇ ca.

‘Dhamme Ānanda pāsāde³ caturāsīti-kūṭāgāra-sahassāni ahesum catunnam vaṇṇānam; ekaṃ kūṭāram sovaṇṇamayam, ekaṃ rūpimayam, ekaṃ veḷuriyamayam. ekaṃ phalikamayam. Sovaṇṇamayā kūṭāgāro rūpimayō pallamko paññatto ahosi; veḷuriyamayā kūṭāgāro dantamayō pallamko paññatto ahosi; phalikamayā kūṭāgāro sāramayō⁴ pallamko paññatto ahosi. Sovaṇṇamayassa kūṭāgārassa dvāre rūpimayō tālo ṭhito ahosi; tassa rūpimayō khandho sovaṇṇamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Rūpimayassa kūṭāgārassa dvāre sovaṇṇamayō tālo ṭhito ahosi; tassa sovaṇṇamayō khandho rūpimayāni ca phalikamayō tālo ṭhito ṭhito ahosi; tassa phalikamayō khandho veḷuriyamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Phalikamayāssa kūṭāgārassa dvāre veḷuriyamayō tālo ṭhito

1. B^m K rūpiyamayā, and below. So also in §§ 85.

2. S^c suciyo, and below.

3. S^c adds va.

4. B^m Sum K (Sī) sāramayō; SS B^p K masāragalla-mayō. Comp. ii. 12.

ahosi; tassa veḷuriyamayo khandho phalikamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca.

26. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

'The ground-floor, Ānanda, of the Palace of Righteousness, in height as three times the height to which a man can reach, was built of bricks, of four kinds. One kind of brick was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'To the Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, there were eighty-four thousand pillars of four kinds. One kind of pillar was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'The Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was fitted up with seats of four kinds. One kind of seat was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'In the Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, there were twenty-four staircases of four kinds. One staircase was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The staircase of gold had balustrades of gold, with the crossbars and the figure-head of silver. The staircase of silver had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figure-head of gold, [isa] The staircase of beryl had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure-head of crystal. The staircase of crystal had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure-head of beryl.

'In the Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, there were eighty-four thousand chambers of four kinds. One kind of chamber was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

'In the golden chamber a silver couch was spread ; in the silver chamber a golden couch; in the beryl chamber a couch of ivory ; and in the crystal chamber a couch of coral.

'At the door of the golden chamber there stood a palm tree of silver; and its trunk was of silver, and its leaves and fruits of silver.

'At the door of the beryl chamber there stood a palm tree of crystal ; and its trunk was of crystal, and its leaves and fruits of beryl.

‘At the door of the crystal chamber there stood a palm tree of beryl; and its trunk was of beryl, and its leaves and fruits of crystal.’

27. ‘Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad aḥosi: “Yan nūnāhaṃ Mahā-vyūhassa¹ kūṭāgārassa² dvāre sabba-sovaṇṇamayāṃ tāla-vanaṃ māpeyyaṃ yattha divā vihāraṃ nisīdissāmīti.”

‘Māpesi kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano Mahā-uyā-hassa kūṭāgārassa dvāre sabba-sovaṇṇamayāṃ tāla-vanaṃ, yattha divā vihāraṃ nisīdi.³

27. ‘Now there occurred, Ānanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:—

‘“Suppose, now, I were to make a grove of palm trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex⁴, under the shade of which I may pass the heat of the day.”

‘Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory made a grove of palm trees, all of gold, at the entrance to the chamber of the Great Complex, under the shade of which he might pass the heat of the day.

28. ‘Dhammo Ānanda pāsādo dvihi vedikāhi parikhitto aḥsi, ekā vedikā sovaṇṇamayā ekā rūpimayā; sovaṇṇamayāya vedikāya sovaṇṇamayā thambhā ahesuṃ, rūpimayā sūciyo⁵ ca uṇhīsaṇ ca; rūpimayāya vedikāya rūpimayā thambhā ahesuṃ, sovaṇṇamayā sūciyo ca uṇhīsaṇ ca.

1. S^c mahābyuhassa; S^{dt} Mahāsuḥassa, *afterwards*-vyūhassa or-vūhassa; B^m K viyūhassa; B^p -viiuhassa, *afterwards* mahāviiuhassa (*never* ū).

2. SS *usually* spell kut^o; BB and K kū^o

3. S^c nisīdīti; S^{dt} nisīfad

4. Mahāviiuhassa kūṭāgārassa dvāre. The ‘Great Complex’ contains a double allusion, in the same spirit in which the whole legend has been worked out: (1) To the Great Complex as a name of the Sun God regarded as a unity of the deities; and (2) To the Great Complex as a name of a particular kind of deep religious meditation or speculation.

5. S^c suciyo, *and below*.

28. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was surrounded by a double railing, One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its figure head of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its figure-head of gold.

29. 'Dhammo Ānanda pāsādo dvīhi kiṅkiṇika-jālāhi¹ parikkhitto ahosi, ekaṃ jālaṃ sovaṇṇamayam ekaṃ jālaṃ² rūpimayam; sovaṇṇamayassa jālassa rūpimayā kiṅkiṇiyo³ ahesum, rūpimayassa jālassa sovaṇṇamayā kiṅkiṇiyo ahesum. Tesam kho pan' Ānanda kiṅkiṇika-jālānam vāteritānam saddo ahosi vaggu ca rajanīyo⁴ ca kamanīyo⁵ ca madanīyo⁶ ca. Seyyathā Ānanda pañcaṅ-gikassa turiyassa suvinītassa suppa-tipatālītassa kusalehi samannāhatassa saddo hoti vaggu ca rajnīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca, evam eva kho Ānanda tesam kiṅkiṇika-jālānam vāteritānam saddo ahosi vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca. Ye kho pan' Ānanda tena samayena Kusāvatīyā rājadhāniyā dhuttā ahesum soṇḍā pipāsā, te tesam kiṅkiṇika-jālānam vāteritānam saddena parivāresum⁷.

29. 'The Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was hung round with two networks of bells. One network of bells was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden network had bells of silver, and the silver network had bells of gold.

'And when those networks of bells, Ānanda, were shaken by the wind there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ānanda, as the seven kinds of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating—just even so, Ānanda,

1. SS kiṅkinika; B^{mp} K kiṅkanika *throughout* ; B^m K jālehi.

2. S^c B^m K *omit, cp. vedikā above.*

3. B^m K kiṅkaṇiyo.

4. B^m K rajaniyo.

5. B^m khamaniyo; K khammaniyo, *and below, cp. § 6.*

6. K-niyo.

7. S^{ct} parivārayimsu; S^d parivāresum; B^{mp} K paricā resum.

when those networks of bells were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

‘And whoever, Ānanda, in the royal city Kusāvati were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those networks of bells when shaken by the wind.’

30. ‘*Niṭṭhito kho pan’* Ānanda Dhammo pāsādo dudik-kho¹ ahosi musati ckkhūni. Seyyathā pi Ānanda vassānaṃ pacchime māse sarada-samaye viddhe² vigata-valā-hake deve ādicco nabhaṃ abbhussukkamāno³ dudikkho hoti musati cakkhūni, evam eva kho Ānanda Dhammo pāsādo dudikkho ahosi susati cakkūni.

30. ‘When the Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was finished it was hard to look at, destructive to the eyes. Just, Ānanda, as in the last month of the rains in the autumn time, when the sky has become clear and the clouds have vanished away, the sun, springing up along the heavens, is hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes—just so, Ānanda, when the Palace of Righteousness was finished was it hard to look at, and destructive to the eyes.’

31. ‘*Atha kho* Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi: “*Yan nunāhaṃ Dhammassa pāsādassa purato Dhammaṃ nāma pokkharāṇiṃ māpeyyan ti.*”

‘*Māpesi kho* Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano Dhammassa pāsādassa purato Dhammaṃ nāma pokkharāṇiṃ.

‘*Dhammo*⁴ Ānanda pokkharāṇi puratthimena ca⁵ pacchimena ca yojanaṃ āyāmena ca⁶ ahosi, uttarena ca⁷ dakkhiṇena ca addha⁸-yojanaṃ vitthārena.

1. B^{mp} K duddikkho, and below.

2. B^{mp} viddhe; K visuddhe upaviddhe. SS here viṭṭhe; at A. i. 242, S. i. 65, It. 20 viddhe. See J. P. T. S., 1891, 73.

3. B^{mp} abbhuggamamāno; K abbhassak^o.

4. B^m K dhammā.

5. B^m omits.

6. B^m omits.

7. K omits.

8. B^m addha.

‘Dhammo¹ Ānanda pokkharanī catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ iṭṭhakāhi vitā ahosi, ekā iṭṭhakā sovaṇṇamayā, ekā rūpimayā, ekā veluriyamayā, ekā phalikamayā.

‘Dhammāya ca² Ānanda pokkharaniyā catu-vīsati-sopānāni ahesuṃ catunnaṃ catunnaṃ vaṇṇānaṃ, ekam sopānaṃ sovaṇṇamayam, ekam rūpimayam, ekam veluriyamam, ekam phalikamayam. Sovaṇṇamayassa sopānassa sovaṇṇamayā thambhā ahesuṃ rūpimayā sūciyo ca uṇhisaṇ ca; rūpimayassa sopānassa rūpimayā thambhā ahesuṃ sovaṇṇamayā sūciyo ca uṇhisaṇ ca; veluriyamayassa sopānassa veluriyamayā thambhā ahesuṃ phalikamayā sūciyo ca uṇhisaṇ ca; phalikamayassa sopānassa phalikamayā thambhā ahesuṃ veluriyamayā sūciyo ca uṇhisaṇ ca.

‘Dhammo Ānanda pokkharanī dvīhi vedikāhi parikkhittā ahosi, ekā vedikā sovaṇṇamayā ekā rūpimayā; sovaṇṇamayāya vedikāya sovaṇṇamayā thambhā ahesuṃ rūpimayā sūciyo ca uṇhisaṇ ca; rūpimayāya vedikāya rūpimayā thambhā ahesuṃ sovaṇṇamayā sūciyo ca uṇhisaṇ ca.

31. ‘Now there occurred, Ānanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought :—

“Suppose, now, in front of the Palace of Righteousness, I were to make a Lotus-lake to bear the name of Righteousness’.”

‘Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory made a Lotus-lake to bear the name of “Righteousness”.

‘The Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, was on the east and on the west a league in length, and on the north and on the south half a league in breadth.

‘The Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, was faced with tiles of four kinds. One kind of tile was of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal.

‘The Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, had four and twenty flights of steps, of four different kinds. One flight of steps was

1. B^m K dhammā, and twice below.

2. B^m K omits.

of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal. The flight of golden steps had balustrades of gold, with the cross bars and the figure-head of silver. The flight of silver steps had balustrades of silver, with the cross bars and the figurehead of gold. The flight of beryl steps had balustrades of beryl, with the cross bars and the figure-head of crystal. The flight of crystal steps had balustrades of crystal, with cross bars and figure-head of beryl.

‘Round the Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, there ran a double railing. One railing was of gold, and one was of silver. The golden railing had its posts of gold, and its cross bars and its capitals of silver. The silver railing had its posts of silver, and its cross bars and its capitals of gold.

32. ‘Dhammo Ānanda pokkharanī sattahi tāla-tantīhi parikkhittā ahosi, akā tāla-panti sovaṇṇamayā, ekā rūpi-mayā, ekā veḷuriyamayā, ekā phalikamayā, ekā lohi-taṅkamayā, dkā masāragallamayā, ekā sabbaratanamayā. Sovaṇṇamayassa tālassa sovaṇṇamayo khandho ahosi rūpimayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Rūpimayassa tālassa rūpimayo khandho ahosi sovaṇṇamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Veḷuriyamayassa tālassa veḷuriyamayo khandho ahosi phalikamayāni pattāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Phalikamayassa tālassa phalikamayo khandho ahosi veḷuriyamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Lohitaṅkamayassa tālassa lohitaṅka-mayo khandho ahosi masāragallamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Masāragallamayassa tālassa masāragallamayo khandho ahosi lohitaṅkamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Sabbaratanamayassa tālassa sabbaratanamayo khandho ahosi sabbaratanamayāni pattāni ca phalāni ca. Tāsaṃ kho pan’ Ānanda tāla-pantīnaṃ vāteritānaṃ saddo ahosi vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo¹ ca madanīyo ca. Seyyathā pi Ānanda pañcaṅgikassa turiyassa suvi-nītassa suppaṭipatālītassa kusalehi samannāhatassa saddo hoti vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca, evaṃ eva kho Ānanda tāla-pantīnaṃ vāteritānaṃ saddo ahosi vaggu ca rajanīyo ca kamanīyo ca madanīyo ca. Ye kho pan’ Ānanda

1. B^m khamaniyo; K khammaniyo, and below.

tena samayena Kusāvatiyā rājadhāniyā dhuttā ahesuṃ soṇḍā pipāsā, te tāla-paññāṇaṃ vāteritāṇaṃ saddena paricāresuṃ.¹

32. 'The Lake of Righteousness, Ānanda, was surrounded by seven rows of palm trees. One row was of palms of gold, and one of silver, and one of beryl, and one of crystal, and one of agate, and one of coral, and one of all kinds of gems.

'And the golden palms had trunks of gold, and leaves and fruits of silver. And the silver palms had trunks of silver, and leaves and fruits of gold. And the palms of beryl had trunks of beryl, and leaves and fruits of crystal. And the crystal palms had trunks of crystal, and leaves and fruits of beryl. And the agate palms had trunks of agate, and leaves and fruits of coral. And the coral palms had trunks of coral, and leaves and fruits of agate. And the palms of every kind of gem had trunks and leaves and fruits of every kind of gem.

'And when those rows of palm trees, Ānanda, were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'Just, Ānanda, as the seven kinds of instruments yield, when well played upon, to the skilful man, a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating,—just even so, Ānanda, when those rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, there arose a sound sweet, and pleasant, and charming, and intoxicating.

'And whosoever, Ānanda, in the royal city Kusāvati were at that time gamblers, drunkards, and given to drink, they used to dance round together to the sound of those palms when shaken by the wind."

33. 'Niṭṭhite kho pan' Ānanda Dhamme ca² pāsāde³ Dhammāya ca⁴ pokkharāṇiyā, rājā Mahā-sudassano ye⁵ tena samayena samañesu vā samaṇa-sammatā brāhmaṇesu vā

1. SS parivāresuṃ.
2. S^d va; B^m K omits.
3. B^m inserts niṭṭhitāya; K niṭṭhitāya ca.
4. K omits.
5. B^{mp} K add kho pna' Ānanda.

brāhmaṇa-sammatā te sabba-kāmehi santap-petvā Dhammaṃ pāsādaṃ abhirūhi.¹

33. 'When the Palace of Righteousness, Ānanda, was finished, and the Lotus-lake of Righteousness was finished, the Great King of Glory entertained with all good things those of the Wanderers who, at that time, were held in high esteem, and those of the brahmins who, at that time, were held in high esteem. Then he ascended up into the Palace of Righteousness.'

Paṭhamaka²-Bhāṇavāraṃ

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

1. I -hīti.

2. Bⁿ paṭhama-.

CHAPTER II

2. 1. 'Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi: "Kissa nu kho me idaṃ¹ kammassa phalaṃ, kissa kammassa vipāko, yenāhaṃ etarahi evaṃ mahiddhikho evaṃ mahānubhāvo ti?"'

'Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahosi: "Tiṇṇaṃ kho me idaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ, tiṇṇaṃ kammānaṃ vipāko, yenāhaṃ etarahi evaṃ mahid-dhiko evaṃ mahānubhāvo, seyyathīdaṃ, dānassa damassa saṃyama-sāti."²

1. 'Now there occurred, Ānanda, this thought to the Great King of Glory :—

' "Of what previous character, now, may this be the fruit, of what previous character the result, that I am now so mighty and so great?"

'And then occurred, Ānanda, to the Great King of Glory this thought:—

' "Of three qualities is this the fruit, of three qualities the result, that I am now so mighty and so great,— that is to say, of giving, of self-conquest, and of self-control³."

2. 'Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano yena Mahā-vyūhaṃ kūṭāgāraṃ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Mahā-vyūhassa kūṭāgārassa dvāre ṭhito udānaṃ udānesi: "Tiṭṭha kāma-vitakka! Tiṭṭha vyāpāda-vitakka! Tiṭṭha vihiṃsā-

1. S^{cd} imaṃ.

2. K saññamassāti.

3. I have here translated kamma by 'previous character' and by 'quality.' The easiest plan would, no doubt, have been to preserve in the translation the technical term karma, which is explained at some length in 'Buddhism,' pp. 99-106.

**vitakka! Ettāvatā kāma-vitakka ! Ettāvatā vyāpāda-vitakka!
Ettāvatā vihiṃsā-vitakkāti!”**

2. ‘ Now the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, ascended up into the chamber of the Great Complex; and there he broke out into a cry of intense emotion :—

‘ “Stay here, O thoughts of lust!
Stay here, O thoughts of ill-will!
Stay here, O thoughts of hatred!
Thus far only, O thoughts of lust!
Thus far only, O thoughts of ill-will!
Thus far only, O thoughts of hatred!”

3. ‘Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano Mahā-vyūhaṃ kuṭāgāraṃ pavisitvā sovaṇṇamaye pallaṅke nisinnlo, vivice’ eva kāmehi vivicca akusalehi dhammehi savitakkam savicāraṃ vivekaṃ pīti-sukhaṃ paṭhamaj-jhānaṃ¹ upasampajja vihāsi. Vittakka-vicārānaṃ vūpe-samā ajjhataṃ sampasādanaṃ cetaso ekodibhāvaṃ avitak-kam avicāraṃ samādhijaṃ pīti-sukhaṃ dutiyajjhānaṃ upasampajja vihāsi. Pītiyā ca virāgā upekhako ca vihāsi sato² sampajāno sukhaṃ ca kāyena paṭisaṃvedeti yaṃ taṃ ariyā ācikkhanti “upekhako satimā sukha-vihārī” ti tatiyajjhānaṃ upasampajja vihāsi. Sukhassa ca pahānā dukkhassa ca pahānā bubb’ eva somanassa-domanassānaṃ atthagamā³ adukkhaṃ asukhaṃ upekhā-sati pārissuddhiṃ catutthajjhānaṃ upasampajja vihāsi.

3. ‘And when, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory-had entered the chamber of the Great Complex, and had seated himself upon the couch of gold, having put away all passion and all unrighteousness, he entered into, and remained in, the First Rapture,—a state of joy and ease, born of seclusion, full of reflection, full of investigation.

‘By suppressing reflection and investigation, he entered into and remained in, the Second Rapture,— a state of joy and

1. EB *always* paṭhamaj-jhānaṃ, etc.

2. B^{np} *add* ca.

3. B^{np} K atthaṅgamā.

ease, born of serenity, without reflection, without investigation, a state of elevation of mind, of internal calm.

‘By absence of the longing after joy, he remained indifferent, conscious, self-possessed, experiencing in his body that ease which the noble ones announce, saying:— “The man indifferent and self-possessed is well at ease,” and thus he entered into, and remained in, the Third Rapture.

‘By putting away ease, by putting away pain, by the previous dying away both of gladness and of sorrow, he entered into, and remained in, the Fourth Rapture,— a state of purified self-possession and equanimity, without ease, and without pain¹.

4. ‘*Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano Mahā-vyūhā kūṭāgārā nikkhamitvā sovaṇṇamayam kūṭāgaram pavisitvā rūpimaye pallaṅke nisinnō mettā-sahagatena, cetasā ekaṃ dīsaṃ pharitvā vihāsi, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catuttham. Iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantam lokam mettā-saha-gatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā vihāsi . . . karuṇā-sahagatena cetasā . . . muditā-sahagatena cetasā . . . muditā-sahagatena cetasā . . . upekhā-sahagatena cetasā ekaṃ dosaṃ pharitvā vihāsi, tathā dutiyaṃ tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catuttham. Iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya sabbāvantam lokam upekhā-sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appa-māṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā vihāsi.*

4. ‘Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory went out from the chamber of the Great Complex, and entered the golden chamber and sat himself down on the silver couch. And he let his

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1. The above paragraphs are an endeavour to express the inmost feelings when they are first strung to the uttermost by the intense effects of deep religious emotion, and then feel the effects of what may be called, for want of a better word, the reaction. Most deeply religious natures have passed through such a crisis; and though the feelings are perhaps really indescribable, this passage is dealing, not with a vain mockery, but with a very real event in spiritual experience. It implies neither hypnotism nor trance.

mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Love; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Love, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

‘And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Pity ; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Pity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

‘And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Sympathy; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Sympathy, far reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

‘And he let his mind pervade one quarter of the world with thoughts of Equanimity¹ ; and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, did he continue to pervade with heart of Equanimity, far-reaching, grown great, and beyond measure, free from the least trace of anger or ill-will.

5. ‘ **Raṇṇo Ānanda Mahā-sudassanassa caturāsīti-nagara-sahassāni² ahesuṃ Kusāvatī-rājadhāni-pamukhāni;**

‘**Caturāsīti-pāsāda-sahassāni ahesuṃ Dhamma-pāsāda-pamukhāni;**

‘**Caturāsīti-kuṭāra-sahassāni ahesuṃ Mahā-vyūha-kutāgāra-pamukhāni;**

-
1. These are the four Appamaññas or infinite feelings, also called (e.g. below, § 13) the four Brahma-vihāras or Sublime Conditions. They are here very appropriately represented to follow immediately after the state of feeling described in the Raptures; but they ought to be the constant companions of a good Buddhist.
 2. S^c often, and S^{dt} occasionally asītiṃ. See p. 3.

‘Caturāsīti-pallaṅka-sahassāni ahesuṃ sovaṇṇamayāni rūpimayāni dantamayāni sāramayāni¹ gonakattatāni² paṭalikatthātāni³ kadali-miga⁴-paccattharaṇāni sa-uttara-cchadanāni⁵ ubhato lohitakūpadhānāni⁶;

‘Catūrāsīti-nā-sahassāni ahesuṃ sovaṇṇālaṅkāraṇi sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla paṭicchannāni Uposatha-nāgarāja-pamukhāni;

‘Caturāsīti-assa-sahassāni ahesuṃ sovaṇṇālaṅkāraṇi sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Valāhaka-assarāja-pamukhāni;

‘Caturāsīti-ratha-sahassāni ahesuṃ sīha-camma-parivārāni vyaggha-camma-parivārāni⁷ dīpi-camma-parivārāni paṇḍu-kambala-parivārāni sovaṇṇālaṅkāraṇi sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Vejayanta-ratha-pamu-khāni;

‘Caturāsīti-maṇi-sahassāni ahesuṃ maṇi-ratana-pamu-khāni;

‘Caturāsīti-itthi-sahassāni ahesuṃ Subhadda-devī-pamukhāni;

‘Caturāsīti-gahapati-sahassāni ahesuṃ gahapati-ratana-pamukhāni;

‘Caturāsīti-khattiya-sahassāni ahesuṃ anuyuttāni⁸ pariṇāyaka-ratana-pamukhāni ;

‘Caturāsīti-dhenu-sahassāni ahesuṃ dukūla⁹-sandanāni¹⁰ kaṇṣūpadhāraṇāni¹¹;

‘Caturāsīti-vattha-koṭi-sahassāni ahesuṃ khoma-

1. K masāragallamayāni.
2. K *inserts* paṭikatthātāni; so B^m *which, however, omits* paṭalik^o.
3. B^p paṭilakkhatāni.
4. B^m K *add* pavara.
5. B^{mp} K cchadāni.
6. S^{dt} B^m lohitakupa^o.
7. B^{mp} K *throughout* byaggha.
8. B^{mp} K anuyantāni *throughout*; k (Sī) anuyuttāni.
9. S^c dukula; B^{mp} K duha ; K (Sī) dukula.
10. S^c saṃsandanāni.
11. S^c kiṇsupadhāraṇāni; K (Sī) kaṇṣūpasandanāni.

sukhumānaṃ kappāsika-sukhumānaṃ¹ koseyya-sukhumānaṃ² kambala-sukhumānaṃ;

³ Caturāsīti-thālīpāka-sahassāni ahesuṃ sāyapātaṃ⁴ bhattābhīhāro abhihariyittha.⁵

5. 'The Great King of Glory, Ānanda, had four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which was the royal city of Kusāvatī:

'Four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which was the Palace of Righteousness :

'Four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which was the chamber of the Great Complex :

'Four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with longhaired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins; covered with lofty canopies; and provided at both ends with purple cushions :

'Four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called "the Changes of the Moon," was chief:

'Four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which "Thunder-cloud," the king of horses, was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called "the Flag of Victory" was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand wives, of whom Subhaddā, the Queen of Glory⁶, was the chief:

1. S^t omits.

2. S^d omits.

3. B^{mp} K insert Rañño Ānanda Mahā-Sudassanassa.

4. B^{mp} K always and S^t occasionally sāyaṃ pātaṃ.

5. S^{cd} abhihāriyo; S^t abhihāriyo; B^p abhihariyo; K abhiharayo.

6. Subhaddā Devī. Subhaddā, 'glorious, magnificent,' is a not uncommon name both for men and women in Buddhist and post-Buddhist Hindu literature.

'Four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief :

'Four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief:

'Four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze :

'Four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool:

'Four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning rice was served¹.'

6. 'Tena kho pan' Ānanda samayena rañño Mahā-sudassanassa caturāsīti-nāga-sahassāni sāyapātāṃ upatṭhānaṃ āgacchanti.² Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa etad ahoṣi: "Iāni kho me caturāsīti-nāga-sahassāni nāyapātāṃ upatṭhānaṃ āgacchanti. Yan nūna³ vassa-satassa vassa-satassa accayena dve cattā-rīsaṃ⁴ nāga-sahassāni⁵ dve cattārīsaṃ nāga-sahassāni⁵ sakim sakim upatṭhānaṃ āgaccheyyun ti."

'Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ āmantesi: "Imāni kho me samma pariṇāyaka-ratana caturāsīti-nāga-sahassāni sāyapātāṃ upatṭhānaṃ āgacchanti, tena hi samma pariṇāyaka-ratana vassa-satassa vassa-satassa accayena dve cattārīsaṃ ⁶nāga-sahassāni⁶ dve cattārīsaṃ nāga-sahassāni sakim sakim upatṭhānaṃ āgacchantūti."

'"Evaṃ devāti" kho Ānanda pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ rañño Mahā-sudassanassa paccassosi. Atha kho Ānanda rañño Mahā-sudassanassa aparena samāyena vassa-satassa vassa-

1. Most of the trappings and cloths here mentioned are the same as those referred to in the Moralities translated above, Vol. I, pp. 11, 12. The whole paragraph is four times repeated below.

2. SS gacchanti.

3. SS nūnāhaṃ.

4. B^m K cattārīsaṃ.

5. S^c omits, but not in the repetitions; B^m omits : K omits the first nāgasanassāni.

6. B^m K omits, and below.

satassa accayena dve cattārīsaṃ nāga-sahassāni dve cattārīsaṃ nāga-sahassāni sakim sakim upatṭhānaṃ āgamaṃsu.

6. 'Now at that time, Ānanda, the four and eighty thousand state elephants used to come every evening and every morning to be of service to the Great King of Glory.

'And this thought occurred to the Great King of Glory :—

' "These eighty-four thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Suppose, now, I were to let the elephants come in alternate forty-two thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!"

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory said to the Great Adviser :—

' "O, my friend, the Great Adviser! these eighty-four thousand elephants come every evening and every morning to be of service to me. Now, let the elephants come, O my friend, the Great Adviser, in alternate forty-two thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years!"

' "Even so, lord !" said the Wonderful Adviser, in assent, to the Great King of Glory.

'From that time forth, Ānanda, the elephants came in alternate forty-two thousands, once each, every alternate hundred years.'

7. 'Atha kho Ānanda Subhaddāya deviyā bahunnaṃ vassānaṃ bahunnaṃ vassa-satānaṃ bahunnaṃ vassa-sata-sahassānaṃ¹ accayena etad ahosi: "Cira-diṭṭho kho² me rājā Mahā-sudassano, yaṃ nūnāhaṃ rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkameyyaṃ ti."

'Atha kho Ānanda Subhadda devī itthāgāraṃ āmantesi: "Etha tumhe sīsāni nahāyatha³ pītāni vatthāni pārū-patha,⁴

1. B^m K omit sata.

2. B^{mp} K ciraṃ; S^c -diṭṭhi kho; S^{dt} -diṭṭhiko; B^m K diṭṭho kho; B^p ṭhito kho. In the repetition all MSS. diṭṭho.

3. S^c nahāyata; B^p nāyatam; B^m nhāyatha; K sīsa-nhāyatha (and below).

4. K pārūp^o (and below).

cira-ditṭho¹ no rājā Mahā-sudassano, rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissāmāti.”

“Evaṃ ayye² ti” kho Ānanda itthāgāraṃ Subhaddāya deviyā paṭissutvā³ sīsaṃ⁴ nahāyitvā⁵ pītāni vatthāni pārūpitvā yena Subhaddā devī ten’ upasaṃkami.

‘Atha kho Ānanda Subhaddā devī pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ āmantesi: “Kappehi samma pariṇāyaka-ratana caturaṅginīṃ senaṃ. Cira-ditṭho no rājā Mahā-sudassano, rājānaṃ Mahā-sudassanaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissāmāti.”

“Evaṃ devī” ti kho Ānanda pariṇāyaka-ratanaṃ Subhaddāya deviyā paṭissutvā caturaṅginīṃ senaṃ kap-pāpetvā Subhaddāya deviyā paṭivedesi: “Kappitā kho te devī caturaṅgini-senā, yassa dāni kālaṃ maññasīti.”

7. ‘Now, Ānanda, after the lapse of many years, of many hundred years, of many thousand years, there occurred to the Queen of Glory this thought:—

“‘Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. Suppose, now, I were to go and visit the Great King of Glory.”

‘Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory said to the women of the harem :—

“‘Arise now, dress your hair, and clothe yourselves in fresh raiment. ‘Tis long since we have beheld the Great King of Glory. Let us go and visit the Great King of Glory!”

“‘Even so, lady!” said the women of the harem, Ānanda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And they dressed their hair, and clad themselves in fresh raiment, and came near to the Queen of Glory.

‘Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory said to the Great Adviser :—

“‘Arrange, O Great Adviser, the fourfold army in array. Tis long since I have beheld the Great King of Glory. I am about to go to visit the Great King of Glory.”

1. B^m K ciraṃ.

2. S^{dt} ayyā.

3. B^p paṭisutvā; K paṭissuṇitvā.

4. B^{mp} sīsani.

5. B^m nhāy^o; B^p nāyitvā.

‘ “Even so, O Queen!” said the Great Adviser, Ānanda, in assent, to the Queen of Glory. And he set the fourfold army in array, and had the fact announced to the Queen of Glory in the words :—

‘ “The fourfold army, O Queen, is set for thee in array. Do now whatever seemeth to thee fit.”

8. ‘Atha kho Ānanda Subhaddā devī caturaṅginiyā senāya saddhiṃ itthāgārena yena Dhammo pāsādo ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā dhammaṃ pāsādaṃ abhirūhitvā yena Mahā-vyūhaṃ kūṭāgāraṃ ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Mahā-vyūhassa kūṭārassa dvāra-bāhaṃ ālambitvā atṭhāsi.

‘Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano¹: “Kin nu kho² mahato viya jana-kāyassa saddo ?” ti Mahā-vyūhā kūṭāgārā nikkhamanto addasa Subhaddaṃ devīṃ dvāra-bāhaṃ ālambitvā ṭhitāṃ. Disvā Subhaddaṃ devīṃ etad avoca: “Etth’ eva devī³ tiṭṭha, mā pāvisīti.”⁴

8. ‘Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory, with the fourfold army, repaired, with the women of the harem, to the Palace of Righteousness. And when she had arrived there she mounted up into the Palace of Righteousness, and went on to the chamber of the Great Complex. And when she had reached it, she stopped and leant against the side of the door.

‘When, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory heard the noise he thought:—

‘ “What, now, may this noise, as of a great multitude of people, mean ?”

‘And going out from the chamber of the Great Complex, he beheld the Queen of Glory standing leaning up against the side of the door. And when he beheld her, he said to the Queen of Glory :—

‘ “Stop there, O Queen ! Enter not!” ’

1. BB and K add saddaṃ sutvā.

2. K adds so.

3. B^m devī.

4. B^m pāvisīti.

9. 'Atha kho Ānanda¹ rājā Mahā-sudassano aññataraṃ purisaṃ āmantesi: "Ehi tvaṃ ambho purisa Mahā-vyūhā kūtāgārā sovaṇṇamayaṃ pallaṅkaṃ nīharitvā² sabba-sovaṇṇamaye tāla-vane paññāpehīti."³

' "Evaṃ devāti" kho Ānanda so puriso rañño Mahā-sudassanassa paṭissutvā Mahā-vyūhā kūtāgārā sovaṇṇamayaṃ pallaṅkaṃ nīharitvā sabba-sovaṇṇamaye tāla-vene paññāpesi.

'Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano dakkhiṇena passena sīha-seyyaṃ kappesi pāde⁴ pādaṃ accādhāya⁵ sato sampajāno.

9. ' Then the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, said to one of his attendants :—

' "Arise, good man! take the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and make it ready under that grove of palm trees which is all of gold."

' "Even so, lord!" said the man, in assent, to the Great King of Glory. And he took the golden couch out of the chamber of the Great Complex, and made it ready under that grove of palm trees which was all of gold.

'Then, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory laid himself down in the dignified way a lion does ; and lay with one leg resting on the other, calm and self-possessed.'

10. 'Atha kho Ānanda Subhaddāya deviyā etad ahoṣi: "Vippasannāni kho rañño Mahā-sudassanassa indriyāni, parisuddho⁶ chavi-vaṇṇo pariyodāto, mā h'eva kho rājā Mahā-sudassano kālam akāsiṭi."

'Rājānaṃ Manā-sudassanaṃ etad avoca: "Imāni kho⁷ te⁸ deva caturāsīti-nagara-sahassāni Kusāvati-rājadhāni-

1. SS omit.

2. B^m hīharitvā , and below.

3. B^m K paññāp^o.

4. B^{mp} K pādena.

5. S^d accādhāya; B^p acchādhāya.

6. K parisuddhāṃ.

7. B^m K omit.

8. S^d B^p omit.

pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ¹ karohi.

‘Imāni te deva caturāsīti-pāsāda-sahassāni Dhamma-pāsāda-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

‘Imāni te deva caturāsīti-kūṭāgāra-sahassāni Mahā-vyūha-kūṭāgāra-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

‘Imāni te deva caturāsīti-pallaṅka-sahassāni sovaṇṇa-mayāni rūpimayāni dantamayāni sāramayāni goṇakat-thatāni paṭalikatthatāni kadali-miga-paccattharaṇāni sa-uttaracchadanāni ubhato lohitakūpadhānāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti nāga sahassāni sovaṇṇālaṅkāraṇisovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Uposatha-nāgarāja-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-assa-sahassāni sovaṇṇālaṅkāraṇisovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Valāhaka-assarāja-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-ratha-sahassāni sīha-camma-parivārāni vyaggha-camma-parivārāni dīpi-camma-parivārāni paṇḍu-kambala-parivārāni sovaṇṇālaṅkāraṇisovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Vejayanta-ratha-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-maṇi-sahassāni Maṇi-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-itthi-sahassāni Itthi-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-gahapati-sahassāni Gahapati-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

1. S^d occasionally apekhakam; S^t āpekhaṃ, and so afterwards; B^{mp} K throughout apekkhaṃ.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-khattiya sahaṣṣāni anuyut-
tāni pariṇāyaka-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ
janehi, jīvite apekhaṃ karohi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-dhenu-sahaṣṣāni dudūla-
sandanāni kaṇṇpadhārāni, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite
apekhaṃ karohi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-vattha-koṭi-sahaṣṣāni khoma-
sukhumānaṃ kappāsika-sukhumānaṃ koseyya-sukhumānaṃ
kambala-sukhumānaṃ, ettha deva chandaṃ janehi, jīvite
apekhaṃ karohi.

‘ “Imāni te deva thālīpāka-sahaṣṣāni sāyapātaṃ
bhattābhīhāro abhihariyittha,¹ ettha deva chandaṃ janehi,
jīvite apekhaṃ kārohīti.”

10. ‘Then, Ānanda, there occurred to the Queen of Glory
this thought:—

‘ “How calm are all the limbs of the Great King of Glory!
How clear and bright is his appearance! O may it not be that the
Great King of Glory is dead²!’

‘ And she said to the Great King of Glory :—

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand
cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusāvātī. Arise, O
King, re-awaken thy desire for these ! quicken thy longing after
life ! [191]

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand pal-
aces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Arise, O
King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after
life.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand cham-
bers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex.
Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy long-
ing after life.

1. S^d abhihāriyittha; S^t bhīhārīyittha; B^p atihariyati; B^m abhihariyati;
K abbiharayitta.

2. On the approach of death, explains the commentator, people are
transfigured, shine forth. This idea may be the source of the legend
of the Transfiguration translated above, p. 146, ‘Book of the Great
Decease,’ IV, 37.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandal wood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins, covered with lofty canopies, and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called ‘the Changes of the Moon,’ is chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which ‘Thundercloud,’ the king of horses, is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called ‘the Flag of Victory’ is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.

‘ “Thine, O King, are those four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Arise, O King, re-awaken thy desire for these, quicken thy longing after life.” ’

11. ‘Evaṃ vutte Ānanda¹ rājā Mahā-sudassano Subhaddaṃ² devīṃ³ etad avoca: “Dīgha-rattaṃ kho maṃ⁴ tvaṃ⁵ devi iṭṭhehi⁶ kantehi manāpehi⁷ samudācaritvā,⁸ atha ca pna maṃ tvaṃ pacchime kāle aniṭṭheni akantehi⁹ amanāpehi samudācarasīti.”

‘ “Kathaṇ carahi taṃ deva samudācarāmīti ?”

‘ “Evaṃ kho maṃ tvaṃ devi samudācara: Sabbeha’ eva deva¹⁰ piyehi manāpehi nānā-bhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññathā-bhāvo. Mā kho tvaṃ deva¹¹ sāpekho kālam akāsi. Dukkha sāpekhaṃ kāla-kiriya,¹² garahitā ca sāpekhaṃ kāla-kiriya.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-nagara-sahassāni Kusāvatī-rājadhāni-pamukhāni, etha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ¹³ ¹⁴mā akāsi.¹⁴

1. SS omit.

2. S^c Subhadda.

3. S^c devīṃ.

4. S^c man; S^t pana.

5. S^c taṃ.

6. S^c iddhehi; S^{dt} idhehi; B^{mp} iṭṭhehi.

7. S^{dt} omit; B^m piyehi man^o.

8. B^{mp} samudācarittha.

9. B^m inserts apīyehi.

10. K omits (here only).

11. S^c āve; S^{dt} Ānanda deva.

12. B^{mp} kālam, and below

13. K apekkhaṃ (and onwards).

14. S^{cd} B^m makasi throughout; S^t in the first two clauses mā karohi, afterwards mākāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-pāsāda-sahassāni¹ Dhamma-pāsā-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-kūṭāgāra-sahassāni² Mahā-vyūha-kūṭāgāra-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-pallaṅka-sahassāni sovaṇṇa-mayāni rūpimayāni dantamayāni sāramayāni goṇakat-thatāni paṭalikatthatāni kadali-miga-paccattharaṇāni sa-uttaracchadanāni ubhato lohitakūpadhānāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-nāga-sahassāni sovaṇṇ-ālaṅkāraṇi sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Uposatha-nāgarāja-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti assa-sahassāni sovaṇṇ-ālaṅkāraṇi sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Valāhaka-assarāja-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti ratha-sahassāni sīha-camma-parivārani vyaggha-comma-parivārāni paṇḍu-kambala-parivārāni sovaṇṇālaṅkāraṇi sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Vejayanta-ratha-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti maṇi-sahassāni Maṇi-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti itthi-sahassāni Subhaddā-devi-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-gaḥapati-sahassāni Gaḥapati-ratana pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

1. K pa down to mā akāsi.

2. K pa down to the first mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-khattiya-sahassāni anu-yuttāni Pariṇāyaka-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-dhenu-sahassāni dukūla-sandanāni kaṇṣūpadhāraṇāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-vattha-koṭi-sahassāni khoma-sukhumānaṃ kappāsika-sukhumānaṃ koseyya-sukhumānaṃ kambala-sukhumānaṃ, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-thālipāka-sahassāni sāya-pātaṃ bhattābhihāro abhihariyaittha,¹ ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

11. ‘When she had thus spoken, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory said to the Queen of Glory :—

‘ “Long hast thou addressed me, O Queen, in pleasant words, much to be desired, and sweet. Yet now in this last time you speak in words unpleasant, disagreeable, not to be desired.”

‘ “How then, O King, shall I address thee ?”

‘ “Thus, O Queen, shouldst thou address me—The nature of all things near and dear to us, O King, is such that we must leave them, divide ourselves from them, separate ourselves from them² Pass not away, O King, with longing in thy heart. Sad is the death of him who longs, unworthy is the death of him who longs³. Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusāvatī. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand

1. S^c abhihariyittha; B^m abhihariyati; K abhiharayitha. See p. 197.

2. The Pāli words are the same as those at the beginning of the constantly repeated longer phrase to the same effect in the ‘Book of the Great Decease.’

3. Compare Jātaka, No. 34.

chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins, covered with lofty canopies, and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called ‘the Changes of the Moon,’ is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which ‘Thundercloud,’ the king of horses, is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called ‘the Flag of Victory’ is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand wives, of which the Queen of Glory is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom Wonderful Steward is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.” ’

12. ‘Evaṃ vutte Ānanda Subhaddā devī parodi assūni¹ pavattesi Atha kho Ānanda Subhaddā devī assūni pamajjitvā² rājānam Mahā-suddassanaṃ etad avoca: “Sabbeha’ eva deva piyehi manāpehi nānā-bhāvo vinā-bhāvo aññathā-bhāvo. Mā kho tvaṃ deva sāpekho kālam akāsi. Dukkha sāpekha kāla-kiriyā, garahitā ca sāpekha kāla-kiriyā.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-nagara-sahassāni Kusāvati-rajadhāni-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-pāsāda-sahassāni Dhamma-pāsāda-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-kūṭāgāra-sahassāni Mahā-vyūha-kūṭāgāra-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-pallaṅka-sahassāni sovaṇṇamayāni rūpimayāni dantamayāni sāramayāni goṇakatthatāni paṭalikatthatāni kadali-miga-paccattharaṇāni sa-uttaracchadanāni ubhato lohita-kūpadhānāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti nāga-sahassāni, sovaṇṇālaṅkāraṇi sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Uposatha-nāgarāja-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti assa-sahassāni, sovaṇṇālaṅkāraṇi sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Valāhakarssarāja-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

1. S^{dt} B^p both times assuni.

2. Sum pamacchitvā ; B^m puñjitvā.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti tatha-sahassāni, sīha-camma-parivārāni vyaggha-camma-parivārāni paṇḍu-kambala-parivārāni sovaṇṇālaṅkāni sovaṇṇ-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Vejayanta-ratha-ramukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti maṇi-sahassāni, Maṇi-ratana-parivārāni ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti itthi-sahassāni, Subhaddā-devi-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-gahapati-sahassāni, Gahapati-ratana pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-khattiya-sahassāni, anuyuttāni Pariṇāyaka-ratana-pamukhāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-dhenu-sahassāni, dukūlasandanāni kaṇṣūpadhāraṇāni, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-vattha-koṭi-sahassāni khoma-sukhumānaṃ kappāsika-sukhumānaṃ koseyya-sukhumānaṃ kambala-sukhumānaṃ, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.

‘ “Imāni te deva caturāsīti-thālīpāka-sahassāni sāya-pātaṃ bhattābhihāro abhihariyittha, ettha deva chandaṃ pajaha, jīvite apekhaṃ mā akāsi.”¹

12. ‘When he thus spake, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory wept and poured forth tears.

‘Then, Ānanda, the Queen of Glory wiped away her tears, and addressed the Great King of Glory, and said:

‘ “The nature of all things near and dear to us, O King, is such that we must leave them, divide ourselves from them, separate ourselves from them. Pass not away, O King, with longing

1. MSS. akāsi.

in thy heart. Sad is the death of him who longs, unworthy is the death of him who longs. Thine, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cities, the chief of which is the royal city of Kusāvati. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand palaces, the chief of which is the Palace of Righteousness. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chambers, the chief of which is the chamber of the Great Complex. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins, covered with lofty canopies, and provided at both ends with purple cushions. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called ‘the Changes of the Moon,’ is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—[195] of which ‘Thunder-cloud,’ the king of horses, is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand chariots, with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called ‘the Flag of Victory’ is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

“Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser is the chief. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.

‘ “Think, O King, are these four and eighty thousand dishes, in which, in the evening and in the morning, rice is served. Cast away desire for these, long not after life.” ’

13. ‘Atha kho Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano na cirassa¹ eva kālam akā Seyyatha pi Ānanda gahapatiṣṣa vā gahapati-puttassa vā manuññaṃ bhojanam huttāvissa bhatta-sammado hoti, evam eva kho² rañño Mahā-sudassanassa māraṇantikā³ vedanā ahosi. Kāla-kato⁴ Ānanda rājā Mahā-sudassano sugatiṃ brahma-lokaṃ uppajji.⁵ Rājā Ānanda Mahā-sudassano caturāsīti-vassa-sahassāni kumāra-kīlikāṃ⁶ kīli,⁷ caturāsīti-vassa-sahassāni oparajjaṃ kāresi, caturāsīti-vassa-sahassāni rajjaṃ kāresi caturāsīti-vassa-sahassāni gihi⁸-bhūto Dhamme⁹ pāsāde¹⁰ brahmacariyaṃ cari.¹¹ So cattāro

1. So S^{ct} B^p; S^d cirassen’ ; K ciraṃ yeva; K (Sī) cirassa’ eva.

2. B^m K insert Ānanda.

3. S^{cd} māraṇ-; K mar^o.

4. S^{ct} add vā; K ca.

5. B^{mp} K upapajji.

6. SS kīlikāṃ; K kīlim.

7. SS kīli; B^m kili.

8. S^c B^m K gihi; S^d gīhī; S^t gihī; B^p gīhi.

9. S^d dhammo.

10. S^d pāsāda.

11. B^p acari; K ācari.

brahma-vihāre bhāvetvā kāyassa bheda¹ param maraṇā¹ Brahmaloṇḍupago ahoṣi.

13. 'Then immediately, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory died. Just, Ānanda, as when a yeoman has eaten a hearty meal he becomes all drowsy, just so were the feelings he experienced, Ānanda, as death came upon the Great King of Glory.

'When the Great King of Glory, Ānanda, had died, he came to life again in the happy world of Brahma.

'For eight and forty thousand years, Ānanda, the Great King of Glory lived the happy life of a prince, for eight and forty thousand years he was viceroy and heir-apparent, for eight and forty thousand years he ruled the kingdom, and for eight and forty thousand years he lived, as a layman, the noble life in the Palace of Righteousness. And then, when full of noble thoughts he died, he entered, after the dissolution of the body, the world of Brahma².'

14. 'Siyā³ kho ⁴pana te Ānanda⁴ evaṃ assa⁵ : "Añño nūna tena samayena rājā Mahā-sudassano ahoṣīti." Na kho ⁶pana taṃ⁶ Ānanda evaṃ datṭhabbaṃ. Ahaṃ tena samayena rājā Mahā-sudassano ahoṣim.⁷

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-nagara-sahassāni Kusāvatī-rājadhāni-pamukhāni;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-pāsāda-sahassāni Dhamma-pāsāda-pamukhāni;

'Mama tāni caturāsīti-kuṭāgāra-sahassāni Mahāvvyūha-kuṭāgāra-pamukhāni;

1.1. BP rammaṇā.

2. The 'noble thoughts' are the Brahma-vihāras, the sublime conditions described above, Chap. II, § 4. The 'noble life' is the Brahmācariyam, which does not mean the same as it does in Sanskrit. The adjective Brahma may have reference here also to the subsequent (and consequent?) rebirth in the Brahmaloṇḍa.

3. K adds nu

4.4. S^{dt} panete Ānanda; BP panatenananda; K pan Ananra.

5. S^d eva tassa corrected to etassa.

6.6. B^{mp} K pan' etaṃ.

7. SS B^{mp} ahoṣin ti.

‘Mama tāni caturāsīti-pallaṅka-sahassāni sovaṇṇama-yāni rūpunayāni dantamayāni sāramayāni gonak-atthatāni paṭalikatthatāni kadali-miga-paccattharaṇāni sa-uttaracchadanāni ubhato lohita-kūpadhānāni;

‘Mama tāni caturāsīti-nāga-sahassāni sovaṇṇālaṅkāraṇi sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Uposatha-nāgarāja-pamukhāni;

‘Mama tāni caturāsīti-assa-sahassāni sovaṇṇālaṅkāraṇi sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Valā-haka-assarāja-pamukhāni;

‘Mama tāni caturāsīti-ratha-sahassāni sīha-camma-parivārāni vyaggha-camma-parivārāni dipi-camma-parivārāni paṇḍu-kambala-parivārāni sovaṇṇālaṅkāraṇi sovaṇṇa-dhajāni hema-jāla-paṭicchannāni Vejayaṇṭa-ratha-pamukhāni;

‘Mama tāni caturāsīti-maṇi-sahassāni maṇi-ratana-pamukhāni;

‘Mama tāni caturāsīti-itthi-sahassāni Subhadda-devī-pamukhāni;

‘Mama tāni caturāsīti-gaḥapati-sahassāni gaḥapati-ratana-pamukhāni;

‘Mama tāni caturāsīti-khattiya-sahassāni anuyuttāni pariṇāyaka-ratana-pamukhāni;

‘Mama tāni caturāsīti-dhenu-sahassāni dukūla-sandanāni kaṇṣūpadhāraṇāni ;

‘Mama tāni caturāsīti-vattha-koṭi-sahassāni khoma-sukhumānaṃ kappāsika-sukhumānaṃ koseyya-sukhumānaṃ kambala-sukhumānaṃ ;

‘Mama tāni caturāsīti-thālipāka-sahassāni sāyapātaṃ bhattābhīhāro abhihariyittha¹

14. ‘Now it may be, Ānanda, that you may think “The Great King of Glory of that time was another person.” But, Ānanda, you should not view the matter thus. I at that time was the Great King of Glory.

1. So S^{cd} B^p-hārayo; S^t -hāriyittha; B^m K -harayittha.

'Mine at that time were the four and eighty thousand cities, of which the chief was the royal city of Kusāvātī.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand palaces, of which the chief was the Palace of Righteousness.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand chambers, of which the chief was the chamber of the Great Complex.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand divans, of gold, and silver, and ivory, and sandalwood, spread with long-haired rugs, and cloths embroidered with flowers, and magnificent antelope skins, covered with lofty canopies and provided at both ends with purple cushions.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand state elephants, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which the king of elephants, called "the Changes of the Moon," was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand state horses, with trappings of gold, and gilded flags, and golden coverings of network,—of which "Thundercloud," the king of horses, was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand chariots with coverings of the skins of lions, and of tigers, and of panthers,—of which the chariot called "the Flag of Victory" was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand gems, of which the Wondrous Gem was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand wives, of whom the Queen of Glory was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand yeomen, of whom the Wonderful Steward was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand nobles, of whom the Wonderful Adviser was the chief.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand cows, with jute trappings, and horns tipped with bronze.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand myriads of garments, of delicate textures, of flax, and cotton, and silk, and wool.

'Mine were the four and eighty thousand dishes, in which,

in the evening and in the morning, rice was served.'

15. 'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-nagara-sahas-sanaṃ ekaṃ yeva¹ taṃ nagaraṃ hoti yan tena samayena ajjhāvasāmi, yadidaṃ Kusāvati raja-dhānī.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-pāsād-sahassānaṃ eko yeva so pāsādo hoti yan tena samayena ajjhāvasāmi, yadidaṃ Dhammo pāsādo.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-kuṭāgāra-sahas-sānaṃ ekaṃ yeva taṃ kuṭāgāraṃ hoti yan tena samayena ajjhāvasāmi, yadidaṃ Mahā-vyūhaṃ kuṭāgāraṃ.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-pallaṅka-sahas-sānaṃ eko yeva so pallaṅko hoti yan tena samayena ajjhāvasāmi, yadidaṃ sovaṇṇamayo vā rūpimayo vā dantamayo vā sāramayo vā.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-nāga-sahassānaṃ eko yeva so nāga hoti yan tena samayena abhirūhāmi² yadidaṃ Uposatho nāga-rājā.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-assa-sahassānaṃ, eko yeva so asso hoti yan tena samayena abhirūhāmi, yadidaṃ Valāhako³ assa-rājā.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-ratha-sahassānaṃ eko yeva so ratho hoti yan tena samayena abhirūhāmi, yadidaṃ Vejjayanta ratho.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-itthi-sahassānaṃ ekā yeva sā itthi hoti yā maṃ⁴ tena samayena paccupaṭ-ṭhāti khattiyāni⁵ vā velāmikāni vā⁶.

'Tesaṃ kho pan' Ānanda caturāsīti-vattha-sahassānaṃ ekaṃ yeva taṃ dussa-yugaṃ hoti yan tena samayena

1. K ekaññeva.

2. S^c K abhiruhāmi, and below.

3. S^c Valāho.

4. S^d ma; B^{mp} K omit.

5. S^c khattiyāni, B^p khattiyāyini; B^m khattiyinī; K -yayinī.

6. S^c Velāmikāneva; B^p soyini vā; B^m vessinī vā; K Vessāyini vā; K

(Sī) Khattiyāyini vā Velānimikānī vā.

paridahāmi khoma-sukhumam vā kappāsika-sukhumam vā koseyya-sukhumam vā kambala-sukhumam vā.

‘Tesam kho pan’ Ānanda caturāsīti-thālipāka-sahas-sānam eko yeva so thālipāko hoti yan nālikodana-paramam bhuñjāmi tadūpiyañ¹ ca sūpeyyam.

15. ‘Of those four and eighty thousand cities, Ānanda, one was that city in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the royal city of Kusāvatī.

‘Of those four and eighty thousand palaces, too, Ānanda, one was that palace in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the Palace of Righteousness.

‘Of those four and eighty thousand chambers, too, Ānanda, one was that chamber in which, at that time, I used to dwell—to wit, the chamber of the Great Complex.

‘Of those four and eighty thousand divans, too, Ānanda, one was that divan which, at that time, I used to occupy—to wit, one of gold, or one of silver, or one of ivory, or one of sandal-wood.

‘Of those four and eighty thousand state elephants, too, Ānanda, one was that elephant which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the king of elephants, “the Changes of the Moon.”

‘Of those four and eighty thousand horses, too, Ānanda, one was that horse which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the king of horses, “the Thunder-cloud.”

‘Of those four and eighty thousand chariots, too, Ānanda, one was that chariot in which, at that time, I used to ride—to wit, the cha ot called “the Flag of Victory.”

‘Of those four and eighty thousand wives, too, Ānanda, one was that wife who, at that time, used to wait upon me—to wit, either a lady of noble birth, or a Velāmikāni.

‘Of those four and eighty thousand myriads of suits of apparel, too, Ānanda, one was the suit of apparel which, at that time, I wore—to wit, one of delicate texture, of linen, or cotton, or silk, or wool.

1. S^c B^m K tadupiyañ.

‘Of those four and eighty thousand dishes, too, Ānanda, one was that dish from which, at that time, I ate a measure of rice and the curry suitable thereto.’

16. ‘Pass’ Ānanda sabbe te saṃkhārā atītā niruddhā vipariṇatā. Evaṃ aniccā kho Ānanda saṃkhārā, evaṃ addhuvā kho Ānanda saṃkhārā, evaṃ anassāsikā kho Ānanda saṃkhārā, yāvañ c’idaṃ Ānanda alam eva sabba-saṃkhāresu nibbindituṃ, alaṃ virajjituṃ alaṃ vimuc-cituṃ.

16. ‘See, Ānanda, how all these things are now past, are ended, have vanished away. Thus impermanent, Ānanda, are component things ; thus transitory, Ānanda, are component things; thus untrustworthy, Ānanda, are component things. Inasmuch, Ānanda, is it meet to be weary of, is it meet to be estranged from, is it meet to be set quite free from the bondage of all component things !’

17. ‘Chakkhattuṃ¹ kho panāhaṃ Ānanda abhijānāmi imasmiṃ padese sarīraṃ nikkhipitaṃ, tañ ca kho rājā vasamāno cakkavattī dhammiko dhamma-rājā cāturato, vijitāvī janapadatthāvariyaṃ satta-ratana-saman-nāgato, ayaṃ sattamo sarīra-nikkhepo. Na kho panāhaṃ Ānanda taṃ padesaṃ samanupassāmi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇiṃ pajāya sa-deva-manus-sāya yattha Tahāgato aṭṭhamāṃ sarīraṃ nikkhipeyyāti.’

Idam avoca Bhagavā. Idam vatvā² Sugato athāparam etad avoca Satthā :

‘Aniccā vata saṃkhārā uppādavaya-dhammino,
Uppajjitvā nirujjhanti, tesāṃ vūpasamo sukho ti.’

17. ‘Now I call to mind, Ānanda, how in this spot my body had been six times buried. And when I was dwelling here as the righteous king who ruled in righteousness, the lord of the four regions of the earth, the conqueror, the protector of his people, the possessor of the seven royal treasures—that was the seventh time.

1. S^c chakkhattu S^d chakkattum ; B^p chakkattu ; K chakkhittum.
2. K vatvāna.

‘But I behold not any spot, Ānanda, in the world of men and gods, nor in the world of Mara, nor in the world of Brahma—no, not among the race of Samarcas or Brahmins, of gods or men,—where the Tathāgata for the eighth time will lay aside his body¹.’

Thus spake the Exalted One; and when the Happy One had thus spoken, once again the Teacher said:—

‘How transient are all component things!

Growth is their nature and decay;

They are produced, they are dissolved again;

To bring them all into subjection—that is bliss².’

Mahā-Sudassana-Suttam Niṭṭhitam.³

End of the Maha-Sudassana-Sutta.

1. The whole of this conversation between the Great King of Glory and the Queen is very much shorter in the Jātaka. This may be perhaps partly explained by the narrative style in which the stories are composed—a style incompatible with the repetitions of the Suttas, and confined to the facts of the story.

But I think that no one can read this Sutta in comparison with the short passage found in the ‘Book of the Great Decease’ (above, Chip. V, § 18) without feeling that the latter is the more original of the two, and that the legend had not, when that passage or episode was first composed, attained to its present extended form.

2. On this celebrated verse, see the note at Mahāparinibbāna Sutta VI, 16, where it is put into the mouth of Sakka, the king of the gods. The principal word, samkhāra (states, or things, or phenomena), is discussed in the Introduction to this Sutta. See the ‘Journal of the Pāli Text Society’ for 1909, and below, p. 248.

3. B^p K -suttam catuttham; B^m suttam niṭṭhitam catuttham.

INTRODUCTION TO THE Jana-vasabha Sutta

The Janavasabha Sutta, in which important topic, such as rebirths of the faithful upāsakās of Gautama, effect of name, great kings of four quarters, joy of the gods, the four ways of iddhi (miracle), the three ways of bliss, and the seven requisites of Samādhi or concentration, have been mentioned.

Prof. Rhys Davids says that after the prologue the story turns into a fairy tale, quite well told and very edifying and full of subtle humour.

This Sutta further refers to the Tāvātimsa gods, the gods of Paranimmita vasavatti, Nimmānarati, Yāma, Cātummahārājika heavens, and the assembly of king Vessavana kuvera.

This Suttā further informs us that 24,00,000 upāsakas of magadha obtained Sotāpattiphalaṃ (fruition of the first stage of Sanctification) by following Buddha's instructions.

xviii. Janavasabha Sutta

Jana-vasabha's story

1. Evam me sutam ekaṃ samayaam Bhagavā Nādi¹ke¹ viharati Giṇṇa-kāvasathe. Tena kho pana samayena Bhagavā parito parito janapadesu paricārake abbhatīte² kālakate uppat-tīsu³ vyākaroti Kāsi-Kosalesu Vajji-Mallesu Ceti⁴. Vaṅsesu Kuru-Pañcālesu Maccha⁵-Sūrasenesu:⁶ 'Asu amutra uppanno, ⁷asu amutra uppanno.⁷ Paro-paññāsa Nadikiya⁸ paricārakā abbhatitā⁹ kālakatā pāncannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā, tattha parinibbāyino anāvatti-dhammā tasmā lokā. sādhi¹⁰kā navuti Nādi¹kiyā paricārakā abbhatitā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayārāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmino, sakid eva imaṃ lokam āgantvā dukkhass' antaṃ karissanti. Sātīrekāni pañca-satāni Nādi¹kiyā paricārakā abbhatitā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyoja-nānaṃ parikkhayā sotāpannā avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sambodhi parāyanā' ti.

1. B^m Nāti¹ke.

2. S^{ct} abbhatite; Oldenberg, MV. i. 23, 5, abbhatitam.

3. S^{dt} -tīsu: B^m K upapattīsu, and below §§ 2, 3.

4. B^m Cetiya, and below.

5. B^m majjha, and below.

6. S^{cd} B^m K sura^o; S^t sūra^o; and below.

7.7. S^c omits ; S^t inserts by corrections ; B^m K uppanno, each time ; B^m adds ti after repetition.

8. SS nadikā ; B^m nātikyā (and below) ; K paññāsā nād^o.

9. So SS B^m.

10. SS sādhi¹ta; below sādhi¹ka; B^m K sādhi¹kā cp. xvi. 2,7.

1. Thus have I heard¹. The Exalted One was once staying in Nāḍika, at the Brick House. Now at that time the Exalted One was wont to make declarations as to the rebirths of such followers (of the doctrine) as had passed away in death among the tribes round about on every side—among the Kāsis and Kosalans, the Vajjians and Mallas, the Chetis and Vamsas, the Kurus and Panchālas, the 'Macchas and Sūrasenas—saying: 'Such an one has been reborn there, and such an one there². From Nāḍika upwards of fifty adherents, who passed away in death after having completely destroyed the Five Bonds that bind people to this world³, have become inheritors of the highest heavens, there to pass utterly away, thence never to return. Full ninety adherents in Nāḍika, who have passed away in death after having completely destroyed the Three Bonds, and reduced to a minimum lust ill-will and delusion, have become Once-returners, and on their first return to this world shall make an end of pain. Over five hundred adherents of Nāḍika, who have passed away in death after having completely destroyed the Three Bonds, and become converted, cannot be reborn in any state of woe, but are assured of attaining to the Insight (of the higher stages of the Path).'

2. Assosum kho Nāḍikiyā paricārakā : 'Bhagavā kira parito parito janapadesu paricārake abbhatīte kāla-kate uppattīsu vyākaroti Kāsi-Kosalesu Vajji-Mallesu Cetivañ-sesu Kuru-Pañcālesu Maccha-Sūrasenesu: 'Asu amutra uppanno asu amutra uppanno.⁴ Paro-paññāsa Nāḍikiyā paricārakā abbhatītā kāla-katā pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā, tattha parinib-bāyino anāvattinā dhammā tasmā tasmā lokā. Sādhikā navuti Nāḍikiyā paricārakā abbhatītā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyo-janānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā saka-dāgāmino, sakid eva imaṃ lokam āgantvā dukkhass' antam karissanti.

1. See above pp. 97 ff., and the notes there.
2. For the details see above, p. 98, § 7.
3. See 'Dialogues,' I, pp. 200, 201.
4. B^m adds *ti, and below*.

Sâtirekāni pañca- satāni Nādikīyā paricārakā abbhatītā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotāpannā, avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sam-bodhi-parāyanā” ’ti. Tena ca Nādikīyā paricārakā attamanā ahesuṃ pamuditā pītisoma- nassa-jātā Bhagavato pañha¹ veyyākaraṇaṃ² sutvā.

2. Now the adherents at Nādika, when they heard these revelations, were pleased, gladdened and filled with joy and happiness at these solutions by the Exalted One of the problems that had been put to him.

3. Assosi kho āyasmā Ānando : ‘Bhagavā kira parito parito janapadesu paricārake abhatīte kālakate uppattīsu³ vyākaroti Kāsi-Kosalesu Vajji-Mallesu Cetivansesu Kuru- Pañcālesu Maccha-Sūrasenesu: ‘Asu amutra uppanno asu amutra uppanno. Paro-paññāsa Nādikīyā paricārakā abbhatītā kāla-katā pañcannnaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā, tattha parinibbāyino anāvatti-dhammā tasam loka. Sādhikā navuti Nādikīyā paricārakā abbhatītā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmino, sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āgantvā dukkhass’ antaṃ karis-santi. Sâtirekāni pañca satāni Nādikīyā paricārakā abbhatītā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotāpannā avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sambodhi-parāyanā” ti. Tena ca Nādikīyā paricārakā attamanā ahesuṃ pamuditā pītisoma- nassa-jātā Bhagavato pañha⁴-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā’ ti.

3. Now the venerable Ānanda heard [of these declarations made by the Exalted One, and of the satisfaction felt by the adherents at Nādika].

4. Atha kho āyasmato Ānandassa etad ahoṣi: ‘Ime kho⁵ pana pi⁵ ahesuṃ Māgadha⁶ paricārakā bahū c’eva ratta-

1. S^c pañhaṃ ; K pañhā.

2. S^t veyyākk^o.

3. SS -isu.

4. K pañhā.

5.5. B^m K panāpi, and below.

6. K Māgadhi^{kā}, and below ; note, Māgadha^{kā}tipi pāṭho.

ññū ca abbhatītā kālakatā, suññā maññe Aṅga-Magadhā¹

Māgadhakehi² paricāraricārakehi abbhatītehi kālakatehi. Te³ kho pana pi ahesuṃ Buddhe pasannā Dhamme pasannā Saṃghe pasannā, sīesu paripūrakārino.⁴ Te abbhatītā kālakatā Bhagavatā avyākatā, tesam p' assa⁵ sādhu veyyākaraṇaṃ, bahujaṇo pasīdeyya, tato gaccheyya suggaṭiṃ Ayaṃ kho pana pi ahosi rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro dhammiko dhamma-rājā hito brāhmaṇa-gahapatikānaṃ negamānaṃ e'eva jāsapadāsaṇ ca. Api ssudaṃ manussā kittayamāna⁶-rūpā viharanti: “Evaṃ no so dhammiko dhamma-rājā sukhāpetvā kālakato, evaṃ⁷ mayaṃ tassa dhammikassa dhamma-rañño vijjite phāsu⁸ viharimhāti.” So kho pana pi ahosi Buddhe pasanno Dhamme pasanno Saṃghe pasanno sīesu paripūrakārī. Api ssudaṃ manussā evaṃ āhaṃsu: “Yāva maraṇa-kālā pi rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro Bhaga-vantaṃ kittayamāna-rūpo kālakato” ti. So abbhatīto kālakato Bhagavatā avyākatato, tassa p' assa sādhu veyyākaraṇaṃ, bahujaṇo pasīdeyya, tato gaccheyya sugaṭiṃ. Bhagavato kho pana sambodhi Magadhesu.⁹ Yattha kho pana Bhagavato sambodhi Magadhesu, kathaṃ tattha Bhagavā Māgadhake paricārake abbhatīte kālakate up-pattīsu na vyākareyya? Bhagavā ce kho pana Māga-dhake paricārake abbhatīte kālakate uppattīsu na vyā-kareyya dīnamānā¹⁰ tena 'ssu Māgadhakā paricārakā. Yena kho pana 'ssu dīnamānā Māgadhakā paricārakā, kathaṃ taṃ¹¹ Bhagavā na vyākareyyāti ?

1. S^c Māgadhā.

2. B^m Aṅga-Māg^o ; K -ikehi, and below.

3. K tena, and below § 6.

4. K paripūrīk^o, and below.

5. B^m K pi 'ssa, and below.

6. S^c kittayamayāmāna, S^d kittasamāna, S^t B^m K kittiya^o.

7. SS eva.

8. So SS B^m (below, S^{dt} phāsuṃ) ; K phāsukaṃ.

9. So SS but afterwards Māg^o.

10. S^c dinamānā; B^m dinamanā; K ninnamanā; K (Sī) dīnamānā ; and below.

11. B^m K te.

4. And this idea occurred to him :— ‘But there were also adherents in Magadha, many of them, and of long religious experience, who have passed away in death. One might think that Anga and Magadha were void of adherents who have passed away in death. For they too had entire faith in the Buddha the Law and the Order, they had fulfilled the moral precepts. And yet concerning them, since they passed away in death, nothing has been declared by the Exalted One. It were surely a good thing to evoke a response as to them ; for much folk would believe, and would hereafter enter into bliss. Then too there was Seniya Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, righteous and ruling righteously, benign to priests and laymen, to town-folk and country-folk. His fame are men verily spreading abroad saying:— “Dead is our so righteous king of righteous rule who made us so happy! How well have we lived in the kingdom of that righteous king!” Now he too had entire faith in the Buddha the Law and the Order, and fulfilled the moral precepts. And people verily have also said, “Seniya Bimbisāra, king of Magadha, who up to the day of his death was given to praises of the Exalted One, is dead.” Concerning him who has passed away in death nothing has been declared by the Exalted One. It were surely a good thing to evoke a response as to him ; for much folk would believe, and would hereafter enter into bliss. Moreover the Exalted One attained supreme Insight in Magadha. Now where that took place, how should there be no declaration from the Exalted One concerning adherents in Magadha who have passed away in death ? If the Exalted One declare nothing concerning them they will be hurt. And since they would be hurt, how can the Exalted One keep silence ?’

5. *Idam āyasmā Ānando Māgadhako paricārake ārabhha eko raho anuvointetvā, ratthiyā paccūsa-samayam paccuṭṭhāya yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca:*

‘*Sutaṃ*¹ *me taṃ bhante: Bhagavā kira parito parito*

1. B^m sutametaṃ.

janapadesu paricārake abbhatīte kālakate uppattīsu vyākaroti Kāsi-Kosalesu Vajji-Mallesu Ceti-Vamśesu Kuru-Pañcālesu Maccha-Sāurasenesu: “Asu amutra uppanno, asu amutra uppanno. Paro-paññāsa Nākikiyā pari-cārakā abbatītā kālakatā pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā, tattha parinibbāyino anāvatti-dhammā tasmā lokā. Sādhikā navuti Nādikiyā paricārakā abbatītā kalakatā tiṇṇaṃ, saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmino sakid eva imaṃ lokam āgantvā dukkhass’ antaṃ karissanti. Sātirekāni pañca satāni Nādikiyā paricārakā abbatītā kālakatā tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotāpānā, avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sambodhi-parāyanā” ti. Tena ca Nādikiyā paricārakā attamanā¹ pamuditā pīti-somanassa-jātā Bhagavato pañha-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā.²

6. ‘Ime kho pana pi bhante ahesuṃ Māgadhakā pari cārakā bahū c’eva rattaññū ca abbatītā kalakatā. Suññā maññā maññe Aṅga-Magadhā³ Māgadhakehi paricārakehi abbatītehi kālakatehi. Te⁴ kho pana pi bhante ahesuṃ Buddhe pasannā Dhamme pasannā Saṃghe pasannā, sīlesu paripūrakārino. Te abbatītā kālakatā Bhagavatā avyākatā. Tesam p’ assa assa sādhu veyyākaraṇaṃ, bahujaṇo pasīdeyya, tato gaccheyya sugatiṃ. Ayaṃ kho pana pi bhante ahosi rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro dhammiko dhamma-rājā hito brāhmaṇa-gahapatikānaṃ negamānaṃ c’eva janapadāna⁵ ca. Api ssudaṃ manussā kittiya-māna-rūpā viharanti: “Evaṃ no so⁶ dhammiko dhamma-rājā sukhāpetvā kālakato, evaṃ mayaṃ tassa dhammi-kassa dhamma-rañño vijite phāsu viharimhāti.” So kho pana pi bhante⁷ ahosi Buddhe pasanno

1. SS omit ahesuṃ : K attamanā ahesuṃ.

2. B^m adds ti.

3. B^m inserts aṅga.

4. K tena, as in § 4.

5. K jāna-.

6. SS omit evaṃ no so, § 4.

7. K omits.

Dhamme pasanno Saṃghe pasanno, sīlesu paripūrakārī. Api ssudaṃ manussā evaṃ āhaṃsu: “Yāva maraṇa-kālā pi rājā Māgadho Seniyo Bimbisāro Bhagavantam kīttayamāna-rūpo kālakato” ti. So abbatthito kālakato Bhagavatā avyākato tassa p’ assa sādhu veyyākaraṇaṃ, bahujaṇo pasīdeyya, tato gaccheyya sugatiṃ. Bhagavato kho pana bhante sambodhi Magadhesu.¹ Yattha kho pana bhante Bhagavato sambodhi Magadhesu, kathaṃ tattha Bhagavā Māgadhaṃ paricārake abbatthike kālakate uppattīsu na vyākareyya ? Bhagavā ce kho pana bhante Māgadhaṃ paricārake abbatthite kālakate uppattīsu na vyākareyya, dīnamānātena ’Māgadhakā paricārakā. Yena kho pana ’ssu bhante² dīnamānā Māgadhakā paricārakā, kathaṃ taṃ³ Bhagavā na⁴ vyākareyyāti?”

Idam āyasmā Ānando Māgadhaṃ paricārake ārabha Bhagavato sammukhā parikathaṃ katvā utthāy’ āsanā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇaṃ katvā pakkāmi.

5,-6. Having thus pondered, alone and privately, concerning the Magadhese adherents, the venerable Ānanda rose up the next morning and came into the presence of the Exalted One, and being come, saluted him and sat down on one side. And so sitting, he told the Exalted One [all that he had heard and thought⁵]. And when he had made an end of thus speaking before the Exalted One, he rose from his seat, saluted the Exalted One rightwise, and went away.

7. Atha kho Bhagavā acira-pakkante ayasmato⁶ Ānande pubbaṇṇa-samayaṃ nivāsetvā patta-cīvaraṃ ādāya Nādikam piṇḍāya pāvisi. Nādiṃ piṇḍāya caritvā pacchā-bhattam piṇḍapāta-paṭikkanto pāde pakkhāletvā Giṇṇakā-vasathaṃ pavisitvā Māgadhaṃ paricārake ārabha atthi-katvā

1. SS Māg°, but in § 4 SS Mag°.

2. K omits.

3. B^m K te.

4. SS omit na; but S^t has an imperfect n after kathaṃ before taṃ.

5. Repeated from §§ 1, 2, 4, nearly word for word.

6. B^m K āyasmante.

manasikatvā sabba-cetaso¹ samannāharitvā paññatte āsane nisīdi: ‘Gatiṃ tesam jānissāmi abhisamparāyaṃ, yaṃ-gatikā te bhavanto yaṃ-abhisamparāyā’ ti. Addasā kho Bhagavā Māgadhaṃke paricārake yaṃ-gatikāte bhavanto yaṃ-abhisamparāyā.² Atha kho Bhagavā sāyaṇha-samayaṃ patisallānā vuṭṭhito Giṇṇakāvasathā nikkhamitvā vihāra³-pacchāyayaṃ⁴ paññatte āsane nisīdi.

7. Then the Exalted One, not long after the venerable Ānanda had gone away, robed himself in the morning and, taking a bowl and cloak, went forth for alms to Nāḍika. And when he had walked through Nāḍika for alms, after his meal, when he had come back again from his round for alms and bathed his feet, he entered the Brick House and sat down on a seat made ready, thinking over and cogitating upon and concentrating his whole mind on the Magadhese adherents, saying to himself: ‘I will find out their future, their fate after this life, whither these good men are bound, what their destiny is.’ And he, the Exalted One, saw the Magadhese adherents, whither they were bound, and what their destiny was. Then at eventide the Exalted One, arising from his meditation, went out of the Brick House, and sat down on a mat spread in the shade behind the lodging place.

8. Atha kho āyasmā Ānando yena Bhagavā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinno kho āyasmā Ānando Bhagavantam etad avoca: ‘Upasantappadisso⁵ bhante Bhagavā, bhāti-r-iva Bhagavato mukha-vaṇṇo pasannattā⁶ indriyānaṃ.—Santena nūn’ ajja bhante Bhagavā vihārena vihāsīti.’

1. B^m sabbaṃ cetasā ; K sabbaṃ cetaso, and in § 9.

2. B^m adds ti.

3. S^d vihāraṃ.

4. K cchāyayaṃ

5. S^d upasampassadisso; B^m upasantapatiso; K upasanta-patisso ; K (Sī) upasantappadisso.

6. B^m K vipasannattā.

8. Then the venerable Ānanda came into the presence of the Exalted One, saluted him and sat down on one side. Thus seated he said to the Exalted One :— ‘My lord the Exalted One looks serene, his complexion shines forth, as it were, owing to the tranquillity of his faculties. Has the lord the Exalted One spent a pleasant day ?’

9. ‘Yad eva kho me tvam Ānanda Māgadhake paricārake ārabha¹ sammukhā parikatham katvā, utthāya’ āsanā pakkanto, tad evāham Nādi ke piṇḍāya caritvā pacchābhataṃ piṇḍapāta-paṭikkanto pāde pakkhāletvā Giṇḍakāvasathaṃ pavisitvā Māgadhake² paricārake ārabha atthikavā manasikavā sabba-cetaso³ samannāharitvā paññatte āsane nisīdim: “Gatiṃ tesam jānissāmi abhisamparāyam, yaṃ-gatikā te bhavanto yaṃ-abhisamparāyā ti.” Addasaṃ kho aham Ānanda Māgadhake paricārake yaṃ-gatikā te bhavanto yaṃ-abhisamparāyā.⁴ Atha kho Ānanda antarahito yakkho saddam anussāvesi: “Janava-sabho aham Bhagavā, Janavasabho aham Sugatāti.” Abhijānāsi no tvam Ānanda ito pubbe evarūpaṃ nāma-dheyyam sutvā⁵ yadidaṃ Janavasabho ti ?’

‘Na kho aham bhante abhijānāmi ito pubbe evarūpaṃ nāma-dheyyam sutvā yadidaṃ Janavasabho ti. Api hi⁶ me bhante lomāni haṭṭhāni “Janavasabho” ti nāma-dheyyam sutvā. Tassa mayham bhante etad ahosi: “Na ha nūna⁷ so orako yakkho bhavissati yassidaṃ⁸ evarūpaṃ yāma-dheyyam⁹ yadidaṃ Janavasabho ti.” ’

1. So B^m K, SS omit.

2. K Māgadhike.

3. B^m sabbaṃ cetasā ; K sabbaṃ cetaso, and below.

4. B^m adds ti.

5. S^{ct} sutam, but below sutvā ; B^m K sutam, and below.

6. B^m K ca.

7. So S^{cdt} K (Sī) ; B^m na hi nuna ; K na hi nūna.

8. B^m K yadidaṃ.

9. B^m K insert supaññattaṃ.

9. 'When you had made that speech to me, Ānanda, concerning the Magadhese adherents and had gone away, I, when I had gone to Nāḍika for alms, had dined, returned, bathed my feet and entered the Brick House, sat me down on a mat spread there and thought over, cogitated upon, and concentrated my whole mind on those Magadhese adherents, resolving to know their future, their fate after this life, whither these good men were bound, what their destiny would be. And I saw, Ānanda, those Magadhese adherents, whither the good men were bound, what their destiny would be. Thereupon an invisible spirit made himself heard, saying:— "I am Jana-vasabha, O Exalted One ; I am Jana-vasabha, O Welcome One !" Now do you allow, Ānanda, that you have ever heard of any one bearing such a name as Jana-vasabha ?'

'I confess, lord, that I have never heard of one bearing such a name as Jana-vasabha. Moreover, lord, on hearing such a name as Jana-vasabha, I am thrilled with excitement¹, and I fancy it can be no ordinary spirit who bears such a name as Jana-vasabha²."

10. 'Anantarā³ kho Ānanda sadda⁴-pātinjāvā⁵ ulāra-vaṇṇo so⁶ me⁷ yakkho sammukhe⁸ pātur ahoṣi. Dutiyakam pi saddam⁹ anussāvesi: "Bimbisāro ahaṃ Bhagavā, Bimbisāro ahaṃ Sugata.¹⁰ Idaṃ sattamaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante Vessava-

1. Literally, the down of my skin bristles.

2. Literally, the 'Bull of the Folk,' that is glorious among the people. The name seems scarcely to justify the good Ānanda's excitement, as such epithets were then, as now, common enough in India. But it is part of the art of the story-teller to make a mystery of it.

3. K antarā.

4. K saddassa.

5. K -bhāvo.

6. B^m K omit.

7. SS ma.

8. S^{ct} pamukhe; S^d pamukho.

9. K All MSS. saddham.

10. B^m -āti.

ṇassa mahārājassa saḥavyataṃ uppajjāmi. So¹ tato cuto manussa-rājā, amanussa-rājā² divi homi.²

Ito satta tato satta saṃsārāni catuddasa
Nivāsam abhijānāmi yattha me vusitaṃ pure.

“Dīgha-rattaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante avinipāto avinipātaṃ sañjānāmi, āsā ca pana me santiṭṭhati sakadāgāmitāyāti.”

‘Acchariyam idaṃ āyasmato Janavasabhassa yak-khassa, abbhutaṃ³ idaṃ āyasmato Janavasabhassa yak-khassa: ‘Dīgha-rattaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante avinipāto avinipātaṃ sañjānāmīti’ ca vadesi,⁴ ‘Āsā ca pana me santiṭṭhati sakadāgāmitāyāti’ ca vadesi. Kuto nidānaṃ pan’ āyasmā Janavasabho yakkho evarūpaṃ uḷāraṃ⁵ visesā-dhigamaṃ sañjānātīti ?’

10. ‘After those words had been spoken, Ānanda, the spirit himself appeared before me, a splendid presence. And he made a second utterance :— “I am Bimbisāra, O Exalted One! I am Bimbisāra, O Welcome One! ‘Tis now the seventh time, lord, that I am reborn into the communion of the great King Vessavana. Deceased as a human king, I am in heaven become a non-human king.

Hence seven, thence seven, in all fourteen rebirths—So much I know of lives I’ve lived in the long past.

Long, lord, have I, who am destined not to be reborn in states of woe, been conscious of that destiny, and now is there desire in me to become a Once-returner.”

‘Wonderful is this, marvellous is this that you, the venerable spirit Jana-vasabhe, tell me:— “Long have I who am destined not to be reborn in states of woe, been conscious of that destiny ; “and again :— “Now is there desire in me to become

1. K So ito cuto manussesu rājā bhavituṃ pahomi; K (Sī) So tato cuto manussā rājā amanussā rājā divi homi.

2.2. B^m bhavituṃ pahomi.

3. S^d abhibhūtaṃ ; K abbhūtaṃ.

4. K pavedesi, and in the next clause.

5. K uḷāra-.

a Once-returner." How has it come about that Jana-vasabha the venerable spirit recognizes his attainment to a distinction so splendid ?

11. ' "Na aññattha¹ Bhagavā tava sāsana, na aññattha Sugata tava sāsana. Yad-agge ahaṃ bhante Bhagavati ekantagato² abhi pasanno,³ tad-agge ahaṃ bhante dīgha-attaṃ avinipāto svinipātaṃ sañjānāmi, āsā ca pana me ssutiṭṭhati satadāgāmitāya. Idhāhaṃ bhante Vessavaṇena⁴ mahārājena pesito Virūlhakassa mahārājassa santike kenacid eva karaṇīyena addasaṃ Bhagavantaṃ antaraṃ magge Giṇṇakāvasathaṃ pavisitvā Māgadhaṃ paricārake ārabha atṭhikavā manasikavā sabba-vetaso samannāharitvā nisinnaṃ : 'Gatiṃ tesāṃ jānissāmi abhisamparāyaṃ, yaṃ-gatikā te bhavanto yaṃ-abhisam-parāyāti.' Anacchariyaṃ kho paṇ' etaṃ bhate yaṃ Vessavaṇassa mahārājassa yaṃ⁵ parisāyaṃ phāsato sammukhā⁶ suttaṃ sammukhā⁶ paṭiggahiaṃ 'yaṃ-gatikā te bhavanto yaṃ-abhisam-parāyā tī.' Tassa mayhaṃ bhante etad ahoṣi : 'Bhagavantaṃ ca dakkhāmi idaṃ ca Bhagava to āroceyyāmiti.' Ime kho⁷ bhante dve paccyā Bhagavantaṃ dassanāya pakkamituṃ.⁸

11. "Nowise save through thy word, O Exalted One, no-wise save through thy word, O Blessed One ! From the moment when I had gone over, in absolute and entire faith to the Exalted One, from that moment, lord, did I who am destined not to be reborn in states of woe, been conscious of that destiny ; and I now desire to become a Once-returner. Now, lord, I have been sent on a message concerning some business by King Vessavana to King Virūlhaka; and on my way I saw the Exalted One enter-

1. K aññatram and in the next clause.

2. SS ekantigato; B^m kato; K ekantato; K (Sī) ekanta gato.

3. K abhippasanno.

4. SS -vanena ; and subsequently.

5. B^m K tassam.

6.6. K omits.

7. B^m K insert me.

8. B^m upasaṃkamituṃ.

ing the Brick House, and sitting down to think over, to cogitate upon, to concentrate his whole mind upon the deceased Magadhese adherents, in the resolve to know their future, their fate after this life ; whither the good men are bound, what their destiny is. Now it was only the moment before, lord, that I had heard face to face and had understood from his own mouth from King Vessavana, how he had said to his assembly whither those good men were bound, and what their destiny was, so it occurred to me that I would visit the Exalted One, and I would announce it to him. These, lord, are the two reasons why I came forth to visit the Exalted One¹.

12. Purimāni bhante divasāni purimatarāni tadahu 'posathe paṇṇarase vassūpanāyikāya puṇṇāya² puṇṇamāya rattiyā kevalakappā ca devā Tāvatiṃsā Sudhammāyaṃ sabhāyaṃ sannisinā honti sannipatitā, mahatī ca dibbā³ parisā samantato nisinnā⁴ honti,⁵ cattāro ca mahārājā⁶ catuddisā nisinnā honti. Puratthimāya disāya Dhata-raṭṭho mahārājā pacchāmukho⁷ nisinno hoti deva⁸ purakkhatvā. Dakkhiṇā disāya Virūḷhako mahārājā uttarābhimukho nisinno hoti deve purakkhatvā. Pacchi-māya disāya Virūpakkho mahārājā puratthimābhimukho⁹ nisinno hoti deve purakkhatvā. Uttarāya disāya Vessa-vaṇo mahārājā dakkhiṇābhimukho nisinno hoti deve purakkhatvā. Yadā bhante kevalakappā ca devā Tāvatiṃsā Sudhammāyaṃ sabhāyaṃ

1. These two reasons are: firstly, that he had heard a statement by Vessavana; secondly, that (having noticed, on his way, how the Exalted One had been thinking on that very matter) he wished to report it to him.

2. K omits.

3. K^m K dibba-, and below.

4. B^m sanisinā.

5. S^c hoti ; B^m adds sannipatitā.

6. B^m K -jāno, and below.

7. B^m pacchābhimukho ; K pacchimābhimukho.

8. K devehi, and subsequently.

9. So K ; S^t B^m purattābhimukho.

sannisinnā¹ honti sannipatitā, mahatī ca dibbā parisā samantato nisinnā² honti³ cattāro ca⁴ mahārājā catuddisā nisinnā honti, idaṃ tesam hoti āsanasmim. Atha pacchā amhākaṃ āsanaṃ hoti. Ye te bhante devā Bhagavati brahmācariyaṃ caritvā adhunuppannā Tāvatiṃsakāyaṃ, te aññe deve atirocanti⁵ vaṇṇena c' eva yasaṃ ca. Tena sudam bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā attamanā honti pamuditā pīti-somanassa-jātā: "Dibbā vata bho kāyā paripūrenti hāyanti asurakāyāti".⁶

12⁷. In days gone by, lord, in days long long gone by, it came to pass that on the night of the feast of the fifteenth day at the full moon in the month for entering upon Retreat⁸, the month Āsālhi, the whole of the gods in the retinue of the Thirty-Three were assembled together, seated in the hall of Good Counsel. And around them on every side a vast celestial company was seated ; and at the four quarters of the firmament sat the Four Great Kings. There was Dhatarattha, king of the East, seated facing the west, presiding over his host; Virūlhaka, king of the South, seated facing the north, presiding over his host; Virūpakkha, king of the West, seated facing the east, presiding over his host; and Vessavana, king of the North, seated facing the south, presiding over his host. Whenever, lord, all the gods in the heaven of the Thirty-Three are assembled and seated in their hall of Good Counsel, with a vast celestial company seated around them on every side, and with the Four Great Kings at the four quarters of the firmament, this is the order of the seats of the Four. After that come our seats. And those gods, lord, who had been recently reborn in the hosts of the Thirty-Three because

1. K nisinnā.

2. B^m sannisinnā.

3. B^m adds sannipatitā.

4. S^{cd} omit.

5. K ativirocanti.

6. S^c asukārāyāti; S^d K asurakāyāti; S^l asurakāyāyāti ; B^m asurākāyāti.

7. Recurs slightly altered below, Mahā-Govinda Sutta, § 2.

8. Vassūpanāyika. Vassa is here used in its technical sense of the yearly Retreat during the rains. See A. I, 51 ; Vin. I, 137.

they had lived the higher life under the Exalted One, they outshone the other gods in appearance and in glory. And thereat, lord, the Thirty-Three were glad and of good cheer, were filled with joy and happiness, saying :— “Verily, sirs, the celestial hosts are waxing, the titanic hosts are waning.”

13. Atha kho¹ bhante Sakko devānam Iṇdo devānam Tāvatiṃsānam sampasādaṃ viditvā imāhi gāthāhi anumodi:

‘Modanti vata bho devā tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,²
Tathāgataṃ namassantā Bhammassa ca sudhammataṃ.
Nave va deve³ passantā vaṇṇavante yasassino
Sugatasmim brahmacariyaṃ⁴ caritvāna idhāgate,
Te aññe⁵ atirocanti vaṇṇena yasasāyuna
Sāvaka Bhūri-paṇṇassa visesūpagatā idha.
Idaṃ disvāna nandanti Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā⁶
Tathāgataṃ namassantā Dhammassa ca sudhammatan’
ti.

Tena sudaṃ bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā bhiyoso mattāya attamanā honti pamuditā pīti-somaṇassa-jātā: ‘Dibbā vata bho kāyā paripūrenti, hāyanti asura-kāyā ’ti.

13. Now, lord, Sakka, ruler of the gods, when he saw the satisfaction felt by the retinue of the Three-and-Thirty, expressed his approval in these verses :—

The Three-and-Thirty, verily, both gods and lord, rejoice,
Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime⁷,
Whereas they see the gods new-risen, beautiful and bright,
Who erst the holy life had lived, under the Happy One,

1. B^m K kho, SS omit.

2. SS sa-indakā. See p. 221.

3. So S^{dt} K ; S^c nave ca deve ; B^m nave deve ca, and so at § 18. At § 18. At § 18 SS nave va deve ; K nave ca deve.

4. MSS. and K-cariyaṃ.

5. S^c te vaṇṇa here but sabbe te at § 18 ; S^{dt} te v’aññe here but te aññe at § 18.

6. S^c B^m sa-y- ; K sah^o and so B^m K twice at § 18 and SS at § 21.

7. Literally, ‘and the fair Norrnness of the Norm,’ that is, the rule, not of gods, init of Law.

The Mighty Sage's hearers, who had won to higher truths¹,
Come hither; and in glory all the other gods outshine.
This they behold right gladly, both lord and Thirty-Three,
Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime.

Hereat, lord, the Three-and-Thirty Gods were even more
abundantly glad and of good cheer and filled with joy and hap-
piness, saying :— "Verily the celestial hosts are waxing, the
titanic hosts are waning !"

14. *Atha² bhante yen' atthena devā Tāvatiṃsā Su-
dhammāyaṃ sabhāyaṃ sannisinnā honti sannipatitā, taṃ
atthaṃ cintayitvā taṃ atthaṃ mantayitvā, vutta-vacanā pi
taṃ³ cattāro mahārājā tasmīṃ atthe honti, paccanusitṭha-
vacanā pi taṃ⁴ cattāro mahārājā tasmīṃ atthe honti sakesu⁵
āsanesu ṭhitā avipakkantā.*

*Te vutta-vākyā rājāno paṭigayhānusāsaniṃ⁶
Vippasanna-manā santā aṭṭhaṃsu samhi āsane ti.*

14. Then, lord, concerning the object for which the Three-
and-Thirty gods were assembled in their seats in the Hall of
Good Counsel, they took counsel and deliberated about it; and
with respect to that object the Four Great Kings were addressed,
and with respect to that object the Four Great Kings were ad-
monished, standing by their seats :—

The uttered word th' admonished Kings accepted there,
Serene in mind and calm they stood each at his place.

15. *Atha kho bhante uttarāya disāya ulāro āloko sañjāyi,
obhāso pātūr ahosi, atikkamm' eva devānam devānubhāvaṃ.*

1. Visesūpagatā. See above, Vol. I, p. 296: 'attains to distinction so excellent.' Perhaps this technical phrase is to be taken here (as in § 28) in its ordinary sense. It would then mean : 'who have attained to the distinction of rebirth among the gods.'
2. B^m K add *kho*.
3. B^m *nām' idaṃ*; K *agrees with SS*.
4. B^m *nām' idaṃ*.
5. B^m K *sakesu sakesu*.
6. S^d *pariggayō*; S^t *paggayō*; B^m K *paṭiggayō*. See p. 225.

Atha¹ bhante Sakko devānam indo deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi: ‘Yathā² kho mārisā nimittā dissanti³ āloko sañjāyati obhāso pātu bhavati Brahmā pātu bhavissati, Brahmuno⁴ etaṃ pubba-nimittam pātubhāvāya yadidaṃ āloko sañjāyati obhāso pātu bhavatīti.’

Yathā unimittrā dissanti Bhrahmāpātu bhavissati, Brahmuno h’ etaṃ nimittam⁵ obhāso vipulo mahā ti.

15. Then, lord, a splendid light came forth out of the North, and a radiance shone around surpassing the divine glory of the gods. And, lord, then did Sakka, king of the gods, say to the retinue of the Thirty-Three :— “According, friends, to the signs now seen,— the light that ariseth, the radiance that appeareth— Brahmā will be manifested. For this is the herald sign of the manifestation of Brahmā to wit, when the light ariseth and the glory shineth⁶” :—

The portents now are seen, so Brahmā draweth nigh, For this is Brahma’s sign, this glorious splendour vast.

16. Atha kho bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā⁷ sakesu āsanesu nisīdiṃsu: ‘Obhāsam etaṃ ñassāma⁸ yaṃ vipāko bhavissati, sacchikatvā va naṃ gamissāmāti.’

Cattāro pi mahārājā yathā sakesu āsanesu nisīdiṃsu: ‘Obhāsam etaṃ ñassāma yaṃ vipāko bhavissati, sacchi-katvā va naṃ gamissāmāti.’ Idaṃ sutvā devā⁹ Tāvatiṃsā kaggā samāpajjiṃsu: ‘Obhāsam etaṃ ñassāma yaṃ vipāko bhavissati, sacchikatvā va naṃ gamissāmāti.’

16. Then, lord, the gods of the Thirty-Three sat down in their own places, saying :— “We will ascertain what shall be the

1. B^m adds *kho*, but not K.

2. S^d *yatho* ; S^{ct} *yato* ; but see i, 220 ; ii. 225.

3. B^m inserts *ulāro*.

4. B^m adds *h’* (from the verse).

5. MSS. and K *pubba-nimittam*.

6. So also in the Kevaddha (p. 200, translated above, Vol. I, p. 281).

7. B^m adds *yathā*.

8. K *yassām*, and below.

9. So K ; SS B^m omit.

result of this radiance, when we have realized it, we will go to meet him. The Four Great Kings also sat down in their own places, saying the same, And when they had heard this, the gods of the Three-and-Thirty were all together agreed :— “We will ascertain what shall be the result of this radiance ; when we have realized it, we will go to meet him.”

17. **Yadā bhante Brahmā Samaṅkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, oḷārikaṃ attabhāvaṃ abhinimminivā¹ pātu bhavati. yo kho pana bhante Brahmuno pakati-vaṇṇaṃ anabhisambhavanaṃ so devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ cakkhu-pathasmiṇ. Yadā bhante Brahmā Samaṅkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, so aññe deve atirocati vaṇṇena c' eva yasasā ca. Seyyathā pi bhante sovaṇṇa-viggahaṃ² atirocati,³ evam eva kho bhante yadā Brahmā Samaṅkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, so aññe deve atirocati vaṇṇena c' eva yasasā ca. Yadā bhante Brahmā Samaṅkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, na tassa⁴ parisāyaṃ koci devo abhivādeti vā paccuṭṭheti vā āsanena vā nimanteti. Sabbe va tuṇhī-bhūtā pañjalikā⁵ pallaṅke na⁶ nisīdanti 'Yassa dāni devassa icchissati Brahmā Samaṅkumāro, tassa devassa pallaṅke nisīdis-satīti.'⁷ Yassa kho pana bhante devassa Brahmā Samaṅkumāro pallaṅke⁸ nisīdati,⁹ uḷāraṃ so labhati devo veda-paṭilābhaṃ, uḷāraṃ so labhati devo somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ. Seyyathā pi bhante rājā khattiyo muddhā-vasitto adhunābhisitto¹⁰ rajjena, uḷāraṃ so labhati veda-paṭilābhaṃ, uḷāraṃ so labhati somanassa-**

1. K abhinimmitvā.

2. B^m K mānusaṃ.

3. B^m atiroceti.

4. B^m K tassaṃ.

5. S^c añjalikā, S^d pajalikā.

6. So SS which vary afterwards ; K pallaṅke, but in § 18 -kena.

7. K nisīdissati.

8. S^{ct} add na.

9. SS nisīdissati.

10. K adhunāvasitto, and in note adhunābhisitto ti pi paṭṇo.

paṭilābham, evam eva kho bhante yassa devassa Brahmā Sanam-kumāro pallaṅke nisīdati, uḷāraṃ so labhati devo veda-paṭilābham, uḷāraṃ so labhati devo somanassa-paṭilā-bham.

17. When, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra¹ appears before the Thirty-Three gods, he appears as a (relatively) gross personality which he has specially created. For Brahma's usual appearance is not sufficiently materialized to impress the vision of the Thirty-Three Gods. And, lord, when Brahma Sanam-kumāra appears before the Thirty-Three Gods, he outshines the other gods in colour and in glory. Just, lord, as a figure made of gold outshines the human frame, so, when Brahmā Sanamkumāra appears before the Thirty-Three Gods, does he outshine the other gods in colour and in glory. And when, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra appears before the Thirty-Three Gods, there is no god in all that assembly that salutes him, or rises up, or invites him to be seated. They all sit in silence, with clasped hands and cross-legged, thinking :— “Of whichever god Brahmā Sanamkumāra now does res anything, he will sit down on that god's divan.” And by whichever god he does sit down, that god is filled with a sublime satisfaction, a sublime happiness, even as a Kshatriya king newly anointed and crowned is filled with a sublime satisfaction, a sublime happiness.

18. **Atha bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro oḷārikaṃ attabhāvaṃ abhinimminī² kumāra-vaṇṇi³ hutvā Pañcasikho devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātur ahoṣi. So vehāsaṃ abhuggantvā ākāse antalikkhe pallaṅkena nisīdi. Seyyathā pi bhante balavā puriso supaccatthate vā pallaṅke same vā bhūmi-bhāge pallaṅkena nisīdeyya, evam eva kho bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro vehāsaṃ abhuggantvā ākāse antalikkhe pallaṅkena snisīditvā devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sampasādaṃ imāhi gāthāhi anumodi:**

‘Modanti vata bho devā Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,

Tathāgataṃ namassantā Dhammassa ca sudhammataṃ,

1. See Vol. I, p. 121.

2. K abhinimmitvā.

3. K -vaṇṇo.

Nave va deva passantā vaṇṇavante yasassino,¹
 Sugatasmiṃ² brahmacariyaṃ caritvāna idhāgate.
 Te Aññe atirocanti vaṇṇena yasaṣāyunā
 Sāvakaḥ Bhūri-paṇṇassa visesūpagatā idha.
 Idam disvana nandanti Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,
 Tathāgataṃ namassantā Dhammassaca cudhammatan'
 it.

18. So, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra having created a grosser personality and become in appearance as the youth Five-crest², manifested himself thus to the gods of the company of the Thirty-Three. Rising up into the air he sat down cross-legged in the sky. Just, lord, as easily as a strong man might sit down cross-legged on a well-spread divan or a smooth piece of ground, even so did Brahmā Sanamkumāra, rising up into the air, sit down cross-legged in the sky. And seeing the tranquillity of the gods of the company of the Thirty-Three he expressed his pleasure in these verses :—

The Three-and-Thirty, verily, both gods and lord, rejoice,
 Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime,
 Whereas they see these gods new-risen, beautiful and bright,
 Who erst the holy life had lived, under the Happy One,
 The Mighty Sage's hearers, who had won to higher truths,
 Come hither; and in glory all the other gods outshine.
 This they behold right gladly, both lord and Thirty-Three,
 Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime.

19. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro abhāsitha.⁴ Idam atthaṃ atthaṃ bhante Brahmuno Sanamkumārassa bhāsato atthaṅga-samannāgato saro⁵ hoti vissattho

1. S^{ct} B^m yasassine.

2. K Sagatasmi.

3. Pañcasikha, which became a famous name in Indian legends, and was adopted by Saivite and Sāṅkhya writers. It is nowhere explained what, or how disposed, his five crests were.

4. S^c rāhāsitha; S^{dt} B^m bhāsitha *here and in* § 21.

5. S^{dt} omit.

ca viññeyye ca mañjū ca savaṇīyo ca bindu¹ ca avisārī ca gabhīro ca ninnādī ca. Yathā parisam kho pana bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro sarena² viññāpeti, na c' assa bahiddhā parisāya ghoso niccharati. Yassa kho pana bhante evaṃ aṭṭhaṅga-samannāgato saro hoti, so vuccati Brahmassaro ti.

19. This was the matter of Brahmā Sanamkumāra's speech. And he spoke it with a voice of eightfold characteristics—in a voice that was fluent, intelligible, sweet, audible, continuous, distinct, deep, and resonant. And whereas, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra communicated with that assembly by his voice, the sound thereof did not penetrate beyond the assembly. He whose voice has these eight characteristics is said to be Brahmā-voiced.

20. Atha kho bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro tetthimse . attabhāve abhinimminivā³ devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ paccekapallaṅkesu⁴ pallaṅkena nisīditvā deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi:

‘Taṃ kiṃ maññanti bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāva⁵ ca⁶ so Bhagavā bahujaṇa-hitāya paṭipanno bahujaṇa-sukhāya lokānukampakāya⁷ atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Ye hi keci bho⁸ Buddhamaṃ saraṇaṃ gatā dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gatā saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gatā sīlesu paripūrakārino, te kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā app ekacce Parinimmita-Vasavattīnaṃ devānaṃ saḥavyataṃ uppajjanti, app ekacce Nimmānarattīnaṃ devānaṃ shavyataṃ uppajjanti, app ekacce Tusitānaṃ devānaṃ⁹ . . . Yāmānaṃ devānaṃ . . . Tāvatiṃsānaṃ devānaṃ . . . Catummahārājikānaṃ devānaṃ saḥavyataṃ uppajjanti. Ye sabbanihīnaṃ kāyaṃ paripūrenti, te gandhabba-kāyaṃ paripūrentīti.’

1. S^d bandu, S^t bindū.

2. K *inserts* ca.

3. K *abhinimmitva*.

4. B^m *inserts* pacceka-; K *omits* paccekapallaṅkesu, *but follows with* paccekapallaṅke.

5. B^m K yāvañ.

6. K ce.

7. K -kampāya.

8. K bhonto.

9. B^m K *repeat the whole clause*.

20. Then, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra, having created thirty-three shapes of himself, sitting each on the couch of each of the Thirty-Three Gods, thus addressed the Gods :—

“Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three ? Inasmuch as the Exalted One hath acted for the welfare of the peoples, for the happiness of the peoples, out of pity for the world, for the advantage, for the welfare, for the happiness of gods and men, they, whoever they be, Sirs, who have taken the Buddha for their refuge, the Truth for their refuge, the Order for their refuge, they, on the dissolution of the body after death, have been reborn, some of them into the communion of the Paranimmita-Vasavattī gods, some of them into the communion of the Tusita gods, or of the gods in the retinue of Yāma, or of the Thirty-Three Gods, or of the Four Great Kings. Those who fill the number of the lowest group, they go to fill the number of the Gandharva host.”

21. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro abhāsīttha. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmuno¹, Sanamkumārassa bhāsato ghoso² yeva³ devo⁴ maññati⁵ ‘Yo yaṃ⁶ mana pallaṅke, so yaṃ⁷ eko va⁸ bhāsātīti.’

Ekasmiṃ bhāsamānasmiṃ sabbe bhāsanti nimmitā,
Ekasmiṃ tuṇhīm āsīne sabbe tuṇhī bhavanti te.
Tadā su devā maññanti Tāvatiṃ sāhindakā,
Yo yaṃ⁹ mama pallaṅke¹⁰ so ‘yaṃ¹¹ eko va¹² bhāsātīti.

-
1. SS -na ; K brahmāsanamk^o.
 2. S^c so, S^d soso.
 3. S^c yevā.
 4. S^c omits ; B^m K devā.
 5. B^m K -nti.
 6. B^m yavāyaṃ.
 7. B^m K svāyaṃ.
 8. K ca.
 9. SS yoyaṃ, K yvāyaṃ.
 10. K pallaṅkasmim.
 11. K svāyaṃ.
 12. K ca.

21. This was the matter of Brahma Sanamkumāra's speech. And he spoke it with such a voice, that each god fancied¹:— "He who is on my divan, he alone hath spoken."

Speaks but one Brahma-shape, the Thirty-Three all speak;
Silently sits one shape, they all in silence sit. Then all the
Three-and-Thirty with their king too think,

He who is on my couch, 'tis he alone that spake ².

22. Atha kho bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro ekante³
attānaṃ upasaṃhāsi,⁴ ekante attānaṃ upasaṃharitvā
Sakkassa devānaṃ indassa pallaṅkena⁵ nisīditvā deve
Tāvatiṃse āmantesi:

'Taṃ kiṃ maññanti bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāva
suppaññattā v'⁶ ime tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā
sammāsambuddhena cattāro iddhipādā iddhi-pahutāya⁷
iddhi-visavitāya⁸ iddhi-vikubbanatāya. Katame cattāro ? Idha
bho bhikkhu chanda-samādhi-padhāna-saṃkhāra-samannā-
gataṃ bhāveti, viriya-samādhi⁹ . . . citta-samādhi . . . vīmaṃsā-
samādhi-padhāna-saṃkhāra-samannāgataṃ iddhipādaṃ
bhāveti. Ime kho bho tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā
sammāsambuddhena cattāro iddhipādā paññattā iddhi-
pahutāya iddhi-visavitāya iddhi-visavitāya iddhi-

1. In the text read so so devo.

2. The first couplet of this verse, oddly enough it seems to us, was a great favourite. It survived among the Buddhists for many centuries, and is extant in its Sanskritised form in the Divyāvadāna, p. 166; and also in the Madhyamaka Vritti, p. 118 of the edition published by the Buddhist Text Society.

3. B^m K ekattena, and below.

4. K -saṃharati.

5. S^t B^m pallaṅke pallaṅkena ; K pallaṅke.

6. B^m c' ; K p' ; cp. § 20.

7. K bahulīkatāya and below; K (note) iddhipahutāyāti pāṭhena bhaviṭṭhaṃ.

8. K visevitāya, and below note iddhi-āsavitāyaī vā iddhi-visatāyāti vā pāṭho.

9. B^m K repeat the clause after each.

vikubbanatāya. Ye hi¹ keci bho atītam addhānam samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā aneka-vihitaṃ² iddhi-vidhaṃ paccanu bhosuṃ, sabbe te imesaṃ yeva catunnaṃ iddhipādānaṃ, bhāvitattā bahulī-katattā. Ye hi pi³ keci bho anāgatam addhānaṃ samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā aneka-vihitaṃ idhaṃ paccanubhossanti, sabbe te imesaṃ yeva catunnaṃ iddhipādānaṃ bhāvitattā bahulī-katattā. Ye hi pi⁴ keci bho etarahi samaṇā vā brāhmaṇā vā aneka-vihitaṃ iddhi-vidhaṃ paccanubhonti, sabbe te imesaṃ yeva catunnaṃ iddhipādānaṃ bhāvitattā bahulī-katattā. Passanti no bhonto devā Tāvatiṃvāmama pi naṃ⁵ evarūpaṃ iddhānubhāvan' ti ?
'Evaṃ Brahme'⁶ ti.

'Aham pi kho bho imesaṃ yeva catunnaṃ iddhi-pādānaṃ bhāvitattā bahulī-katattā evam mahiddhiko evam mahānubhāvo' ti.

22. Then, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra betook himself to one end [of the Hall] and then sitting down on the divan of Sakka, lord of the gods, addressed the Thirty-Three Gods :—

"Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three, of the completeness wherewith the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme, hath revealed the Four Ways to Iddhi for the development, thereof, for proficiency therein, for the elaboration thereof? Which are the Four Ways? In the first place a brother practises that way which is compounded of concentration and effort with desire. In the second place a brother practises that way which is compounded of concentration and effort with energy. In the third place a brother practises that way which is compounded of concentration and effort with a [dominant] idea. In the fourth place a brother practises that way which is compounded of concentration and effort with investigation.

-
1. K pi (*but in § 20 hi*).
 2. SS *omit here only*.
 3. B^m K pi hi *and below*.
 4. B^m pi hi.
 5. B^m maṃ ; K *prints* mama pimaṃ ; K (Sī) mamapi naṃ.
 6. B^m K Mahā-Bhāhme.

These, sir, are the Four Ways to Iddhi revealed by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme, for the development thereof, for proficiency therein, for the elaboration thereof¹. Now those recluses or brahmins who, in past times, have enjoyed Iddhi in one or more of its forms, they have all done so through practice and improvement in just these Four Ways. And those recluses or brahmins who, in future times, will enjoy Iddhi in one or more of its forms, they will all do so through practice and improvement in just these Four Ways. And those recluses or brahmins who, at the present time, enjoy Iddhi in one or more of its forms, they all do so through practice and improvement in just these Four Ways.

Do ye see, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three, in me a potency of Iddhi like that ?”

“Yea, Brahmā.”

“ I too, Sirs, through practice and improvement in just these Four Ways to Iddhi, have acquired such power and potency therein.”

23. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Saṇṇakumāro abhāsīttha. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Saṇṇakumāro bhāsītva deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi :

‘Taṃ kim maññanti bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāvañ c’ idaṃ tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammā sambuddhena tayo okāsādhigamā anubuddhā sukhassādhigamāya. Katame tayo ?

‘Idha bho ekacco saṃsaṭṭho viharati kāmehi, saṃsaṭṭho akusalehi dhammehi. So aparena samayena ariyaṃ dhammaṃ suṇāti, yoniso anasikaroti, dhammānu-dhammaṃ paṭipajjati. So ariya-dhamma-savaṇaṃ āgamma yoniso manasikāraṃ dhammānudhamma-paṭipattiṃ² asamsaṭṭho viharati kāmehi, asamsaṭṭho akusalehi dhammehi. Tassa asamsaṭṭhassa kāmehi asamsaṭṭhassa akusalehi dhammehi uppajjati sukhaṃ, sukhā

1. There are two sorts of Iddhi, the worldly and the spiritual. On the former see above, Vol. I, pp. 272, 3 ; and on the latter Dīgha III, 112, 113.

2. K Dhammānudhammaṃ paṭipajjati, *and below*.

bhīyo¹ somanassam. Seyyathā pi bho mudā² pāmujjam³ jāyetha, evam eva kho bho asaṃsaṭṭhassa kāmehi asaṃsaṭṭhassa akusalehi dhammehi uppajjati sukham, sukhā bhīyo somanassam. Ayam kho bho tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena paṭhamo okāsādhigamo anubuddho sukhassādhigamāya.

23. Such was the matter of Brahmā Sanamkumāra's speech. And having thus spoken he addressed the Thirty-Three Gods:—

“Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three, of the Three Avenues for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, by the Arahant, Buddha Supreme ? Which are the Three ?

In the first place, Sirs, take a brother who is living in indulgence in the pleasures of sense, in association with bad conditions. He on a certain occasion hears the Aryan Truth, studies it and acquires both the main and the subsidiary doctrines. Having come to this hearing, studying and acquisition, he takes to a life detached from the pleasures of sense, not associated with bad conditions. Under these circumstances he experiences ease and more than ease, happiness. Just as a feeling of complacency may develop into gladness, so does for him, under those circumstances, first ease arise, and, then more than ease, happiness. This, Sirs, is the First Avenue for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One . . . Buddha Supreme.

24. ‘Puna ca param bho idh’ ekaccassa olārikā kāya-saṃkhārā appaṭippassaddhā honti, olārikā vaci-saṃkhārā . . . pe⁴ . . . citta-saṃkhārā appaṭippassaddhā honti. So aparena samayena ariya-dhammam suṇāti, yoniso manasikaroti, dhammānudhammam paṭipajjati. Tassa ariya-dhamma-savanam āgama yoniso-manasikāram dhammānudhamma-paṭipattim⁵ olārikā kāya-saṃkhārā paṭippassambhanti,

1. K bhiyyo and below.

2. K pamudā, and below.

3. K pāmojjam and below ; K note pāmujjantūti vā pātho.

4. K repeats appaṭippassaddhā honti.

5. K dhammānudhammam paṭipajjantassa.

oḷārikā vacī-saṃkhārā . . . pe¹. . . citta-saṃkhārā paṭippassamb-hanti. Tassa oḷārikānaṃ kāya-saṃkhārānaṃ paṭippassaddhiyā, oḷārikānaṃ vacī-saṃkhārānaṃ . . . citta-saṃkhārānaṃ paṭippassaddhiyā uppajjati sukhaṃ, sukhā bhīyo somanassaṃ. Seyyathā pi bho mudā² pāmujjam³ jāyetha, jāyetha, evam eva kho⁴ bho oḷārikānaṃ kāya-saṃkhārānaṃ paṭippassaddhiyā oḷāri-kānaṃ vacī-saṃkhārānaṃ . . . citta²-saṃkhārānaṃ paṭi-ppassaddhiyā uppajjati sukhaṃ, sukhā bhīyo somanassaṃ. Ayaṃ kho bho tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena dutiyo okāsādhigamo anubuddho sukhassādhigamāya.

24. In the next place, Sirs, take a brother in whom the grosser conditions precedent⁵ to action, speech and thought are not entirely calmed down. He on a certain occasion hears the Aryan Truth preached, studies it and acquires both the main and subsidiary doctrines. Having arrived at this hearing, studying and acquisition, the grosser conditions precedent to action, speech and thought in him become entirely calmed down. And from this ease is experienced, and then more than ease, happiness. Just as a feeling of complacency may develop into gladness, so does for him, under those circumstances, first ease arise and then more than ease, happiness. This, Sirs, is the Second Avenue for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One . . . Buddha Supreme.

25. 'Puna ca param bho idh' ekacco 'idaṃ kusalan' ti yathābhūtaṃ nappajānāti, 'idaṃ akusalan' ti yathā-bhūtaṃ nappajānāti, 'idaṃ sāvajjam⁶ idaṃ anavajjam, idaṃ sevītabbam idaṃ na sevītabbam, idaṃ hīnaṃ idaṃ paṇītaṃ, idaṃ kaṇha-sukka-sappaṭibhāgan' ti yathā-bhūtaṃ nappajā-

1. Not in SS ; K repeats the clause.

2. B^m pamudā.

3. S^d pāmojjam.

4. So B^m K ; SS omit.

5. Saṃkhārā. This paragraph throws light on the celebrated verse given above, p. 232.

6. K sāvajjan ti yathābhūtaṃ nappajānāti, and so throughout.

nāti. So aparena samayena ariyaṃ dhammaṃ suṇāti, yoniso-manasikaroti, dhammānu-dhammaṃ paṭipajjati. So ariya-dhamma-savanaṃ āgama yoniso-manasikāraṃ dhammānu-dhamma-paṭi-pattiṃ, 'idaṃ kusalan' ti yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti, 'idaṃ akusalan' ti yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti, 'idaṃ sāvajjaṃ idaṃ anavajjaṃ, idaṃ sevitaḥḥaṃ idaṃ na sevitaḥḥaṃ, idaṃ hīṇaṃ idaṃ paṇītaṃ, idaṃ kaṇha-sukka-sappaṭi-bhāgaṃ' ti yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti. Tassa evaṃ jānato evaṃ passato avijjā pahīyati, vijjā uppajjati. Tass' avijjā-virāgā¹ vijjuppādā uppajjati sukhaṃ, sukhaṃ bhīyo somanassaṃ. Seyyathā pi bho mudā² pāujjaṃ jāyetha, evaṃ eva kho bho³ avijjā-virāgā⁴ vijjuppādā uppajjati sukhaṃ, sukhaṃ bhīyo somanassaṃ. Ayaṃ kho bho tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena tatiyo okāsādhigamo anubuddho sukhassādhigamāya.

'Ime kho bho tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena tayo okāsavdhigamā anubuddhā sukhassādhigamāyāti.'

25. In the third place. Sirs, take the case of a brother who does not really know that 'This is good,' 'This is bad,' 'This is wrong,' 'This is not wrong,' 'This is to be followed,' 'This is to be avoided,' 'This is base,' 'This is excellent,' 'This is of mixed dark and bright quality.' He on a certain occasion hears the Aryan Truth, studies it and acquires the main and subsidiary doctrines. Having arrived at this hearing, study and acquisition, he now really knows that 'This is good,' he really knows that 'This is bad,' 'This is wrong,' 'This is not wrong,' 'This is to be followed,' 'This is to be avoided,' 'This is base,' 'This is excellent,' 'This is of mixed dark and bright quality.' For him thus knowing, thus seeing, ignorance is put away, wisdom has arisen. From this extinction of ignorance, from the arising of wisdom, a sense of ease arises and, then more than ease, happiness. Just as a feeling

1. B^m avijjāvirāgā, and below.

2. B^m K pamudā.

3. B^m omits, but not K.

4. B^m vitar^o.

of complacency may develop into gladness, so does for him, under these circumstances, first ease arise, and then more than ease, happiness. This, Sirs, is now the Third Avenue for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One who knows, who sees, Arahant, Buddha Supreme.

These, Sirs, are the Three Avenues for arriving at Bliss manifested by the Exalted One, who knows and sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme."

26. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Saṇaṃkumāro abhāsīttha. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā saṇaṃkumāro bhāsītva deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi :

'Taṃ kim maññanti bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāva suppaññattā v'¹ ime tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena cattāro satipaṭṭhānā kusalassādhigamāya. Katame cattāro ? Idha bho bhikkhu ajjhataṃ kāye kāyānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhiññā dānaṃ. Ajjhataṃ kāye kāyānupassī viharanto tattha sammā samā samādhīyati sammā vipassīdati. So tattha sammā samāhito sammā vipassanno bahiddhā para-kāye ñāṇa-dassanaṃ abhinibbatteti. Ajjhataṃ vedanāsu . . . pe . . . citte . . . pe . . . dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati ātāpī sam-pajāno satimā vineyya loke abhiññā dānaṃ. Ajjhataṃ dhammesu dhammānupassī viharanto tattha sammā samādhīyati sammā vipassanno So tattha sammā samāhito sammā vipassanno bahiddhā paraddhammesu ñāṇadassanaṃ abhinibbatteti.

'Ime kho bho tena Bhagavatā jānatā-passatā arahatā sammā-sambuddhena cattāro satipaṭṭhānā paññattā kusalassādhigamāyāti.'

26. On this matter, lord, did Brahmā Saṇaṃkumāra speak. And having so spoken he addressed the Thirty-Three Gods :—

"Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three of the completeness wherewith the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme, hath revealed the Four

1. B^m c' : K p'.

Inceptions of Mind-fulness¹ for attaining to the Good. And which are the Four ? Take, Sirs, a brother who abides subjectively watchful over the body, ardent self-possessed mindful, that he may discern the unhappiness arising from coveting the things of the world. So, subjectively watchful, he attains to right concentration and right calm. He, having right concentration and right calm in his physical being, evokes knowledge of and insight into all other physical forms external to himself. So, again, he abides subjectively watchful over his feelings . . . over his heart, . . . over his ideas, ardent self-possessed mindful, that he may discern the unhappiness arising from coveting the things of the world. So, subjectively watchful, he attains to right concentration and right calm. He, having right concentration and right calm in his feelings . . . his heart . . . his ideas, evokes knowledge of and insight into the ideas of others external to himself.

These, Sirs, are the Four Inceptions of Deliberation for attaining to the Good completely revealed by the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme."

27. **Idam attham bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro abhāsīttha. Ida attham bhante Brahmā Sanmṃkumāro bhāsītva deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi :**

'Taṃ kim maññanti bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāva suppaññattā v' ime² tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā ara-hatā sammā-sambuddhena satta samādhi-parikkhārā³ sammā-samādhissa bhāvanāya⁴ samādhissa⁵ pāripūriyā. Katame satta? Seyyathidaṃ sammā-diṭṭhi, sammā-saṃkappo, sammā-vācā, sammā-kammanto, sammā-ājīvo, sammā-vāyāmo, sammā-sati. Yā kho bho imehi satta⁶ aṅgehi cittass' ekaggatā parikkhatā,⁷ ayaṃ vuccati bho ariyo sammā-samādhi sa-

1. The four Satipattānas.

2. B^m cime ; K pime.

3. Ang. iv. 40 ; comp. M. i. 301, Asl. 305.

4. B^m pari bhāv^o.

5. B^m K omit.

6. S^t sattahi *corrected to* satta ; B^m K Hardy sattah'.

7. SS B^m parikkhattā ; K parikkhatā; Sum. parikhārā.

upaniso iti pi sapaṛikkahāro iti pi.¹ Sammā-ditṭhiṣṣa bho sammā-saṃ-kappo pahoti,² sammā-saṃkappassā sammā-vācā pahoti, sammā-vācassa sammā-kammanto pahoti, sammā-kam-mantassa sammā-ājīvo pahoti, sammā-ājīvassa sammā-vāyāmo pahoti, sammā-vāyāmassa sammā-sati pahoti, sammā-satissa sammā-samādhī pahoti, sammā-samādhissa samā-nāṇaṃ pahoti, sammā-nāṇassa sammā-vimutti pahoti.

‘Yaṃ hi taṃ bho sammā-vadamāno vedeyya : “Svāk-Khāto Bhagavatā³ dhammo sanditṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko⁴ paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhīti,⁵ Apārūtā⁶ amatassa dvārā⁷ ti” dam eva taṃ sammā-vadamāno vedeyya.⁸ Savākkhāto hi bho⁹ Bhagavatā dhammo sanditṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko pac cattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi,¹⁰ apārūtā¹¹ amatassa dvārā.¹²

‘Ye hi keci bho Buddhhe aveccappasādena samannāgatā. Dhamme aveccappasādena samannāgatā, Saṃghe aveccappasādena samannāgatā, ariya-kanteḥi sīkegu samannā-gatā, ye hi¹³ kec’ ime opapātikā dhamma¹⁴-vinītā¹⁵ sātīrekāni catu-vīsati-sata-sahassāni Māgadhaka paricā rakā abbhatītā

1. S^c omits the second iti pi.

2. K ca hoti, and onwards.

3. S^d Bhagavato.

4. S^d omits ; B^m opaneyyiko and below.

5. B^m viññūhi, and below. It looks as if the sentence may have once ended with viññūhīti, as on p. 222 and often elsewhere.

6. S^c apāyutā, corrected to apārūyutā ; S^d apārūpātā, corrected to apārūtā ; K apārūtā.

7. S^c dvāra, omits ti.

8. S^c omits idam . . . vedeyya ; B^m idam etaṃ, etc. ; K Idam eva taṃ Sammā-sambuddhe aveccappasādena samannāgataṃ, etc.

9. K omits.

10. SS vinnūhīti ; B^m -ñūhi ; so K here.

11. S^d apārūpā ; K apārūtā.

12. S^c dvāra ; B^m add ti.

13. S^d omits ye hi ; S^t omits hi ; K B^m ye cime.

14. S^c dhammā ; K dhamme.

15. B^m vinitā.

kālakatā¹ tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parik-khayā sotâpannā
avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sambodhi-parāyanā,² atthi c' ev'
etthe sakadāgāmin,

Athāyaṃ itarā pajā
Puññābhāga³ ti me mano⁴
Saṃkhātum no pi⁵ sakkomi
Musā-vādassa ottappan⁶ ti.'

27. On this matter did Brahmā Sanamkumāra speak. And having spoken he addressed the Thirty-Three Gods :—

“Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and Three, of the completeness wherewith the Exalted One, who knows, who sees, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme, hath revealed the Seven Requisites of In-tellectual Concentration⁷, for practice of right Rapture, for the perfecting of Rapture ? Which are the Seven ? Right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness. That concentration of thought, Sirs, which is prepared by these seven factors, is called the Noble Right Rapture together with its bases, together with its requisites. Right intention suffices to maintain right views, right speech suffices to maintain right intention, right action suffices to maintain right speech, right livelihood suffices to maintain right action, right effort suffices to maintain right livelihood, right mindfulness suffices to maintain right effort, right rapture suffices to maintain right mindfulness, right knowledge suffices to maintain right rapture, right freedom suffices to maintain right knowledge.

If any one uttering right speech, Sirs, were to say :—
‘Well hath the Exalted One proclaimed the Truth,— the Norm

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1. B^m Kālaṅk^o.
 2. S^d Atth' ime 'v' ettha.
 3. S^c bhāga.
 4. K puññabhāgāti mama me.
 5. K omits no pi.
 6. B^m ottapan.
 7. Samādhi-parikkhārā.

that in this life beareth fruit, that avails not for a time only¹, that welcometh every one, that leadeth away and onward, that each one who hath intelligence may of and by himself understand!' Then in saying :

“Wide opened are the portals to Nirvana!”

He would be rightly saying that. For, Sirs, the doctrine well proclaimed by the Exalted One is all that; and

“Wide opened are the portals to Nirvana!”

For, Sirs, whosoever has unwavering² faith in the Buddha, unwavering faith in the Truth, unwavering faith in the Order, and is endowed with the virtues pleasing to the Noble Ones; and whatsoever new gods have appeared in our midst, led hither by the Law, to wit more than twenty-four lacs of Magadha disciples now dead and gone³; these all through complete destruction of the Three Bonds, have become converted, and cannot be reborn in any state of woe, but are assured of attaining to the Insight (of the highest stages of the Path). Moreover there are here Onee-returners ;

“But of that other Breed to tell,
Of higher merit⁴, lo! the tale
I cannot reckon, lest perchance
I should offend against the truth.”

28. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmā Saṇṇakumāro abhāsīttha. Idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmuno Saṇṇakumārassa

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1. akālīka. The opposite tāvakālīka occurs above, p. 195.
 2. Avecca, not as Childers thought from *ava + eti* but from *a + vi + eti*. Buddhaghosa says *acala*. *Veti* (not in Childers) is to wane (see S. I, 135; A. II, 51; KV. 66; Asl. 329), but one can scarcely say ‘unwaning faith.’
 3. The reading is uncertain. As it stands the deceased disciples belong only to the second group—the new gods. It is quite possible that it is intended to include them also among the men of faith and virtue in the first group.
 4. These must be *Anāgāmins*, Non-returners, those who, reborn in one of the heavens, will attain Arahantship there, without returning at all to this world.

bhāsato Vessacanassa Mahārājassa evaṃ cetaso parivitakko udapādi : ‘Acchariyaṃ vata bho, abbhutaṃ vata bho, evaruepo pi nama¹ ulāro satthā bhavissati, evarūpaṃ ulāraṃ dhammakkhānaṃ, evarūpā ulārā visesādhigamā paññāyissantīti.’

Atha bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro Vessavanassa Mahārājassa cetasā ceto-parivitakkam aññāya vessavanaṃ Mahārājaṃ etad aveca :

‘Taṃ kim maññati bhavaṃ Vessavano Mahārājā ? Atītaṃ pi addhānaṃ evarūpo ulāro satthā ahosi, evarūpaṃ ulāraṃ dhammakkhānaṃ, evarūpā ulārā visesādhigamā paññāyimsu. Anāgatam pi addhānaṃ evarūpo ulāro satthā bhavissati, evarūpaṃ evarūpaṃ ulāraṃ dhammakkhānaṃ, evarūpā ulārā visesādhigamā paññāyissantīti.’

28. This, lord, was the matter of Brahmā Sanamkumāra’s speech. And concerning what he had spoken, the reflection arose in the mind of the Great King Vessavana :— “Wonderful truly is it, Sirs, marvellous is it, that there should be so glorious a Teacher, so glorious a proclaiming of the Truth, and that such glorious avenues to distinction² should be made known!”

Then, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra discerning this reflection in the mind of the Great King Vessavana, spake thus to him:—

“Now what thinks my lord, the Great King Vessavana ? There both has been in past times, a Teacher so glorious, a proclaiming of the Truth so glorious, a making known such glorious avenues to distinction, and there will be also in future times a Teacher so glorious, a proclaiming of the Truth so glorious, a making known such glorious avenues to distinction.”

29. Idam atthaṃ³ Brahmā Sanamkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatisānaṃ abhāsi. Idam atthaṃ Vessavano Mahārājā Brahmuno Sanamkumārassa devānaṃ Tāvatisānaṃ bhāsato

1. S^c omits pi nāma.

2. Visēsādhigamā. See note above on § 13.

3. S^d B^m K insert bhante.

sammukhā sutvā sammukhā paṭiggahetvā¹ sapa-risāyaṃ² ārocesi. Idam atthaṃ Janavasabho yakkho Vessavanassa Mahārājassa³ parisāyaṃ bhāsato sammukhā sutvā sammukhā paṭiggahetvā Bhagavato ārocesi. Idam atthaṃ Bhagavā Janavasabhassa yakkhassa sammukhā sutvā sammukhā paṭiggahetvā sāmaṇ ca abhiññāya⁴ āyasmato Ānandassa ārocesi. Idam atthaṃ āyasmā Anando Bhagavato sammukhā sutvā sammukhā paṭigga-hetvā ārocesi bhikkhūnaṃ bhikkhunīnaṃ upāsakānaṃ upākaṇaṃ. Tayidaṃ bramacarīyaṃ iddhañ c' eva bhītañ ca vitthāritaṃ bāhujaññaṃ puthubhūtaṃ yāvad eva manussehi suppakāsitaṃ ti.⁵

29. This was the matter whereof Brahmā Sanam-kumāra spoke to the Thirty-Three Gods. And this matter the Great King Vessavana, when he had, in his own person, heard it and assented to it, reported to his own following. And this matter the spirit Jana-vasabha, when he had in his own person heard it so reported by Vessavana, reported to the Exalted One. And this matter the Exalted One, when he had in his own person heard it and assented to it, and had also intuitively discerned it reported to Ānanda. And this matter the venerable Ānanda, when he had in his own person heard it from the Exalted One and assented to it, reported to the brethren and the sisterhood, to believing laymen and laywomen. And the System waxed influential and prosperous and expanded and broadened with the numbers that joined, so well was it spread abroad among men.⁶

Janavasabha-Suttaṃ Niṭṭhitaṃ.⁷

Here endeth Jana-vasabha's Story.

1. B^m K suttaṃ sammukhā patiggahitaṃ (*twice, but not the third and fourth times*) ; K (Sī) sutvā sammukhā paṭiggahetvā.
2. S^d yaṃ ; B^m sayāṃ ; K sāyaṃ parisāyaṃ ; K (Sī) sapa-risāyaṃ.
3. S^d inserts saṃ ; B^m sayāṃ ; K sāyaṃ.
4. S^d pañña (*corrected to pañca*) abhiññā ; S^{ct} pañca abhiññāya.
5. = XVI. 3, 35, 36 (*above* pp. 113, 114).
6. Afterwards interpreted to mean 'gods and men' (see pp. 235, 336). But the last two sentences refer here to men and women only. To put in the gods spoils the climax.
7. B^m K Janavasabha-Suttaṃ pañcamaṃ.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Mahā-Govinda Sutta

The Mahā Govinda Sutta is of great importance from the standpoint of ancient Indian history and geography. For a Buddhist conception of the shape of India, we have to turn to this Sutta which states that India is broad on the north whereas in the south it is *sakaṭamukhaṃ* *i.e.* has the form of the front portion of a cart and is divided into seven equal parts. The description of the shape as given in this Sutta agrees Wonderfully with that given in this Sutta agrees wonderfully with that given by the chinese author. Fahkai-lih-to. It is really very important in the history of Pāli literature. It is no less important as one of the earliest examples cited in the Cullaniddera of the Jātaka that in a way served as a model for the birth Stories in the later commentaries. It introduces us to the Sudhamma or mote Hall of the gods Tāvātimsa Heaven, where all the gods with sakka, king of gods, as President, are have assembled and rejoiced at the increase in their numbers "through the appearance in their midst, of new gods, produced by the good karma of the followers of the new view of life put forward by Gotama". Sakka (lord of the gods) uttered eight paragraphs in eulogy of the Buddha. Next we find Mahā Brahmā's views of an ideal brahmin. The facts of the Mahā. Govinda Sutta are found in different phraseology and order in the Mahāvastu (Govindīya Sutra).

The Mahā-Govinda Sutta also deals with Nibbāna (Nirbāna), the Path leading to it, practice of piety, danger of delay, the lower and higher ways. It also gives us an account of Mahā-Govinda's renouncing the words with a large number of followers and his seven wives.

xix. Mahā-Govinda Sutta¹

The lord high steward

1. *Evam me sutam ekam samayaṃ Bhagavā Rājagahe viharati Gijjha-kūṭe pabbate. Atha kho Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto abhikkantāya rattiyā abikkanta-vaṇṇo² kevala-kappaṃ Gijjhakūṭaṃ³ obhāsetvā yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atthāsi. Ekamantaṃ tthito kho Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto Bhagavantam etad avoc :*

'Yam me bhante devānaṃ Tāvatisānaṃ sammukhā sutam sammukhā patiggahītaṃ,⁴ āroceṃ' etaṃ bhante⁵ Bhagavato ti.'

'Arocehi me tvaṃ Pañcasikhāti.' Bhagavā avoca.

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying at Rājagaha on Vulture-peak Hill. Now when the night was far spent, Five-crest of the Gandharva fairies,⁶ beautiful to see, irradiating the whole of Vulture-peak, came into the presence of the Exalted One, and saluted him, and stood on one side. So standing Five-crest the Gandharva addressed the Exalted One, and said:—

'The things, lord, that I have seen, the things I have noted when in the presence of the gods in the heaven of the Three-and-Thirty, I would tell to the Exalted One.'

1. *Referred to as a Jātaka at jāṭ. i. 45, 46. See also iii. 469. Compare Mahāvastu iii. 197-240.*

2. *S^c B^m vaṇṇā.*

3. *B^m -kuṭapabbataṃ.*

4. *B^m K-hitam.*

5. *B^m K omit.*

6. *Pañcasikho Gandhabbo. See above, p. 244.*

‘Tell thou me, Five-crest,’ said the Exalted One.

2. Purimāni bhante divasāni purimatarāni, tadahu ‘posathe paṇṇarase pavāraṇāya puṇṇamāya rattiyā kevalakappā ca devā Tāvatiṃsā Sudhammāyaṃ sabhāyaṃ sannisinā honti sannipatitā, mahatī ca dibbā¹ parisā samantato nisinnā honti, cattāro ca Mahārājā² cātuddisā nisinnā honti. Puratthimāya disāya Dhatarattho Mahā-rājā pacchābhimukho³ nisinno hoti deve⁴ purakkhatvā.⁵ Dakkhiṇāya disāya Virūlhako Mahārājā uttarābhimukho nisinno hoti deve purakkhatvā. Pacchimāya disāya Virūpakkho Mahārājā puratthābhimukho nisinno hoti deve purakkhatvā. Uttarāya disāya Vessavaṇo Mahārājā dakkhiṇābhimukho nisinno hoti deve purakkhatvā. Yadā bhante kevalakappā ca devā Tāvatiṃsā Sudhammāyaṃ sabhāyaṃ sannisinā honti sannipatitā, mahatī ca dibbā parisā samantato nisinnā honti,⁶ cattāro ca mahārājā cātuddisā nisinnā honti, idaṃ tesāṃ⁷ hoti āsanasmim, atha pacchā amhākaṃ āsanaṃ hoti. Ye te bhante devā Bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā adhun-bhante devā Bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā adhun-uppannā⁸ Tāvatiṃsa-kāyā⁹, te aññe deve atirocanti vaṇṇena c’ eva yasasā¹⁰ ca. Tena sudaṃ bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā attamanā honti pamuditā pīti¹¹-somanassa-jātā: “Dibbā vata bho kāyā paripūrenti,¹² hāyanti asura-kāyā ti.”

2. ‘In days gone by, lord, in days long long gone by, on

1. B^m K dibba-.

2. B^m K rājāno, *and below*.

3. B^m pacchābhimukho, *and so throughout*.

4. B^m deva ; K devehi, *and so throughout*.

5. B^m purakkhitvā, *and below*.

6. B^m hoti.

7. S^{cd} B^m nesāṃ.

8. B^m K addhunūpap^o.

9. B^m K -kāyaṃ.

10. B^m atiro centi deve nave yasasā.

11. B^m omits pīti, *and so in § 4, but not in § 12*.

12. SS paripūrenti *here* ; -purenti *in § 3*.

the Fifteenth, the holy-day, at the Feast of the Invitations¹ on the night of full moon, all the gods in the heaven of the Thirty-Three were assembled, sitting in their Hall of Good Counsel. And a vast celestial company was seated round about, and at the four quarters of the firmament sat the Four Great Kings. There was Dhatarattha, king of the East, seated facing the west, presiding over his host; Virūlhaka, king of the South, seated facing the north, presiding over his host; Virūpakkha, king of the West, seated facing the east, presiding over his host; and Vessavana, king of the North, seated facing the south, presiding over his host. Whenever, lord, all the gods in the heaven of the Thirty-Three are assembled, and seated in their Hall of Good Counsel, with the vast celestial company seated around them, and with the Four Great Kings at the four quarters of the firmament, this is the order of the seats of the four. After that come our seats. And those gods, lord, who had been recently reborn in the hosts of the Three-and-Thirty because they had lived the higher life under the Exalted One, they outshone the other gods in appearance and in glory. Thereat, verily, lord, the Three-and-Thirty gods were glad and of good cheer, were filled with joy and happiness, saying, "Verily, sirs, the celestial hosts are waxing; the hosts of the titans are waning!"

3. Atha² bhante Sakko devānaṃ Indo devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pasādaṃ³ veditvā imāhi gāthāhi anumodi:

'Modanti vata bho devā Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,⁴

Tathāgataṃ namassantā dhammassa ca sudhamma-
taṃ.⁵

Nave va⁶ deve passantā⁷ vaṇṇavante yasassino,⁸

1. Pavāranā.

2. B^m K insert kho.

3. B^m K sappasādaṃ.

4. So SS at pp. 212, 227, S^d here, and B^m K always. S^t here sayindakā. S^c here and SS at p. 211 sa-indakā. See Jāt. 5, 223, compared with 123 ; Mahāvastu iii. 203 has saśakrakā.

5. B^m dhammataṃ.

6. Bth naceca.

7. S^d pasannā ; S^t passante.

8. S^{ct} B^m -ine.

Sugatasmim brahmacariyaṃ caritvāna idhāgate.
Te aññe atirocanti¹ vaṇṇena yasaśāyuna,²
Sāvaka Bhūri-paññassa visesūpagatā idha.
Idaṃ disvāna nandanti Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,
Tathāgataṃ namassantā dhammassa ca sudhammatan
ti.’

Tena sudaṃ bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā bhītisi nattāta
attanabā honti pamuditā pīti-somanassa-jātā: “Dibbā vata
bho kāyā paripūrenti, hāyanti asura-kāyā ti.”

3. ‘Then Sakka, lord, ruler of the gods, when he saw the
satisfaction felt by the Three-and-Thirty gods, expressed his ap-
proval in these verses :—

The Three-and-Thirty, verily, both gods and lord, rejoice,
Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime,
Whereas they see these gods new-risen, beautiful and bright,
Who erst the holy life had lived, under the Happy One,
The Mighty Sage’s hearers, who had won to higher truths,
Come hither ; and in glory all the other gods outshine.
This they behold right gladly, both lord and Thirty-Three,
Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime.

‘Hereat, lord, the Three-and-Thirty gods were even more
abundantly glad and of good cheer, and filled with joy and hap-
piness, saying : “Verily, sirs, the celestial hosts are waxing ; the
hosts of the titans are waning!”

4. Atha³ bhante Sakko devānaṃ indo devānaṃ Tāva-
tiṃsānaṃ sampasādaṃ viditvā deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi:

“Iccheyyātha no tumhe mārisā tassa Bhagavato aṭṭha
yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe sotun ti ?”

“Iccheyyāma mayaṃ mārisa tassa Bhagavato aṭṭha
yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe sotun ti.”

Atha bhate Sakko devānaṃ indo devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsā-
naṃ Bhagavato aṭṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe payirudāhāsi.⁴

1. B^m -centi.

2. S^{cd} B^m -yuna ; S^t -yutā.

3. B^m adds kho.

4. B^m pariyud^o ; SS sometimes payirūpādāhāsi and payirudābhāsi.
See § 12, 19.

4. 'Then Sakka, lord, perceiving the satisfaction of the Three-and-Thirty gods, addressed them thus :—

"Is it your wish, gentlemen, to hear eight truthful items in praise of that Exalted One ?"

"It is our wish, sir, to hear them."

'Then Sakka, lord, ruler of the gods, uttered before the Three-and-Thirty gods these eight truthful items in praise of the Exalted One :—

5. "Taṃ kim maññanti bhonto devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāva c'¹ assa so Bhagavā bahujana-hitāya paṭipanno bahujana-sukhāya lokānukamapakāya² atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ, evaṃ bahujana-hitāya paṭipannaṃ bahu-jana-sukhāya lokānukampakāya atthāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ, iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ, n'eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

5. "Now what think ye, my lords gods Three-and-Thirty ? Inasmuch as the Exalted One has so wrought for the good of the many, for the happiness of the many, for the advantage, the good, happiness of gods and men, out of compassion for the world—a teacher of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past or whether we survey the present— save only the Exalted One.

6. "Svākkhāto kho pana tassa Bhagavato dhammo³ sandiṭṭhiko akāliko⁴ chipassiko opāyiko⁵ paccattaṃ vedītabbo viññūhi.⁶ Evam opāyikassa dhammassa desetāraṃ, iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ, n'eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

6. "Inasmuch, again, as the Doctrine has been proclaimed

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1. S^d yāvam ; B^m yavañcabhogavā (*the ā after*) bh being apparently crossed out) ; K yāvañceso Bhagavā.
 2. S^d sukhānukampakāya ; B^m -kampāya, and below, and at § 13.
 3. B^m dhammā.
 4. S^{dt} omits.
 5. B^m opāyiko.
 6. SS viññūhīti. See pp. 217, 228.

by that Exalted One, a Doctrine for the life that now is, a Doctrine not for mere temporary gain, a Doctrine of welcome and of guidance, to be comprehended by the wise each in his own heart—a preacher of such a Doctrine so leading us on, a teacher of this kind, of this character we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only the Exalted One.

7. “*Idaṃ kusalan ti kho pana¹ tena Bhagavatā suppaññattaṃ, idaṃ akusalan ti suppaññattaṃ,² idaṃ sāvajjaṃ idaṃ avavajjaṃ, idaṃ sevitaḥḥaṃ idaṃ na sevitaḥḥaṃ, idaṃ hīnaṃ idaṃ paṇītaṃ, idaṃ kaṇha-sukka-sappaṭibhāgaṃ ti suppaññattaṃ. Evaṃ kusalākusala-sāvajjānavajja³-sevitabhāsevitabhā-hīnappaṇīta-kaṇhasukka-sappaṭibhāgānaṃ dhammānaṃ paññāpetā-ram⁴ iminā p’ aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ, n’ eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na paṇ’ etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.*

7. “‘This is good ; that is bad’ —well has this been revealed by that Exalted One, well has he revealed that this is wrong, and that is right, that this is to be followed, that to be avoided, that this is base and that noble, that this is of the Light and this of the Dark⁵. Such a Revelation of the nature of things, a teacher of this kind, of this character we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only the Exalted One.

8. “*Suppaññattā kho pana tena Bhagavatā sāvakānaṃ nibbāna-gāminī paṭipadā, saṃsandati nibbānaṃ ca paṭipadā ca. Seyyathā pi nāma Gaṇḍodakaṃ Yamu-nodakena saṃsandati sameti,⁶ evaṃ eva suppaññattā tena Bhagavatā sāvakānaṃ nibbāna-gāminī paṭipadā, saṃsandati nibbānaṃ*

1. B^m omits.

2. B^m K supaññā.

3. K -ānavajja (see § 22).

4. B^m paṇāpet°; K paññāpet°.

5. In Milinda, these contrasted distinctions are given to illustrate the exercise of sati (‘minding’ or ‘remembering’) by way of careful practice. ‘Questions of King Milinda,’ i. 58.

6. Jāt. v. 496.

ca paṭipadā ca. Evam nibbāna-gāmini¹ paṭipadāya paññāpetāraṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

8. "Well revealed, again, to his disciples by that Exalted One is the Way leading to Nirvana ; they run one into the other, Nirvana and the Way. Even as the waters of the Ganges and the Jumna flow one into the other, and go on together united, so it is with that well-revealed Way leading to Nirvana; they run one into the other, Nirvana and the Way. A revealer of such a Way leading to Nirvana, a teacher of this kind, of this character we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only that Exalted One.

9.² "Laddha-sahāyo kho pana so Bhagavā sekhānañ c' eva pāṭipadānaṃ khīṇāsavānañ ca vusitavataṃ,³ te⁴ Bhagavā apanujja⁵ ekārāmataṃ anuyutto viharati. Evaṃ ekārāmataṃ anuyuttam iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

9. "Comrades too has this Exalted One gotten, both students only, travelling along the Way, and Arahants who have lived 'the life.' Them does he not send away, but dwells in fellowship with them whose hearts are set on one object. A teacher so dwelling, of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only that Exalted One.

10. "Abhinippanno⁶ kho pana tassa Bhagavato lābho, abhinippanno siloko, yāva maññe⁷ khattiyā sampiyāya-māna-rūpā viharanti, vigata-mado kho pana so Bhagavā

1. B^m K gāminiyā.

2. B^m places this section after § 10 (as at p. 229).

3. S^d B^m vusitaṃ vataṃ.

4. B^m K tena.

5. B^m apanajja ; S^{cdt} anupajja. See § 24.

6. K abhinipphanno ; K (note) abhinippanno ti vā pāṭho.

7. B^m paññe (in § 25 aññe without p').

āhāraṃ¹ āhāreti. Evaṃ vigata-madaṃ āhāraṃ āhari-yamā-
naṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva
atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena
Bhagavatā.

10. "Well established² are the gifts made³ to that Blessed
One, widely established is his fame, so much so that the nobles,
methinks, continue well disposed towards him. Yet notwithstand-
ing, that Exalted One takes sustenance with a heart unintoxicated
by pride. One so living, a teacher of this kind, of this character,
we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey
the present, save only that Exalted One.

11. "Yathā-vādī kho pana so Bhagavā tathā-kārī, yathā-
kārī tathā-vādī. Iti yathā-vādī tathā-kārī yāthākarī tathā-
vādī evaṃ dhammānudhamma-paṭipannaṃ iminā p' aṅgena
samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva atītaṃse samanupassāma,
na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

11. "The acts, again, of that Exalted One conform to his
speech ; his speech conforms to his acts. One who has so carried
out hereby the greater and the lesser matters of the Law, a teacher
of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the
past, or whether we survey the present; save only that Exalted
One.

12. "Tiṇṇa-vicikiccho kho pana so Bhagavā vigata-
kathaṃkatho pariyosita-saṃkappo ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahma-
cariyaṃ. Evaṃ tiṇṇa-vicikicchaṃ vigata-kathaṃ-kathaṃ
pariyosita-saṃkappaṃ ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahmacariyaṃ iminā
p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva atītaṃse samanu-
passāma, na pan' etarahi annatra tena Bhagavatā" ti.

Ima kho bhante Sakko devānam indo devānam
Tāvatiṃsānaṃ Bhagavato atṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe
payirudāhāsi.⁴ Tena sudam bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā bhīyoso

1. B^m āhāraṃ āhāraṃ (but not at § 25).

2. Abhinippanno lābho.

3. Ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahmacariyaṃ. Buddhaghosa says these two words
are to be taken distributively, and refer to his lofty intentions and
to the ethics of the Aryan Path.

4. B^m parirūdāhāsi. See p. 222.

mattāya attamanā honti, pamuditā pīti-soma-nassa-jātā Bhagavato aṭṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe sutvā.

12. "Crossed, too, by that Exalted One has been the sea of doubt, gone by for him is all question of the 'how' and 'why,' accomplished for him is every purpose with respect to his high resolve and the ancient rule of right. A teacher who has attained thus far, of this kind, of this character, we find not, whether we survey the past, or whether we survey the present, save only that Exalted One."

' These eight true praises, lord, of the Exalted One did Sakka, ruler of the gods, utter before the Three-and-Thirty gods. Hereat the Three-and-Thirty gods were even more abundantly pleased, gladdened and filled with joy and happiness over the things they had heard.

13. Tatra kho¹ bhante ekacce devā evam āhaṃsu:—

"Aho vata mārisā cattāro Sammā-sambuddhā loke uppajjaeyyūṃ, dhammañ ca deseeyyūṃ, yathariva Bhagavā. Tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampakāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussāna" ti.

Ekacce devā evam āhaṃsu :—

Tiṭṭhantu mārisā cattāro sammā-sambuddhā. Aho vata mārisā tayo sammā-sambuddhā loke uppajjeyyūṃ dhammañ ca deseeyyūṃ, yathariva Bhagavā. Tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampakāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan" ti.

Ekacce devā evam āhaṃsu:—

Tiṭṭhantu mārisā tayo sammā-sambuddhā. Aho vata mārisā dve sammā-sambuddhā loke uppajjeyyūṃ dhammañ ca deseeyyūṃ, yathariva Bhagavā. Tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampakāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānan" ti.

13. 'Then certain gods, lord, spoke thus :— "Oh ! sir, if only four supreme Buddhas might arise in the world and teach

1. B^m K omit.

the Doctrine even as the Exalted One! That would make for the welfare of the many, for the happiness of the many, for compassion to the world, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men."

'And certain other gods spoke thus :— "It would suffice, sir, if there arose three supreme Buddhas in the world."

'And certain other gods spoke thus :— "It would suffice, sir, if two supreme Buddhas arose in the world . . . for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men."

14. *Evam vutte bhante Sakko devānam indo deve Tāvatiṃse etad avoca :—*

"*Aṭṭhānaṃ kho etaṃ¹ mārisā anavakāso yaṃ ekissā loka-dhātuyā dve arahanto sammā-sambuddhā apubbaṃ acarimaṃ uppajjeyyūṃ. N'etaṃ tṭhānaṃ vijjati. Aho vata mārisā² Bhagavā appābādho appātaṅko ciraṃ³ dīgham addhānaṃ tiṭṭheyya. Tad assa bahujana-hitāya bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampakāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ.*" ti.

Atha bhante yen' atthena devā Tāvatiṃsā Sudham-māyā⁴ sabhāyaṃ sannisinnā honto sannipatitā, taṃ atthaṃ cintayitvā taṃ atthaṃ mantayitvā, vutta-vacanā pi taṃ⁵ cattāro Mahārājā⁶ tasmiṃ atthe honti, paccanu-siṭṭha-vacanā pi taṃ cattāro Mahārājā tasmiṃ atthe honti, sakesu⁷ āsanesu tṭhitā avippakantā.⁸

Te vutta-vākya⁹ rājāno patiggayhānusāniṃ
Vippasanna¹⁰ -manā santā aṭṭhaṃsu¹¹ samhi āsane ti.

1. K panetaṃ.

2. K adds ca.

3. B^m cīra.

4. B^m K -āyaṃ

5. SS c' idaṃ ; B^m p' idaṃ, and so below. See xviii. 15.

6. B^m K -jāno, and below.

7. B^m K sakesu sakesu.

8. S^c avipakkantā ; S^d avikappakkantā (one p perhaps erased).

9. S^c vākyaṃ ; S^t B^m vākya.

10. B^m -nā.

11. SS here aṭṭhāsu.

14. 'Then answered Sakka, ruler of the gods to the Three-and-Thirty :— "Nowhere, gentlemen, and at no time is it possible that, in one and the same world-system, two Arahant Buddhas supreme should arise together, neither before nor after the other. This can in no wise be. Ah ! gentlemen, would that this Blessed One might yet live for long years to come, free from disease and free from suffering! That would make for the welfare of the many, for the happiness of the many, for loving compassion to the universe, for the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men !"

'Then, lord, the Three-and-Thirty gods having thus deliberated and taken counsel together concerning the matter for which they were assembled and seated in the Hall of Good Counsel, with respect to that matter the Four Kings were receivers of the spoken word, the Four Great Kings were receivers of the admonition given, remaining the while in their places, not retiring¹.

Taking the uttered word and speech, the Kings
Stood there, serene and calm, each in his place.

15. **Atha² bhante uttarāya disāya ulāro āloko sañjāyī³ obhāso pātūr ahosi atikamm' eva devānaṃ devānubhāvaṃ. Atha bhante Sakko devānam indo deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi:**

⁴ "Yathā kho mārisā nimittā dissanti āloko sañjāyati obhāso pātu bhavati Brahmā pātu bhavissati. Brahmuno etaṃ pubba-nimittaṃ pātubhāvāya yadidaṃ āloko sañjāyati obhāso pātu bhavattīti.

**Yathā nimittā dissanti, Brahmā pātu bhavissati,
Brahmuno h' etaṃ' etaṃ nimittaṃ⁵ obhāso vipulo mahā ti.**

-
1. This sounds very much as if the Four. Great Kings were looked upon as Recorders (in their memory, of course) of what had been said. They kept the minutes of the meeting. If so (the gods being made in the image of men) there must have been such Recorders at the meetings in the Mote Halls of the clans.
 2. K adds kho.
 3. K sañjāyati (as in D i. 220).
 4. D. i. 220 ; ii. 209.
 5. All MSS. pubba-n^o.

Atha bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā yathā sakesu āsanesu nisīdiṃsu : “Ohāsam etaṃ ñassāma, yaṃ¹ vipāko² bhavissati, sacchikatvā va naṃ gamissāmāti.” Cattāro ca Mahārājā³ yathā sakesu āsanesu nisīdiṃsu: “Obhāsam etaṃ ñassāma, yaṃ vipāko bhavissati, sacchikatvā va naṃ gamissāmāti.” Idaṃ sutvā⁴ devā⁵ Tāvatiṃsā ekaggatā⁶ samā-pajjiṃsu: “Obhāsam etaṃ ñassāma, yaṃ vipāko bhavissati, sacchikatvā va naṃ gamissāmāti.”

15. ‘Then, lord, from out of the North came forth a splendid light, and a radiance shone around, surpassing the divine glory of the gods. Then did Sakka, ruler of the gods, say to the dwellers in the heaven of the Three-and-Thirty:— “According, gentlemen, to the signs now seen, the light that ariseth, the radiance that appeareth—will Brahmā now be made manifest. For this is the herald sign of the manifestation of Brahmā, when the light ariseth and the glory shineth.

Even by yonder signs great Brahmā draweth nigh.
For this is Brahmā’s sign, this glorious splendour vast.

‘Then, lord, the Three-and-Thirty gods sat down again in their own places, saying :— “We will ascertain what shall be the result of this radiance; when we have realized it, we will go to meet him.” The Four Kings also sat down in their places, saying the same And when they heard that, the Three-and-Thirty gods were all agreed saying : “We will ascertain what will be the result of this radiance ; when we have verified it, we will go to meet him.”

16. Yadā bhate Brahmā⁷ Saṇṇakumāro devānaṃ⁸ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, olākaṃ attabhāvaṃ abhi-

-
1. S^c B^m ya.
 2. S^c visūko ; S^{dt} omit ; B^m K vipāko.
 3. B^m K pi mahārājāno.
 4. B^m disvā.
 5. SS omit devā, sse note.
 6. ? ekaggataṃ : B^m K ekaggā.
 7. So B^m K ; SS omit.
 8. So B^m K ; SS omit.

nimminivā¹ pātu bhavati. Yo² kho pana bhante Brahmuno pakati-vaṇṇo anabhisambhavanīyo, so devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ cakkhu-pathasmiṃ. Yadā bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, so aññe deve atirocati³ vaṇṇena c'eva yasasā ca. Seyyathā pi bhante sovaṇṇo viggaho mānusaṃ viggahaṃ atirocati, evam eva kho bhante yadā Brahmā Sanamkumāro devānaṃ pātu bhavati, so aññe deve atirocati vaṇṇena c'eva yasasā ca. Yadā bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ pātu bhavati, na tassa parisāyaṃ koci devo⁴ abhivādeti vā paccuṭṭheti vā āsanena nimanteti vā⁵. Sabbe⁶ tuṇhī-bhūtā pañjalikā pallaṅkena nisīdanti: “Yassa dāni devassa icchissati Brahmā Sanamkumāro, tassa devassa pallaṅke nisīdissatīti.” Yassa⁷ kho pana bhante devassa Brahmā Sanamku-māro pallaṅke⁸ nisīdati,⁹ ulāraṃ so labhati devo veda-paṭilābhaṃ,⁹ ulāraṃ so labhati devo¹⁰ somanassa-paṭilā-bhaṃ. Seyyathā pi bhante rājā khattiyo muddhāvasitto adhunābhisitto¹¹ rajjena, ulāraṃ so labhati veda¹²-paṭilā-bhaṃ, ulāraṃ so labhati somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ evam eva kho bhante yassa devassa Brahmā Sanamkumāro pallaṅke nisīdati, ulāraṃ so labhati devo deda¹³-paṭilābhaṃ, ulāraṃ so labhati devo somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ.

16. ‘When, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra appears before the Three-and-Thirty gods, he manifests himself as an individual

-
1. K -nimmitvā.
 2. B^m K yo ; SS so.
 3. K ativirocati, *and below*.
 4. SS devā.
 5. B^m vā manteti; K vā nimanteti.
 6. B^m K *add* va.
 7. S^{ct} yasmā ; S^d tasmā.
 8. So SS, B^m K.
 - 9.9. B^m *omits*.
 10. B^m devā.
 11. K adhunāvasitto.
 12. B^m devada-.
 13. B^m deva.

of relatively gross substance which he has specially created. For Brahmā's usual appearance is not sufficiently materialized for the scope of the sight of the Three-and-Thirty gods. And, lord, when Brahmā Sanamkumāra is manifested before these gods, he outshines the other gods in his appearance and his glory. Just as a figure made of gold outshines the human frame, so, when Brahmā Sanamkumāra is manifested before the Three-and-Thirty gods, does he outshine the other gods in his appearance and his glory. And when, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra is manifested before the Three-and-Thirty gods, not one god in that assembly salutes him, or rises up, or invites him to be seated. They all sit in silence with folded hands and cross-legged, each thinking : 'Of whichever god Brahmā Sanamkumāra now desires anything, he will seat himself on that god's divan. And that god by whom he does so seat himself is filled with a sublime satisfaction, a sublime happiness, even as a Kshatriya king that is just anointed and crowned, is filled with a sublime satisfaction, a sublime happiness.

17. Atha bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sampasādaṃ viditvā antarahito imāhi gāthāhi anumodi :

Modanti vata bho devā Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,
Tathāgatam namassantā dhammassa ca sudhammataṃ,
Nave va deve passanta vāṇṇavante yasassino,
Sugatasmiṃ brahmacariyaṃ caritvāna idhāgate.¹
Te aññe atirocanti vaṇṇena yasaśāyunā
Sāvakā Bhūri-paṇṇassa visesūpagatā² idha.
Idaṃ disvāna nandanti Tāvatiṃsā sahindakā,
Tathāgataṃ namassantā dhammassa ca sudhammatan
ti.

17. 'Then, lord, Brahmā Sanamkumāra, perceiving how gratified were those Three-and-Thirty gods, uttered his approval while invisible in these verses :—

1. B^m āgato.

2. S^{dt} B^m visesup^o.

The Three-and-Thirty, verily, both gods and lord, rejoice, Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime, Whereas they see these gods new-risen, beautiful and bright, Who erst the holy life had lived, under the Happy One, The Mighty Sage's hearers, who had won to higher truths, Come hither; and in glory all the other gods outshine. This they behold right gladly, both lord and Thirty-Three, Tathāgata they honour and the cosmic law sublime.

18. Idam atthaṃ¹ bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro abhāsīttha, idam atthaṃ bhante Brahmuno Sanamkumā-rassa bhāsato aṭṭhaṅga-samannāgato saro hoti vissaṭṭho ca viññeyyo ca mañju ca savanīyo ca bindu² ca avisārī ca gambhīro ca ninnādī ca. Yathā-parisaṃ kho pana bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro sarena viññāpeti, na c' assa bahiddhā parisāya ghoso niccharati. Yassa kho pana bhante evaṃ aṭṭhaṅga-samannāgato saro hoti, so vuccati Brahmassaro ti.

18. 'This, lord, was the substance of Brahmā the Eternal Youth's speech. And he spoke it with a voice of eightfold quality—a voice that was fluent, intelligible, sweet and audible, sustained and distinct, deep and resonant. And whereas, lord, he made himself audible to that assembly by his voice, the sound thereof did not penetrate beyond the assembly. He whose voice has these eight qualities is said to have a Brahmā-voice.

19. Atha³ bhante devā Tāvatiṃsā Brahmā-Sanamkumāraṃ⁴ etad avocaṃ :

"Sādhu Brahme,⁵ etad eva mayaṃ saṅkhāya modāma, atthi ca Sakkena devānam indena⁶ tassa Bhagavato aṭṭha yathāvgyccā vaṇṇā bhāsītā, te ca mayaṃ saṅkhāya modā-māti."

1. B^m imattaṃ.

2. So S^{dt} ; S^c bhindu.

3. B^m K add kho.

4. B^m K Brahmānaṃ San^o.

5. B^m Brahmo ; K mahābrahme.

6. SS indakena.

Atha kho¹ bhante Brahmā Sanamkumāro Sakkaṃ devānam indaṃ eted avoca :—

“Sādhu devānaṃ inda, mayam pi tassa Bhagavato aṭṭha yathābhucce vaṇṇe suṇeyyāmāti.”

“Evaṃ Mahā-Brahme” ti kho bhante Sakko devānam indo Brahmuno Sanamkumārassa Bhagavato aṭṭha yathābhucce vaṇṇe payirudāhāsi.

19. ‘Then, lord, to Brahmā the Eternal Youth the Three-and-Thirty gods spoke thus :—

“Tis well, O Brahmā ! we do rejoice at this that we have noted. Moreover Sakka, ruler of the gods, hath rehearsed to us eight truthful praises of that Exalted One, and these too we have marked and do rejoice thereat.”

‘Then, lord, Brahmā the Eternal Youth spoke thus to Sakka, ruler of the gods :— “Tis well, O ruler of the gods ; we too would hear the eight truthful praises of that Exalted One.”

“So be it, O Great Brahmā,” replied Sakka. And thereupon, beginning “Now what thinketh my lord, the Great Brahmā?” [he uttered once more those eight truthful praises of the Blessed One, §§ 21-27]². Hereat, lord, Brahmā the Eternal Youth was pleased and gladdened, and was filled with joy and happiness when he had heard those praises.

20. “Taṃ kim maññati bhavaṃ Mahā-Brahmā ? Yāva ca so³ Bhagavā bahujana-hitāya paṭipanno bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampakāya atthāya hitāya deva manussānaṃ, evaṃ bahujana-hitāya paṭipannaṃ bahujanasukhāya lokānukampakāya atthāya hitāya sukhāya⁴ devamanussānaṃ iminā p’ aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n’ eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan’ etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

21. “Svākkhāto kho pana tassa Bhagavato dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko chipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ vedi-

1. B^m omits.

2. §§ 5-13 repeated in the text.

3. B^m yāvañcaso ; K yāvañceso.

4. SS omit sukhāya.

tabbo viññūhi.¹ Evaṃ opanayikassa² dhammassa dese-tāraṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n' eva sītāṃse samanupassāma na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

22. "Idaṃ kusalan ti kho pana tena Bhagavatā suppaññattaṃ, idaṃ akusalan ti suppaññattaṃ, idaṃ sāvajjaṃ idaṃ anavajjaṃ, idaṃ sevitaḍḍhaṃ idaṃ na sevitaḍḍhaṃ, idaṃ hīnaṃ idaṃ paṇītaṃ, idaṃ kaṇha-sukka-sappaṭibhāgaṃ ti suppaññattaṃ. Evaṃ kusalā-kusala-sāvajjānavajja³-sevitabba⁴-hīnappaṇīta-kaṇhasukka-sappaṭibhāgaṃ dhammānaṃ paññāpe-tāraṃ, iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ, n'eva atītāṃse samanupassāma na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

23. "Suppaññattā kho pana tena Bhagavatā⁵ sāvakaṇaṃ nibbāna-gaminī paṭipadā, saṃsandati nibbānaṃ ca paṭipadā ca. Seyyathā pi nāma Gangodakaṃ Yamuno-dakena saṃsandati sameti, evaṃ eva suppaññattā tena Bhagavatā sāvakaṇaṃ nibbāna-gāminī paṭipadā, saṃsan-dati nibbānaṃ ca paṭipadā ca. Evaṃ nibbāna-gāmini-paṭipadāya paññāpetāraṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n'eva atītāṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

24.⁶ " Laddha-sahāyo kho pana so Bhagavā sekhānaṃ c' eva paṭipādānaṃ khīṇāsavānaṃ ca vusitavataṃ,⁷ te Bhagavā apanujja⁷ ekārāmatāṃ anuyutte viharati. Evaṃ ekārāmatāṃ anuyuttaṃ iminā p' aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n'eva atītāṃse samanupassāma, na pan' etarahi annatra tena Bhagavatā.

1. SS K viññūhīti ; B^m viñuhiti. See pp. 181, 222.

2. B^m opaneyyikassa.

3. K -ānavajja. See § 7.

4. S^c -baṃ.

5. SS omit these opening words ; B^m supaññattā kho pana Bhagavatā.

6. B^m palces this § after 25.

7.7. B^m so Bhagavā aparajja ; K tena Bhagavā apanujja ; SS te Bh^o anuppajja. See p. 223.

25. “Abhinippanno¹ kho pana tassa Bhagavato lābho, abhinippanno siloko, yāva maññe² khattiyā sampiyāya-māna-rūpā viharanti, vigata-mado kho pana so Bhagavā āhāraṃ āhāreti. Evaṃ vigata-madaṃ āhāraṃ āhariya-mānaṃ iminā p’ aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n’eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan’ etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

26. “Yathā-vādī kho pana so Bhagavā tathā-kārī, yathā-kārī tathā-vādī. Iti yathā-vādī tathā-kārī, yathā-kārī tathā-vādī evaṃ dhammānudhamma-paṭipannaṃ iminā p’ aṅgena samannāgataṃ n’eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan’ etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā.

27. “Tiṇṇa-vicikiccho kho pana so Bhagavā vigata-kathaṅkatho pariyosita-saṃkappo ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahmacariyaṃ. Evaṃ tiṇṇa-vicikicchaṃ vigata-kathaṅkathaṃ pariyosita-saṃkappaṃ ajjhāsayaṃ ādi-brahmacariyaṃ iminā p’ aṅgena samannāgataṃ satthāraṃ n’eva atītaṃse samanupassāma, na pan’ etarahi aññatra tena Bhagavatā” ti.

Ime³ kho bhante Sakko devānam indo Brahmuno Sanaṃkumārassa Bhagavato atṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe payirudāhāsi. Tena sudaṃ bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro attamno hoti pamudito pīti-somanassa-rāto Bhagavato atṭha yathā-bhucce vaṇṇe sutvā.

28. Atha bhante Brahmā Sanaṃkumāro olākaṃ attabhāvaṃ bhinimminivā⁴ kumāra-vaṇṇi⁵ hutvā Pañcasikho devānaṃ Tāvatimsānaṃ pātur ahosi⁶ vehāsaṃ⁷ abbhuggantvā ākāse antalikkhe pallaṅkena⁸ nisīditvā.⁹ Seyyathā pi bhante balavā puriso supaccatthate vā pallaṅke same vā bhūmi-bhāge

1. K bhinipphanno, *and below. See § 10.*

2. B^m aññe.

3. S^o icc eva.

4. K abhinimmitvā.

5. K vaṇṇo ; K (Sī) vaṇṇī.

6. B^m K *add so, beginning a new sentence.*

7. S^c vebhāraṃ ; S^d vebhāsaṃ.

8. S^{dt} B^m pallaṅke.

9. B^m K nisīdi.

pallaṅkena¹ nisīdeyya, evam eva kho bhante Brahmā Saṃkumārō vehāsaṃ abbhuggantvā ākāse antalikkhe pallaṅkena² nisīditvā deve Tāvatiṃse āsantesi :—

28. 'And so, lord, Brahmā the Eternal Youth materializing himself and becoming in appearance like the youth Five-crest, manifested himself to the Three-and-Thirty gods, and rising up into the air, he sat down cross-legged in the sky. Just, lord, as easily as a strong man might sit down cross-legged on a well-spread divan or a smooth piece of ground, even so did Brahmā the Eternal Youth, rising up into the air, sit down cross-legged in the sky. And he addressed the Three-and-Thirty gods thus :—

29. Taṃ kim maññanti bhonto³ devā Tāvatiṃsā ? Yāva dīgha-rattaṃ mahā-paṇño ca so Bhagavā ahosi.

Bhūta-pubbaṃ bho rājā Disampatī⁴ nāma ahosi. Disampatissa raṇño Govindo nāma brāhmaṇo purohito ahosi. Disampatissa raṇño Reṇu nāma kumārō putto ahosi. Govindassa brāhmaṇassa Jotipālo nāma māṇavo putto ahosi. Iti Reṇu ca rājaputto Jotipālo ca māṇavo aññe ca chakkhattiyā⁵ icc ete aṭṭha sahāyā ahesuṃ. Atha kho⁶ ahorattānaṃ accayena Govindo brāhmaṇo kāla akāsi. Govinde⁷ brāhmaṇe⁸ kālakate⁹ rājā Disampatī paridevesi :—

'Yasmiṃ vata bho mayam¹⁰ samaye Govinde¹¹ brāhmaṇe¹² sabba-kiccāni samavossajjitvā pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappitā samaṅgi-bhūtā paricārema,¹³ tasmim samaye Govindo brāhmaṇo kālakato' ti.

1. So B^m here.

2. S^d pallaṅke.

3. 3S^{dt} bhante.

4. S^{ct} Disampatti, and S^c frequently afterwards.

5. S^d omits chak-; B^m K chakkhattiyā. See p. 232.

6. B^m K add bho.

7. S^{ct} -o.

8. S^{cd} -o; S^t -o corrected to -e.

9. S^c -o.

10. B^m mayasmim.

11. SS Govindo 'see Mahāvastu iii. 204.

12. SS Brāhmaṇo.

13. SS parivārema.

Evam vutte bho Renu rājaputto rājānaṃ Disampatiṃ etad avoca:—

‘Mā kho tvaṃ deva Govinde brāhmaṇe kālakate atibālhaṃ paridevesi. Atthi deva Govindassa brāhmaṇassa Jotipālo nāma māṇavo putto paṇḍitataro c’eva pitarā alamattthadasataro c’eva pitarā.¹ Ye po ‘ssa² pitā atthe anusāsi, te pi Jotipālāss’ eva māṇavassa anusāsaniyā’³ ti.

‘Evam kumārāti’ ?

‘Evam devāti.’

29. “Now what think ye, my lord gods Thirty-and-Three? For how long hath the Blessed One been of great wisdom ?⁴

Once upon a time there was a king named Disampati. And king Disampati’s minister was a brahmin named Govinda (the Steward)⁵ And king Disampati had a son named Renu, and Govinda had a son named Jotipāla. And prince Renu and the young Jotipāla and six other young nobles—these eight—were great friends. Now in the course of years Govinda died. And king Disampati mourned for him, saying : — ‘Alas ! just when we had devolved all our duties on Govinda the brahmin, and were surrounded by and giving ourselves up to the pleasures of sense, Govinda has died !’

Then said prince Renu to the king:— ‘Mourn not, sire, so excessively for Govinda, the brahmin. Govinda has a son, young Jotipāla, who is wiser than his father was, better able to see what is profitable than his father. Let Jotipāla administer all such affairs as were entrusted to his father.’

‘Do you think so, my boy ?’

‘I do, sire.’

1. B^m ca, *omitting* eva pitarā.

2. K tassa.

3. S^d K -īyā.

4. The Cy. here supplements: Himself desirous of clearing up this problem, it is as if he went on to say, that there was nothing wonderful in that, so he tells the story.

5. It is evident from §§ 30, 31 that Govinda, literally ‘Lord of the Herds,’ was a title, not a name, and means Treasurer or Steward.

30. Atha kho bho rājā Disampati aññataram purisaṃ āmantesi :—

‘Ehi tvaṃ ambho purisa, yena Jotipālo¹ māṇavo ten’ upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamitvā Jotipālaṃ² māṇavaṃ evaṃ vadehi: Bhavam atthu bhavaṃ Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ, rājā Disampati bhavaṃ Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ āanta-yati. Rājā Disampati bho Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ dassana-kāmo’ ti.

‘Evaṃ devāti’ bho so puriso Disampatissa rañño paṭissutvā yena Jotipālo māṇavo ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Jotipāla-māṇavaṃ etad avoca:—

‘Bhavam atthu bhavaṃ Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ. Rājā Disampati bhavaṃ Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ āanta-yati. Rājā Disampati bho Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ dassana-kāmo’ ti.

‘Evaṃ bho’ ti kho bho Jotipālo māṇavo tassa purisassa paṭissutvā yena rājā Disampati ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Disampatinā raññā saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodaniyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisaṃvetaṃ ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ nisinnaṃ nisinnaṃ kho bho Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ rājā Disampati etad avoca:—

‘Anusāsatu no bhavaṃ Jotipālo māṇavo, mā³ bhavaṃ Jotipālo anusāsaniyā paccavyābhāsi.⁴ Pettike⁵ taṃ thāne thapayissāmi,⁶ Govindiye abhisiñcissāmīti.’

‘Evaṃ bho’ ti kho bho⁷ Jotipālo māṇavo Disampatissa rañño paccassosi.

30. Then king Disampati summoned a man and said : ‘Come you, good man, go to Master Jotipāla, and say to him :— May good fortune attend the honourable Jotipāla! King Disampati calls for the honourable Jotipāla. King Disampati would like to see the honourable Jotipāla.’

1. B^m K add nāma.

2. SS B^m usually Jotipāla ; B^m thrice omits māṇavaṃ.

3. S^t adds nava ; B^m adds ne ; K adds no.

4. S^d paccavyābhāsi ; S^t paccavyābhāsi. See § 37.

5. B^m vet^o.

6. B^m K thapessāmi.

7. S^c omits.

‘So be it, sire,’ responded the man, and going to Jotipāla he repeated the message.

‘Very good, sir,’ responded Jotipāla, and went to wait upon the king. And when he had come into the king’s presence, he exchanged with the king the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and sat down on one side. Then said king Disampati to Jotipāla :— “We would have the honourable youth Jotipāla administer for us. Let him not refuse to do so. I will set him in his father’s place and appoint him to the Stewardship¹.”

‘So be it, sire,’ replied Jotipāla in assent.

31. Atha kho bho² rājā Disampati Jotipālaṃ māṇavaṃ Govindiye abhisiñci, pettike ṭhāne ṭhapesi. Abhisitto Jotipālo māṇavo Govindiye pettike ṭhāne ṭhapito ye pi ‘ssa pitā atthe anusāsi, te³ atthe anusāsati ; ye pi ‘ssa pitā atthe nānusāsi, te pi atthe nānusāsati. Ye pi ‘ssa pitā kammante abhisambhosi, te pi kammante abhisambhoti; ye pi a ‘ssa pitā kammante nābhisambhosi te pi kammante nābhisambhoti. Tam enaṃ manussā evaṃ āhaṃsu: ‘Govindo vata bho brāhmaṇo, mahā Govindo vata bho brāhmaṇo’ ti. Iminā kho etaṃ⁴ bho pariyāyena Jotipālassa māṇavassa Mahā-Govindo⁵ Mahā-Govindo tv eva⁶ samaññā udapādi.

31. So king Disampati appointed Jotipāla as his Steward, and set him in his father’s place. And thus appointed and installed, whatever matters his father had administered, those did Jotipāla administer ; and whatever his father had not administered, those matters did he too not administer. And whatever

1. Govindiye abhisiñcissāmi. Literally; ‘I will anoint him to the Govinda-ship’ (the Lordship over the herds). The expression ‘anoint’ is noteworthy. It suggests that the office was of royal rank. But a king was of lower rank than now.

2. B^m omits.

3. B^m K. add pi.

4. B^m eva ; K evaṃ.

5. B^m omits mahā ; K omits the second Mahā-Govindo. See A. 3. 373. Mhvst. 206.

6. B^m teva.

works his father had accomplished, and no others, even such works, and no others, did he too accomplish. Of him men said:— ‘The brahmin is verily a Steward ! A Great Steward is verily this brahmin!’ And on this wise Jotipāla came to be called the’ High Steward.

32. Atha kho bho¹ Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo yena te chkkhattiyā² ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā te chakkhattiye³ etad avoca :—

‘Disampati⁴ bho rājā jiṇṇo vuddho mahallako addha-gato vayo-anupatto. Ko nu kho pana⁵ bho⁶ jānāti jīvitānaṃ? Thānaṃ kho pan’ etaṃ vijjati yaṃ Disampatimhi raññe kālakate, rāja-kattāro Reṇuṃ rāja-puttaṃ rajje abhisiñceyyuṃ. Āyantu bho⁷ bhonto, yena Reṇu rāja-putto ten’ upasaṃkamatha, upasaṃkamtivā Reṇuṃ⁸ rāja-puttaṃ evaṃ vadetha: “Mayaṃ⁹ bhoto Reṇussa sahāyā piyā manāpā appaṭikkulā,¹⁰ yaṃ sukho bhavaṃ taṃ sukhā mayaṃ,¹¹ yaṃ¹² dukkho¹³ dhavaṃ,¹⁴ taṃ dukkhā mayaṃ.¹¹ Disampati¹⁵ bho rājā jiṇṇo vuddho mahallako addha-gato vay;o-anupatto. Ko nu kho pana bho jānāti jīvitānaṃ ? Thānaṃ kho pan’ etaṃ vijjati yaṃ vijjati yaṃ Disampatimhi

-
1. B^m omits.
 2. S^d K cha chattiya; B^m khattiyā ; omitting cha, and so all below § 33.
 3. B^m sakhattiyā.
 4. B^m K add kho.
 5. B^m omits.
 6. B^m inserts rā (as if rājā, etc.).
 7. So SS ; B^m K omit.
 8. S^{cd} Renu.
 9. B^m K insert kho.
 10. S^t S^m appaṭikkulā ; SS below § 33 appaṭikk°, but B^m appatik°. In § 37 all have appaṭikkūlo.
 - 11.11. S^c omits.
 12. S^t omits.
 13. S^{dt} dukkhā.
 14. S^{dt} bhavan.
 15. B^m K add kho ; So SS below.

raññe kālakate rāja-kattāro bhavantam Reṇum rajje abhisiñceyyum. Sace bhavam Reṇu rajjam labhetha, samvibhajetha no rajjenāti.” ’

32. Now it came to pass that the Great Steward went to those six nobles, and said to them : ‘Disampati the king is old and wasted with age, full of years, and arrived at the term of life. Who indeed can answer for the survival of the living ? When the king dies, it will behove the king-makers to anoint Renu the prince as king. I suggest, gentlemen, that you wait on prince Renu, and say to him thus: ‘We are the dear, beloved, and congenial friends of our lord Renu. We are happy when our lord is happy; unhappy when he is unhappy. Disampati, our lord king, is old and wasted with age, full of years and arrived at the term of life. Who indeed can answer for the living ? When the king dies, it will behove the king-makers to anoint our lord Renu king. If our lord Renu should gain the sovereignty, let him divide it with us.” ’

33. ‘Evaṃ bho’ ti kho bho te chakkhatiyā Mahā-Govindassa Brāhmaṇassa paṭissutvā yena Reṇu rāja-putto ten’ upasamkamimṣu, upasamkamitvā Reṇum rāja-puttam etad avocum :—

‘Mayaṃ¹ bhoto Reṇussa sahāyā piyā manāpā appaṭikkulā, yaṃ sukho bhavam taṃ sukhā mayaṃ, yaṃ dukkho bhavam taṃ dukkhā mayaṃ. Disampati kho bho rājā jīṇṇo vuddho mahallako addha-gato vayo-anuppatto. Ko nu kho bho pana jānāti jīvitānaṃ ? Tṭhānaṃ kho pan’ etaṃ vijjati yaṃ Disampatimhi raññe kālakate rāja-kattāro bhavantam Reṇum rajje abhisiñceyyum. Sace bhavam renu rajjam labhetha, samvibhajetha no rajjenāti.’

‘Ko no kho bho añño mama vijite sukham² edheyyātha³ aññatra bhavantehi ? Sacāhaṃ bho rajjam labhissāmi, samvibhajissāmi vo rajjenāti.’

1. B^m K add kho.

2. B^m sukho.

3. B^m bhavetha ; K bhavēyyātha ; K (Sī) sumedheyyātha. See Dh. 193; Jāt. i. 223 ; Vim. xvi.4.

33. 'So be it,' responded the six nobles, and waiting upon prince Renu they repeated these words to him.

'Why, sirs, who besides myself ought to prosper in this realm if it be not you ? If I, sirs, shall gain the sovereignty, I will divide it with you.'

34. Atha kho bo ahorattānaṃ accyena rājā Disampati kalam akāsi. Disampatimhi raññe kālakate rāja-kattāro Reṇuṃ rāja-puttaṃ rajje¹ abhisinācimsu. Abhisitto Reṇu rajjena pañchi kāma-guṇehi samappito samaṅgi-bhūto paricāreti. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo yana te chakkhattiyā² ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā te chakkhattiya³ etad avoca :—

'Disampati kho bho rājā kālakato, abhisitto bhavaṃ Reṇu rajjena⁴ pañcāhi kāma-guṇehi samappito samaṅgi-bhūto paricāreti. Ko nu kho pana bho jānāti ? Madanīyā kāmā.⁵ Āyantu bhonto, yena Reṇu rājā ten' upasaṃkamatha, upasaṃkamitvā Reṇuṃ rājānaṃ evaṃ vedetha: "Disampati kho bho rājā kālakato, abhisitto bhavaṃ Reṇu rajjena, sarati bhavaṃ tam vacanaṃ" ti?'

'Evaṃ bho' ti kho bho te chakkhattiyā Mahā-Govindassa Brāhmaṇassa paṭissutvā Reṇu rājā ten' upasaṃkamimsu, upasaṃkamitvā Reṇuṃ rājānaṃ etad avocaṃ :—

'Disampati kho bho rājā kālakato, abhisitto bhavaṃ Reṇu rajjena, sarati bhavaṃ tam vacanaṃ' ti ?

'Sarāma' ahaṃ bho tam vacanaṃ. Ko nu kho bho pahoti imaṃ mahā-paṭhaviṃ uttarena āyataṃ dakkhiṇena sakaṭamukhaṃ⁶ sattadhā⁷ samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhajitun' ti?

'Ko nu kho bho añño pahoti aññatra Mahā-Govindena brāhmaṇenāti ?'

1. SS omit.

2. B^m sakhattiyā ; K chakkhattiyā.

3. S^d khatiya.

4. B^m inserts so.

5. SS kālā. Sum. gives both. See Mahāvastu iii. 207.

6. Ibid. iii. 208.

7. S^{dt} sattayā ; B^m sattata.

34. And it came to pass in course of time that king Disampati died. And after his death, the kingmakers anointed Renu his son king. And he, when he was made king, lived surrounded by and given up to the pleasures of sense. Then the High Steward went to those six nobles and said thus :—

‘Disampati, gentlemen, is dead, and my lord Renu lives surrounded by and given up to the pleasures of sense. Well, gentlemen, who can say ? The pleasures of sense are intoxicating, I would suggest, gentlemen, that you wait on king Renu and say to him : “king Disampati, my lord, is dead, my lord Renu is anointed king. Does my lord remember his promise ?” ’

‘Very good, sir,’ responded the six nobles, and going into Renu’s presence, they said :—

‘King Disampati, sire, is dead, and my lord Renu is anointed king. Does my lord remember his promise ?’

‘I do remember my promise, gentlemen. Which of you gentlemen now is able successfully to divide this mighty earth, so broad on the north and . . . ¹on the south, into seven equal portions ?’

‘Who, sire, is able if it be not the Great Steward, the brahmin ?’

35. Atha kho bho Reṇu rājā aññatarañ purisaṃ āmantesi:—

‘Ehi tvaṃ ambhopurisa yena Mahā²-Govindo brāh-

-
1. Sakatamukka. This adjective, applied here to the earth, and at the end of the next section to the seven kingdoms, is at present quite unintelligible ; and is left untranslated. The traditional explanations differ. Samarasekara (Colombo, 1905) translates here (p. 1016) *dakunu pasin gael mukhayak lesata*, that is, ‘on the south side like a waggon’s mouth.’ Buddhaghosa has nothing here ; but below as applied to the kingdoms he explains ‘with their mouths debouching together.’ Neither is satisfactory. It has been suggested that it might mean ‘facing the Wain,’ that is, the constellation of the Great Bear. But this is unfortunately in the North. The front opening of a bullock waggon is (now) elliptical in form.
 2. B^m omits Mahā.

maṇo ten' upasaṃkama,¹ upasaṃkamitvā Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ evaṃ vadehi : "Rājā taṃ bhante² Reṇu āmantetīti." '

'Evaṃ devo' ti kho bho³ so puriso Reṇussa rañño paṭisutvā yena Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamitvā Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ eta avoca : 'Rājā taṃ bhante⁴ Reṇu āmantetīti.'

'Evaṃ bho' ti kho bho⁵ Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo tassa purisassa paṭissutvā yena Reṇu rājā ten' upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamitva Reṇnā raññā saddhiṃ sammodi, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Ekamantaṃ Reṇu rājā etad avoca :

'Etu bhavaṃ Govindo imaṃ mahā-paṭhaviṃ uttarena⁷ āyataṃ dakkhiṇena sakaṭamukhaṃ sattadhā samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhajatūti.⁸

'Evaṃ bho' ti kho⁹ Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Reṇussa rañño paṭissutvā, imaṃ mahā-paṭhaviṃ uttarena āyataṃ dakkhiṇena sakaṭamukhaṃ sattadhā samaṃ suvibhattaṃ vibhaji, sabbāni sakaṭamukhāni atṭhapesi.¹⁰

35. Then king Renu sent a man to the Great Steward, saying :— 'Come, my good fellow, go to the Great Steward, the brahmin, and say : "The king has sent for you, my lord." ' And the Great Steward was told and obeyed, and, coming into the king's presence, exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and sat down on one side. Then said the king to him : 'Will you go, my lord Steward, and

1. SS B^m mi.

2. B^m kaṃ Bhagavanta.

3. B^m omits.

4. B^m bhavantaṃ.

5. B^m omits.

6. K adds bho.

7. S^c antarena.

8. B^m vijabhajituti ; K vibhajatūti.

9. B^m K add bho.

10. B^m K paṭṭhapesi.

so divide this great earth wide on the north and . . . on the south into seven equal portions, all . . . '

'Very good, sire,' responded the High Steward, [And this he did.]

36. Tatra sudam majjhe Reṇussa rañño janapado hoti.

Dantapuram Kāliṅgānaṃ¹ Assakānaṃ ca Potanam²

Māhissatī³ Avantīnaṃ Sovīrānaṃ⁴ ca Rorukam⁵

Mithilā⁶ ca Videhānaṃ Campā Aṅgesu māpitā,

Bārāṇasī ca Kāsīnaṃ, etc Govinda-māpitā ti.⁷

Atha kho bho te chakkhattiyā yathā sakena lābhena attamanā ahesum paripuṇṇa-saṃkappā : 'Yaṃ vata no ahosi icchitaṃ yaṃ ākaṅkhiṭaṃ yaṃ adhippetam yaṃ adhipatthitaṃ, taṃ no laddhan ti.

Sattabhū Brahmadatto ca Vessabhū Bharato saha,⁸

Reṇu dve ca⁹ Dhataratthā¹⁰ tadāsum¹¹ satta Bhāratā¹² ti.

36. And king Renu's country held the central position. As it is said :—

Dantapura of the Kālingas, and Potana for the Assakas, Māhissati for the Avantis, and Roruka in the Sovīra land.

1. S^{dt} kal^o.

2. S^d potakā ; S^t Potanā ; B^m K Potanam ; Mahāvastu iii. 208 Yotanam ; Jāt. iii. 3 (comp. ii. 155) Potali ; V.V.A., 259, Pota; Old. (Buddha, 408) Potamaṃ.

3. B^m māyayati ; Old. Mahīyata ; see S.N. 1011 and Mahāvastu iii. 208.

4. K Socirānaṃ.

5. S^{dt} Rorūkam ; B^m Roruṇam ; Jāt iii. 470 Roruvam ; see Divy. 545.

6. SS Mithilāṃ ; Mahāvastu iii. 209 Mithilām.

7. Comp. Vimāna Vattu Com. 82.

8. S^c sahā.

9. S^t va ; K omits, but adds ca after Dhataratthā.

10. S^c Dhatarattho ; S^d gadharatthā ; B^m Dhajataṭhā.

11. S^c Dāsum ; B^m tadāsu ; S^t dasad^o, corrected from datad^o.

12. S^c bhātarā ; S^t bhārathā ; S^d bārāthā ; B^m bhāradhātī ; K bhāravāti.

Mithilā of the Videhās, and then Campā among the Aṅgas, Lastly Benares in the Kāśi realm :— all these did the Great Steward wisely plan.

Then were those six nobles well pleased each with his allotted gain, and at the success of his plan. For they said :— ‘What we wished for, what we desired, what we intended, what we aimed at, lo! that is what we have gotten.’ And the seven kings were named :—

Sattabhu and Brahmādatta, Vessabhu with Bharata, Renu and two Dhataratthas :— These are the seven Bhāratas.¹

Paṭhama-bhāṇavāraṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.²

Here ends the first Portion for Recitation.

1. If we follow the order of the names in this no doubt very old mnemonic doggre), the result may be tabulated thus :—

<i>City.</i>	<i>Tribe.</i>	<i>King.</i>
1. Dantapura	Kālingas	Sattabhu.
2. Potana	Assakas	Brahmādatta.
3. Māhissatī	Avantis	Vessabhu.
4. Roruka	Sovīras	Bharata.
5. Mithilā	Videhas	Renu.
6. Campā	Aṅgas	Dhatararra.
7. Bārānasi	Kāśis	Dhatarattha.

This list is enough to show that the verses do not fit with the story. Renu's kingdom is said in the text to be in the middle. No one of these seven kingdoms is in the midst of the others. Benares would suit that position less badly, than any other. It was probably intended therefore that Disampati and Renu were kings or chieftains in Benares. The king Bharata of the Sovīras of J. III, 470 may be the same as the Bharata who also appears in the table here as king of the Sovīras. The Renu of J. IV, 444 is king of the Kurus. None of the numerous Brahmādattas in the Jātakas can be identified with our Brahmādatta. Our Disampati and Renu are referred to, apparently as kings of Benares, at Dīpavamsa III, 40.

The verses survived, but in a very corrupt state, down to the time of the Mahāvastu (Vol. III, p. 208, ed. Senart).

2. *In B^m, K only. See Sum.*

37. Atha kho bho te chakkhattiyā yena Mahā-Govindo Brāhmaṇo ten' upasaṃkamim̐su, upasaṃkamtivā Mahā-Govidaṃ Brāhmaṇaṃ etad avocum̐ : 'Yathā¹ bhavaṃ Govindo Reṇussa rañño sahāyo piyo manāpo appaṭikkūlo, evaṃ eva² bhavaṃ Govindo amhākaṃ pi sahāyo piyo manāpo appaṭikkūlo. Anusāsatu no bhavaṃ Govindo,³ mā no⁴ bhavaṃ Govindo anusāsaniyā paccayyāhā sīti.⁵

'Evaṃ bho ti kho bho Mahā-Govindo Brāhmaṇo tesam̐ channaṃ khattiyānaṃ paccassosi. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo Brāhmaṇo satta ca rājāno khattiye muddha-vasitte⁶ rajje anusāsi, satta ca brāhmaṇa-mahāsāle⁷ satta ca nahātaka-satāni⁸ mante vācesi.

37. Now those six nobles came to the High Steward and said to him :— Just as the honourable Steward was dear, beloved and congenial as companion to Renu the king, so has he been also to us a companion, dear, beloved and congenial. We would that the honourable Steward administer our affairs; we trust he will not refuse to do so.'

'Very good, sirs,' replied the Great Steward. And so he instructed those seven anointed kings in government ; and he taught the mantras to seven eminent and wealthy Brahmins and to seven hundred young graduates.

38. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindassa Brāhmaṇassa aparena samayena evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggaṇchi⁹ : 'Sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ passati, sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmuna sākaçceti sallapati mantetīti.' Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindassa

1. B^m K add kho.

2. B^m K eva kho.

3. S^c omits.

4. SS bho.

5. S^c paccayavyasīti ; S^d paccayāsīti ; B^m paccabyā-hāsiti (sic) ; K paccabyāhāsīti. See p. 232.

6. S^t muddhūdhasitte corrected to muddhābhisitte.

7. S^c Brāhmaṇo mahāsālo ; B^m Brāhmaṇa-sāle.

8. S^d nahātasatāni ; B^m K nhātaka^o.

9. B^m K abbhugacchi.

brāhmaṇassa etad ahoṣi : ‘Mayhaṃ kho evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato: Sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ passati sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetīti. Na kho panāhaṃ Brahmānaṃ passāmi, na Brahmunā sākacchemi, na Brahmunā sallapāmi, na Brahmunā mantemi. Sutaṃ kho pana m’ etaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ vud-dhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ : Yo vassike cattāro māse patisallīyati,¹ karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmānaṃ passati Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetīti. Yannunāhaṃ vassike cattāro māse patisallīyeyyaṃ ²karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyeyyan’ ti.

38. Now later on the excellent reputation of the brahmin, the High Steward, was noised abroad after this fashion:— ‘With his own eyes the High Steward sees Brahmā! Face to face does the High Steward commune with Brahmi, converse and take counsel with Him !’ Then the High Steward thought: ‘This flattering rumour is noised abroad about me, that I both see Brahmā and hold converse with Him. Now I neither see Him, nor commune with Him, nor converse or take counsel with Him. But I have heard aged and venerable brahmins, teachers and pupils, say : “He who remains in meditation the four months of the rains, and practises the ecstasy of pity, *he* sees Brahmā, communes, converses, takes counsel with Brahmā ? What if I now were to cultivate that discipline ?” ’

39. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo Brāhmaṇo yena Reṇu rājā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Reṇuṃ rājānaṃ etad avoca : ‘Mayhaṃ kho bho evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato : Sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ passati, sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetīti. Na kho panāhaṃ bho Brahmānaṃ passāmi, na Brahmunā sākacchemi, na Brahmunā sallapāmi, na Brahmunā mantemi. Sutaṃ kho pana m’ etaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ

1. SS and Childers s.v. pati^o; B^m and K pati^o.

2. S^c twice and S^t thrice kārūṇa-.

ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ : Yo vassike cattāro māse patisallīyati karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmānaṃ passati, Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetīti. Icchāmaṃ ahaṃ bho vassike cattāro māse patisallīyituṃ, karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyituṃ. N'amhi kenaci upasaṃkamitabbo aññatra ekena bhattābhihārenāti.'

'Yassa dāni bhavaṃ Govindo kālaṃ maññatīti.'

39. So the High Steward waited on king Renu, and telling him of the reputation imputed to himself, and of his wish to practise seclusion, added: 'I wish, sir, to meditate during the four months of the rains and to practise the ecstasy of pity. No one is to come near me save some one who will bring me my meals.'

'Do, honourable Steward, whatever seems to you fit.'

40. Atha kho Mahā-Govindo Brāhmaṇo yena te chakkhattiyā ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā te chakkhattiye etad avoca : 'Mayhaṃ kho evaṃ kalyāṇo kittis addo abbhuggato : Sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ passati, sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetīti. Na kho panā-haṃ Brahmānaṃ passāmi, na Brahmunā sākacchemi, na Brahmunā sallapāmi, na Brahmunā mantemi. Sutaṃ kho pana m' etaṃ Brāhmaṇānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahalla-kānaṃ ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ : Yo vassike cattāro māse patisallīyati, karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmānaṃ passati Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati man-tetīti. Icchāmaṃ ahaṃ bho vassike cattāro māse patis-allīyituṃ, karuṇaṃ jhāyaṃ jhāyituṃ. N'amhi kenaci upasaṃkamitabbo aññatra ekena bhattābhihārenāti.'

'Yassa dāni bhavaṃ Govindo kālaṃ maññatīti.'

40. And the High Steward went round to each of the six nobles, told them the same, and took his leave of them also.

41. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo Brāhmaṇo yena satta ca Brāhmaṇa-mahā-sālā satta ca nahātaka-satāni ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā satta ca Brāhmaṇa-mahāsāle satta ca nahātaka-satāni etad avoca :—

'Mayhaṃ kho bho evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato; Sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ passati,

sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetīti. Na kh panāhaṃ kho Brahmānaṃ passāmi, na Brahmunā sākac hemi, na Brahmunā sallapāmi, na Brahmunā mantemi. Sutaṃ kho pana m' etaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallak aṃ ācariya-pācariy-ānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ : Yo vassike cattaro māse patisal-liyati, karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetīti. Tena hi bho yathā sute yathā pariyatte mante vitthārena sajjhāyaṃ karoṭha, aññaṃ aññaṃ ca mante yācetha. Icchāmi' ahaṃ bho vassike cattāro māse patisallīyituṃ karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyituṃ. N'amhi kenaci upasaṃkamitabbe aññaṭra ekena bhattā-bhihārenāti.¹

Yassa dāni bhavaṃ Govindo kālaṃ maññatīti.'

41. Then he went to those seven eminent and wealthy Brahmins, and to the seven hundred graduates, and telling them [too of the rumours and of his wish to practise seclusion], said:— 'Wherefore, sirs, according as you have heard the mantras and have committed them to memory, continue to rehearse them in full, and teach them to each other. I, sirs, wish to meditate during the four months of the rains, and to practise the ecstasy of pity. No one is to come near me save some one who shall bring me my meals.'

'Do, honourable Steward, whatever seems to you fit.'

42. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo yena cattārīsā bhariyā sādisiyo² ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃ-kamitvā cattārīsā bhariyā sādisiyo etad avoca : 'Mayhaṃ kho bho ti evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhugato : Sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ passati, sakkhī Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetīti. Na kho panāhaṃ bhoṭi Brahmānaṃ passāmi, na Brahmunā sākacchemi, na Brahmunā sallapāmi, na Brahmunā mantemi. Sutaṃ kho pana m' etaṃ brāhmaṇānaṃ vuddhānaṃ mahallakānaṃ ācariya-pācariyānaṃ bhāsamānānaṃ : Yo vassike cattāro māse paṭisallīyati karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyati,

1. SS B^m and K bhattāharenāti here only.

2. S^c sādiso.

so Brahmānaṃ passati, Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetīti. Icchāṃ' ahaṃ bho-ti vassike cattāro māse paṭisalliyitum karuṇaṃ jhānaṃ jhāyitum. N'amhi kenaci upasaṃkamtabbo aññatra ekena bhattābhihārenāti.¹

'Yassa dāni bhavaṃ Govindo kālaṃ maññatīti.'

42. Next the High Steward went to his forty wives who were all on an equality, and told them [too of the rumours and of his wish to practise ecstasy in seclusion. And they replied like the others.]

43. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo puratthimena nagarassa navaṃ santhāgāraṃ² kārapetvā vassike cattāro māse paṭisallīyi, karuṇaṃ jhāyi, nāssuda³ koci upasaṃkami aññatra ekena bhattābhihārena. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindassa brāhmaṇassa catunnaṃ māsānaṃ accayena⁴ ahud eva ukkaṇṭhana ahu paritassanā⁵: Sutaṃ kho pana m' etaṃ⁶ Brāhmaṇānaṃ : Yo vassike cattāro māse paṭisalliyati karuṇaṃ jhāyaṃ jhāyati, so Brahmānaṃ passati, Brahmunā sākaccheti sallapati mantetīti. Na kho panāhaṃ Brahmānaṃ passāmi, na Brahmunā sākacchemi, na Brahmunā sallapāmi, na Brahmunā mantemīti.

43. Then the High Steward had a new rest-house built eastward of the city, and there for the four months of the rains he meditated, rapt in the Ecstasy of Pity ; nor did any one have access to him save one who brought him his meals. But when the four rainy months were over, then verily came disappointment and anguish over him as he thought : 'Here have I heard aged and venerable brahmins, teachers and their pupils, say : "He who remains in meditation the four months of the rains, and practises the Ecstasy of Pity, he sees Brahmā, communes, converses, and takes counsel with Brahmā." But I see not Brahmā, I commune not, nor converse, nor take counsel with Him.'

1. So SS bhattābhih^o here and below.

2. B^m chanāgāraṃ.

3. S^{cd} nāssudha; B^m nassudha ; K nāssa ; K (Si) nassu ca.

4. B^m chadhaccayena.

5. S^c parisattanā ; S^l omits.

6. S^l taṃ.

44. Atha kho bho Brahmā Saṇaṃkumāro Mahā-Govindassa Brāhmaṇassa cetasā ceto parivittakkaṃ aññāya, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya, pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evaṃ eva Brahma-loke antarahito Mahā-Govindassa brāhmaṇassa pamukhe pātur ahosi. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindassa brāhmaṇassa bhud eva bhayaṃ ahu chaṃ-bhitattaṃ ahu lomahaṃso yathā taṃ aditṭha-pubbaṃ rūpaṃ disvā. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo bhūto saṃviggo loma-hatṭha-jāto Brahmāṇaṃ Saṇaṃ-kumāraṃ gāthāya ajjhabhāsi:—

‘Vaṇṇavā¹ yasavā sirimā,² ko nu tvam asi³ mārisa ?
Ajānantā tam⁴ pucchāma⁵ kathaṃ jānemu taṃ
mayam?’⁶

‘Maṃ⁷ ve kumāraṃ jānanti Brahma-loke sanan-tanaṃ⁸,
Sabbe jānanti maṃ devā, evaṃ Govinda jānāhi.’⁹
‘Āsanaṃ udakaṃ pajjaṃ madhu-pākaṃ ca brahmuno,
Agghe¹⁰ Bhavantaṃ pucchāma. Agghaṃ¹¹ kurutu¹² no
Bhavam.’

‘Patigaṇhāma¹³ te agghaṃ yaṃ tvam Govinda bhāsasi.’¹⁴

1. S^{dt} add si. See Mhvst. iii. p. 211.

2. S^d sīrīmā.

3. S^d āsi; S^t asiri; B^m asa.

4. B^m naṃtaṃ; S^{cdt} na or ta.

5. S^c-mi.

6. B^m K mayan ti.

7. B^m ma.

8. B^m sanantica.

9. B^m jānāhi.

10. S^c aggo; S^d B^m agge; S^t K agghe.

11. Mahāvastu (iii. 211) agraṃ (twice).

12. B^m K kurutu, always: SS often kurūtu.

13. B^m K paṭgg^o.

14. S^c bhasayi; S^d sī.

**Diṭṭha-dhamma-hitatthāya¹ samparāya-sukhāya² ca,
Katāvakāso puccha ssu yaṃ kuñci abhipatthitan' ti.**

44. Then Brahmā, the Eternal Youth, when in his mind he knew the thoughts of the High Steward's mind, vanished from his heaven, and, like a strong man shooting his arm out or drawing back his out-shot arm, appeared before the High Steward. Then verily came fear, then came trembling upon the High Steward, then did the hair of his flesh stand up³ when he saw this thing that had never been seen before. And he, full of fear and dread with stiffening hair, addressed Brahmā the Eternal Youth in these verses :—

‘O Vision fair, O glorious and divine !
Who art thou, lord ? knowing thee not we ask,
That we may know !’

‘In heaven supreme I'm known
As the Eternal Youth. All know me there.
Know me e'en thou, Govinda.’

‘To a Brahmā Blest
Let seat and water for the feet and sweet
Cooked cakes and drink be brought. We ask what gift
The Lord would take. Would he himself decide
The form for us⁴.’

‘Hereby we take thy gift,
And now—whether it be for good and gain
In this thy present life, or for thy weal

1. K diṭṭhe dhamme hit^o.

2. B^m hitāya.

3. See above, p. 440.

4. The expressions here are all elliptical, and it is not certain that the meanings supplied are quite right as the idioms *agghe pucchati* and *aggham no karoti* do not occur elsewhere. The sequence of ideas would seem to be : ‘Only such and such are fit to be offered as a mark of respect to so holy a deity. But not knowing which is best, I ask. Let the Holy One make it right.’ Then the deity, who wants nothing, taking the will for the deed, says he accepts; and offers a boon.

In that which shall be—Thou hast leave. Come, ask,
Govinda, whatsoe'er thou fain would'st have ?'

45. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindassa brāhmaṇassa etad
ahosi : 'Katāvakāso kho 'mhi Brahmunā Sanaṃku-mārena.
Kin nu kho ahaṃ Brahmānaṃ Sanaṃkumāraṃ puccheyyaṃ
diṭṭha-dhammikaṃ vā atthaṃ vā atthaṃ Samparāyikaṃ vā
ti ?

Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindassa brāhmaṇassa etad
ahosi : 'Kusalo kho ahaṃ diṭṭha-dhammikaṃ atthā-naṃ.
Aññe pi maṃ diṭṭha-dhammikaṃ atthaṃ pucchanti. Yannū-
nāhaṃ Brahmānaṃ Sanaṃkumāraṃ samparāyikaṃ yeva
atthaṃ puccheyyaṃ' ti.

Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo Brahmānaṃ
Sanaṃkumāraṃ gāthāya ajjhabhāsi :

'Pucchāmi Brahmānaṃ¹ Sanaṃkumāraṃ
Kaṅkhi² akaṅkhiṃ³ paravediyesu⁴
Katthaṭṭhito kimhi ca⁵ sikkhamāno
Pappoti macco amataṃ Brahma-lokan ti ?'⁶
'Hitvā mamattaṃ manujesu brahme⁷
Ekodibhūto karuṇādhimutto
Nirāmagandho virato methunasmā
Etthaṭṭhito⁸ ettha ca sikkhamāno
Pappoti macco amataṃ Brahma-lokan ti.'

45. Then the High Steward thought: 'Leave is given me by
Brahmā the Eternal Youth ! What now shall I ask of him, some
good thing for this life, or a future good ?' [241] Then it occurred
to him : 'I am an expert regarding what is profitable for this life.

1. S^{dt} Brahmā.

2. S^t B^m -khi.

3. S^c omits ; S^d B^m -khi; S^t -khī.

4. B^m pavarevediyesu.

5. SS Kimhi ci.

6. Scan macco 'mata' Brahmālokan.

7. So all MS and K. See Jāt. ii. 346 ; vi. 525, 531; and above p. 240.

8. SS khippaṭṭhito.

Even others consult me about that. What now if I were to ask Brahmā the Eternal Youth for something of advantage in a life to come ? 'And he addressed the god in these verses :—

'I ask the Brahmā, the Eternal Youth,
Him past all doubt I, doubting, ask anent
The things that others would fain know about.
Wherein proficient, in what method trained
Can mortal reach th' immortal world of Brāhm ?'

'He among men, O Brahmin, who eschews
All claims of "me" and "mine"; he in whom thought
Rises in lonely calm, in pity rapt,
Loathing all foul things, dwelling in chastity,—
Herein proficient, in such matters trained,
Mortal can reach th' immortal heav'n of Brāhm.'

46. 'Hitvā mamattaṃ tāhaṃ¹ bhoto ājānāmi.² Idh' ekacco appaṃ vā bhogakkhandhaṃ pahāya mahantaṃ vā bhogakkhandhaṃ pahāya appaṃ vā ñāti-parivaṭṭaṃ pahāya mahantaṃ vā ñāti-parivaṭṭaṃ pahāya, kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāri-yaṃ pabbajati. Iti hitvā mamattaṃ tāhaṃ³ bhoto ājānāmi.

'Ekodibhūto ti cāhaṃ⁴ bhoto ājānāmi. Idh' ekacco vivittaṃ senāsanaṃ bhajati araṇṇaṃ rukkha-mūlaṃ pabbataṃ kandaraṃ giri-guhaṃ susānaṃ vana-patthaṃ⁵ abbhokāsaṃ palāla-puñjaṃ.⁶ Iti ekodibhūto ti p'ahaṃ⁷ bhoto ājānāmi.

1. S^{cd} mamatta tāhaṃ; B^m K hitvā mamattanti ahaṃ; K (Sī) mamattaṃtāhaṃ.

2. S^{cd} aj^o, and so SS often below.

3. B^m mamattanti bhahaṃ ; K mamattanti sahaṃ; K (Sī) mamattaṃtāhaṃ ; mamattaṃtipadanti pana pāṭhena bhavitabbaṃ.

4. B^m dāhaṃ ; K sahaṃ ; K (note) ekodibhūtotipadanti pāṭhena bhavitabbaṃ.

5. Sⁱ vanaspatiṃ ; B^m -pattaṃ; K patthaṃ. See 1.71 ; M.1. 16.

6. K adds paṭisantīyati.

7. B^m omits p'; K sahaṃ; K sahaṃ.

‘Karūṇādhimutto ti p’aham¹ bhoto ājānāmi. Idh’
ekacco karūṇā-sahagatena cetasā ekaṃ² disaṃ pharitvā
viharati, tathā dutiyaṃ³ tathā tatiyaṃ tathā catutthaṃ. Iti
uddh;am adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi⁴ sabbattatāya⁵ sabbā-vantaṃ
lokaṃ karūṇā-sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahag-gatena
appamāṇena averena⁶ avyāpajjhena⁷ pharitvā viharati. Iti
karūṇādhimutto ti p’ aham⁸ bhoto ājānāmi.

‘Āmagandhe va kho aham bhoto bhāsamānassa na⁹
ājānāmi.

‘Ke āmagandhā manujesu Brahme ?

Ete avidvā¹⁰ idha brūhi dhīra.

Ken’ āvaṭṭā¹¹ vāti pajā kuruttharū¹²

Āpāyikā nīvuta-brahmalokā¹³ ti.’

‘Kodho mosa-vajjaṃ¹⁴ nikatī ca dobho¹⁵

Ladarouatā¹⁶ atimāno usuyyā¹⁷

Icehā vicikicchā para-heṭhanā ca

Lobho ca doso ca mado ca moho

Etesu yuttā anirāmagandhā

Āpāyikā nīvuta-brahmalokā ti.’

-
1. B^m Karūṇedhimutto ti aham ; K saham.
 2. S^d evaṃkaṃ.
 3. S^d duti āgametu tīṇi māsāni āgametu, *see* § 54. *The intervening passage occurs later, at end of* § 61.
 4. B^m omits.
 5. S^d B^m sabbatthatāya.
 6. B^m omits.
 7. B^m abyāpajjh^o; K abyāpajh^o.
 8. B^m karūṇedhimutto ti aham; K saham.
 9. SS *and* B^m omit ; K na ca.
 10. B^m aviddhāra ; K aviddhā.
 11. S^d āvaṭṭhā ; K avuṭṭā.
 12. S^d kurutṭha ; B^m kurutu; K kururū (K Sī kurutṭharū).
 13. All MSS. nivuta-; (*and so at the end*) ; K nīvuta.
 14. SS -vajja.
 15. So S^{cdt} ; B^m K dobbho.
 16. S^d B^m kadariyathā.
 17. S^d usūyā ; B^m ussuyyā ; K ussuyā.

‘Yathā kho ahaṃ bhoto āmagandhe bhāsamānassa ājānāmi, te na sunimmadayā¹ agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissāni’ ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyan’ ti.

‘Yassa dāni bhavaṃ Govindo kālaṃ maññatīti.’

46. ‘What the Lord saith touching “eschewing all claims of ‘me’ and ‘mine’ ” I understand. It is to renounce all property whether it be small or large, and to renounce all family life, whether the circle of one’s kin be small or large, and with hair and beard cut off and yellow robes donned, to go forth from the home into the homeless life. Thus do I understand this.

‘What the Lord saith touching “thought rising in lonely calm” I understand. It is when one chooses a solitary abode—the forest, at the foot of a tree, a mountain brae, a grotto, a rock-cavern, a cemetery, or a heap of grass out in the open field. Thus do I understand this.

‘What the Lord saith touching “in pity rapt” I understand. It is when one continues to pervade one quarter of the horizon with a heart charged with pity, and so the second quarter, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around and everywhere does one continue to pervade with a heart charged with pity, far-reaching, expanded, infinite, free from wrath and ill will. Thus do I understand this.

‘Only in what He saith touching “loathing the foul” do I not understand thee, Lord.

What mean’st thou by “foul odours among men,”

O Brahmā ? here I understand thee not.

Tell what these signify, who knowest all.

When cloaked and clogged by what is man thus foul,

Hell-doomed, and shut off from the heaven of Brāhm ?’

‘Anger and lies, deceit and treachery,

Selfishness, self-conceit and jealousy,

Greed, doubt, and lifting hands ‘gainst fellow men,

Lusting and hate, dulness and pride of life,—

When yoked with these man is of odour foul,

Hell-doomed, and shut out from the heav’n of Brāhm.’

1. B^m te nimmadayā.

‘As I understand the word of the Lord concerning these “foul odours,” they cannot easily be suppressed if one live in the world. I will therefore go forth from the home into the life of the homeless state.’

‘Do, lord steward, whatever seems to you fit.’

47. Atha kho bho Mahā-govindo brāhmaṇo yena Reṇu rājā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Reṇu-rājānāṃ etad avoca: ‘Aññaṃ dāni bhavaṃ purohitam pariyeatu, yo bhoto rajjaṃ anusāsissati. Icchāṃ’ ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajituṃ. Yathā kho pana me suttaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissāṃ’ ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyaṃ’ ti.

‘Āmantayāmi rājānaṃ Reṇuṃ bhūmi-patiṃ ahaṃ, Tvaṃ pajānassu rajjena, nāhaṃ porohacce¹ rame.’

‘Sace te² ūnaṃ kāmehi ahaṃ paripūrayāmi te, Yo taṃ hiṃsati vāremi bhūmi-senāpatī³ ahaṃ, Tvaṃ pitā ’si⁴ ahaṃ putto⁵ mā no Govinda pājahi.’⁶

‘Na m’ atthi⁷ ūnaṃ kāmehi hiṃsitā⁸ me na vijjati Amanusa-vaco⁹ sutvā tasmā ’haṃ na gāhe¹⁰ rame.’

‘Amanusso kathaṃ-vaṇṇo,¹¹ kaṇ¹² te atthaṃ abhāsatha, Yaṃ¹³ sutvā pajāhāsi¹⁴ no gehe amhe ca kevale.’¹⁵

1. B^m porohicce.

2. S^t naṃ ; S^c taṃ .

3. B^m bhummi.

4. S^{ct} K omit.

5. K adds ca.

6. S^c pājahi; S^d pajahi; B^m pajahati.

7. SS nacatti ; B^m namatti ; K na matthi.

8. S^t B^m hisitā; S^{cd} hiṃsikā ; K hiṃsito.

9. B^m -dhaco.

10. B^m gehe.

11. S^t vaṇṇe ; S^d vanno.

12. S^d B^m kin.

13. B^m K yañ ca.

14. S^t jahāti; S^d B^m K jahāsi; S^c jāhāsi.

15. B^m kevalaṃ.

‘Upavutthassa me pubbe yatthu-kāmassa¹ me sato
Aggi pajjalito āsi kusapatta-paritthato.
Tato me Brahmā pātur ahu Brahma-lokā Sanantano,
So me pañhaṃ viyākāsi taṃ sutvā na gahe rame.’

‘Saddahā ahaṃ bhoto yaṃ tvam Govinda bhāsasi,
Amanussa-vaco sutvā kathaṃ vattetha aññathā,
Te taṃ anuvattissāma² satthā Govinda no bhava.
Maṇi yathā veḷuriyo akāco³ vimalo subho,
Evaṃ suddhā carissāma Govindassānusāsane ti.’

‘Sace bhavaṃ Govindo agāasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajis-
sati, aham⁴ pi agāasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāmi.⁵ Atha yā
te gati sā no gati bhavissatīti.’

47. Then the High Steward waited on king Renu and said to him :— ‘Will my lord now seek another minister, who will administer my lord’s affairs ? I wish to leave the world for the homeless life. I am going forth in accordance with the word of Brahmā which I have heard concerning foul odours. These cannot be easily suppressed when one is living in the world.’

‘King Renu, lord o’ the land, I here declare :—
Do thou thyself take thought for this thy realm!
I care no longer for my ministry.’

‘If for thy pleasures aught there lacketh yet,
I’ll make it good. If any injure thee,
Them I’ll restrain, warlord and landlord I !
Thou art my father, Steward, lo! I am thy son!
Abide with us, Govinda, leave us not.’

‘Naught lack I for my pleasures, nor is there
One who doth injure me. But I have heard
Voices unearthly. Henceforth home holds me not.’

1. Scd yaṃsukhāmassa ; S^t yaṃsukāmassa; B^m yiṭha-kāmassa; K yiṭhakāmassa.
2. SS anupabbajissāma, and so K and Sum as v.l.
3. Sc ako ; S^d akākho; S^t akokho ; B^m akāce ; K akāse.
4. B^m K mayam.
5. B^m K pabbajissāma.

'What like is this Uneathly ? What did He say
To thee, that having heard thou wilt straightway
Forsake our house and us and all the world ?'

'Ere I had passed through this Retreat, my care
Was for due altar-rites, the sacred fire
Was kindled, strewn about with kusa-grass.
But lo! Brahmā I saw, from Brahmā's heav'n,
Eternal god. I asked ; he made reply;
I heard. And now irksome is home to me.'

'Lo ! I believe the words that thou hast said.
Govinda. Having heard the Uneathly Voice.
How could it be thou should'st act otherwise ?
Thee will we follow after. Be our guide,
Our teacher ! So, like gem of purest ray,
Purg'd of all dross, translucent, without flaw,—
As pure as that we'll walk according to thy word.'

'If the honourable Steward goes forth from the home into
the homeless, I too will do the like. For whither thou goest, I will
go.'

48. *Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo yena te
chakkhattiyā¹ ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā² chak-
khattiye etad avoca : 'Aññaṃ dāni³ bhavanto purohitaṃ
pariyasantu, yo bhavantaṃ rajje anusāsissati. Icchāṃ' ahaṃ
bho agārasmā angāriyaṃ pabbajitūṃ. Yathā kho pana me
sutaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamaṇassa te na
sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissāṃ' ahaṃ bho
agārasmā anagāriyaṃ ti.*

*Atha kho bho chakkhattiyā ekamantaṃ apakkamma
evaṃ samacintesuṃ : 'Ime kho⁴ brāhmaṇā nāma dhana-
luddhā, yaṃ nūna mayaṃ Mahā-Govindaṃ brāmaṇaṃ
dhanena sikkheyyāmaṃti.'*

1. B^m K cha khattiyā.

2. B^m K insert te.

3. B^m repeats aññaṃ dāni; K inserts kho.

4. K adds kho.

Te Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṃ āhaṃsu : ‘Saṃvijjati¹ kho bho imesu sattasu rajjesu pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ. Tato bhoto yāatakena attho tāvatakaṃ āhareyyatan ti.²

‘Alaṃ bho ! Mama p’ idaṃ pahūtaṃ sāpateyyaṃ bhavantānaṃ yeva vāhasā, tam³ ahaṃ yasaṃ⁴ pahāya agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāmi. Yathā kho pana me suttaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa, te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissāṃ’ ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyaṃ’ ti.

48. Then the High Steward, the brahmin, waited upon the six nobles, and said to them : ‘Will my lords now seek another minister who will administer my lords’ affairs ? I wish to leave the world for the homeless life. I am going forth in accordance with the word of Brahmā which I have heard concerning foul odours. These cannot be easily suppressed when one is living in the world.’

Then the six nobles went aside together and thus deliberated:— ‘These brahmin folk are greedy for money. What if, we were to gain him over through money?’ And coming to the High Steward they said:— ‘There is abundance of property, sir, in these seven kingdoms. Wherefore, sir, take of it as much as seems profitable to you.’

‘Enough, sirs ! I have already abundant possessions, thanks to the action of my lords. It is that luxury that I am now relinquishing in leaving the world for the homeless life, [even as I have told you].’

49. Atha kho bho te chakkhattiyā ekamantaṃ apak-kamma evaṃ⁵ samacintesuṃ : ‘Ime kho brāhmaṇā nāma

1. So B^m K; SS - vijjanti.

2. B^m āhariyanti; K āhariyatanti.

3. For vāhasā tam S^t has vātam ; B^m vā hotu tam ; K tathā sāpateyyaṃ. See Mil. 379, 430 ; Vin. iv. 158.

4. B^m K sabbāṃ.

5. S^d apakkamm’imaṃ ; S^t apakkammamimaṃ.

itthi-luddhā. Yan nūna mayam Mahā-Govindam brāhmaṇam
itthīhi sikkheyyāmāti ?’

Te Mahā-Govindam brāhmaṇam upasaṃkamitvā evam
āhaṃsu : ‘Samvijjante¹ kho bho imesu sattasu rajjesu pabūtā
itthiyo. Tato bhoto yāvatikāhi attho, tāvatikā āniyyatan’² ti.

‘Alaṃ bho ! mama p’ imā³ cattārisā bhariyā sādisiyo.
Tā p’ ahaṃ⁴ sabbā pahāya agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabba-
jissāmi. Yathā kho pana me sutam Brahmuno āmagandhe
bhāsamānassa, te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā,
pabbajissām’ ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyan’ ti.

49. Then the six nobles went aside together, and thus
deliberated: ‘These brahmin folk are greedy about women. What
if we were to gain him over through women ?’ And coming to
the High Steward they said : ‘There is, sir, in those seven king-
doms abundance of women. Wherefore, sir, conduct away with
you as many as you want.’

‘Enough, sirs! I have already these forty wives equal in
rank. All of them I am forsaking in leaving the world for the
homeless life, [even as I have told you].’

50. ‘Sace bhavam Govindo agārasmā anagāriyaṃ
pabbajissati, mayam pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabba-jissāma,
atha yā te gati no gati bhavissatīti.’

‘Sace jahātha⁵ kāmāni yattha satto puthujjano

Ārabhavho⁶ daḥhā hotha khanti-bala-samāhitā.

Esa maggo uju maggo esa⁷ maggo anuttaro

Saddhammo sabbhi rakkhito Brahmaloḍupapattiyā ti.’

50. ‘If the honourable Steward goes forth from the home
into the homeless life, we too will do the like. Whither thou
goest we will go.’

1. S^d yaṃvijjanto ; B^m K -janti.

2. S^t āniyya^o; S^c an^o; B^m aniyatanti; K āniyatāti.

3. S^t maṃ cichamā tā; S^d maṃ machamā tā ; S^t maṃ cajamānā ; B^m
mama pi tā.

4. B^m K tāpāhaṃ ; K (Sī) tāpahaṃ.

5. S^d chatha; B^m hetha; K pajahatha.

6. S^cda apabhavho; B^m ārambhavo; K ārambho.

7. SS visa.

‘If ye would put off fleshly lusts that worldling’s heart coerce,

Stir ye the will, wax strong, firm in the power of patience.

This is the Way, the Way that’s Straight¹, the Way unto the End²,

The Righteous Path that good men guard, to birth in Brahmā’s heaven.’

51. ‘Tena hi bhavaṃ Govindo satta vassāni āgāmetu, sattannaṃ vassānaṃ accayena mayam pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatīti.’

‘Aticiraṃ kho bho satta vassāni. Nāhaṃ sakkomi bhavante satta vassāni āgāmetuṃ. Ko kho³ pana bho jānāti jīvitānaṃ. Gamaṇīyo samparāyo, mantāya bodhabbam,⁴ kattabbaṃ kusalaṃ, caritabbaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, n’ atthi jātassa amaraṇaṃ. Yathā kho pana me sutāṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvāvasatā, pabbajissāma’ ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyaṃ’ ti.

51. ‘Wherefore, my lord Steward, wait yet seven years, and when they are over, we too will go forth from the world into the homeless life. Whither thou goest we will go.’

‘Too long, my lords, are seven years! I cannot wait for my lords seven years. For who can answer for the living?⁵ We must go toward the future, we must learn by wisdom⁶, we must do good, we must walk in righteousness, for there is no escaping death for all that’s born. Now I am going forth in accordance

1. See S. I, 33 :— ‘Straight is that way named.’

2. Anuttaro, lit. having no beyond. The Cy. interprets asadisso, uttamo (unique, supreme).

3. SS me ; B^m K nu kho ; in the reptition §§ 54-55, ko kho pana. So Sum here.

4. S^d bodhabbam ; S^c boddhabbam ; S^t B^m bhoddhabbam ; K voṭṭhabbam. See A. iv. 136, 137.

5. See above, p. 268.

6. Mantāya. Mantā vuccati paññā, says Buddhaghosa. Cp. the commentary on Dh. 363; and Anguttara II. 141-228.

with the word of Brahmā which I have heard concerning foul odours. They cannot be easily suppressed when one is living in the world.'

52. 'Tena hi bhavaṃ Govindo cha vassāni āgāmetu ... pe ... pañca vassāni āgāmetu ... [pe] ... cattāri vassāni āgāmetu ... [pe] ... tīṇi vassāni āgāmetu ... [pe] ... dve vassāni āgāmetu ... [pe] ... ekaṃ vassaṃ āgāmetu. Eka-vassassa¹ accayena mayem pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatīti ?

52. 'Well then, lord Steward, wait for us six years, ... [or] wait five years ... four years ... three ... two years ... one year. When a year has gone by we too will leave the world for the Homeless State. Whither thou goest we will go.'

53. 'Aticiraṃ kho bho ekaṃ vassaṃ. Nāhaṃ sakkomi bhavante ekaṃ vassaṃ āgāmetuṃ. Ko² kho pana bho jānāti jīvitānaṃ. Gamanīyo samparāyo, mantāya bodhabbaṃ, kattabbaṃ kusalaṃ, caritabbaṃ brahmacariyaṃ, n' atthi jātassa amaraṇaṃ. Yathā kho pana me suttaṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā āgāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissāma' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyaṃ' ti.

'Tena hi bhavaṃ Govindo satta māsāni āgāmetu. Sattannaṃ māsānaṃ accayena mayam pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatīti.'

53. 'Too long, my lords, is one year. I cannot wait for my lords one year. For who can answer for the living ? We must go towards the future, we must learn by wisdom, we must do good, we must walk in righteousness, for there is no escaping death for all that's born. Now I am going forth in accordance with the word of Brahmā which I have heard concerning foul odours. They cannot easily be suppressed when one is living in the world.'

1. B^m K ekassa vassassa.

2. B^m K add nu.

54. 'Aticiraṃ kho bho satta māsāni. Nāhaṃ sakkomi bhavante¹ satta māsāni āgāmetuṃ. Ko² kho pana bho jānāti jīvitānaṃ ? Gamaṇīyo samparāyo, mantāya bodhabbaṃ, kattabbaṃ kusalāṃ, caritabbaṃ brahma-cariyaṃ, n'atthi jātassa amaraṇaṃ. Yathā kho pana me sutāṃ Brahmuno āmmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissāṃ' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyaṃ' ti.

'Tena hi bhavaṃ Govindo cha māsāni āgāmetu . . . pe . . . pañca māsāni āgāmetu . . . [pe] . . . cattāri māsāni āgāmetu . . . [pe] . . . tīṇi māsāni āgāmetu . . . [p] . . . dve māsāni āgāmetu . . . [p] . . . addha-māsaṃ³ āgāmetu. Addha-māsassa accayena mayam pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatīti ?

54. 'Well then, lord Steward, wait for us seven months . . . six months . . . five . . . four . . . three . . . two months . . . one month . . . half a month . . . seven days, till we have devolved our kingdoms on to our sons and brothers. When seven days are over, we will leave the world for the Homeless State. Whither thou goest we will go.'

'Seven days, my lords, is not a long time. I will wait, my lords, for seven days.'

55. 'Aticiraṃ kho bho addhamāso. Nāhaṃ sakkomi bhavante addhamāsaṃ āgāmetuṃ. Ko kho pana bho jānāti jīvināṃ ?⁴ Gamaṇīyo samparāyo, mantāya bodhabbaṃ, kattabbaṃ kusalāṃ, caritabbaṃ brahma-cariyaṃ, n'atthi jātassa amaraṇaṃ. Yathā kho pana me sutāṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā agārasmā ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissāṃ' ahaṃ bho agārasmā anagāriyaṃ' ti.

'Tena hi bhavaṃ⁵ Govindo sattāhaṃ āgāmetu yāva

1. S^c bhavanto.

2. B^m K add nu.

3. K (note) addhamāsaṃ ti pi pāṭho.

4. So all MSS. and K.

5. S^c omits; B^m bhava.

mayam sake putta-¹ bhātaro rajje anusāsāma.² Sattāhassa accayena mayam pi agāasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatīti.’

‘Na ciraṃ kho bho sattāhaṃ.³ āgamissām’ ahaṃ bhavante sattāhan’ ti.

56. Atha kho bh Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo yena te satta brāhmaṇā mahā-sālā satta ca nahātaka-satāni ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā satta brāhmaṇa-mahāsāle satta ca nahātaka-satāni etad avoca :

‘Aññaṃ dāni⁴ bhavanto ācariyaṃ pariyesantu,⁵ yo bhavantānaṃ mante vācessati. Icchām’ ahaṃ bho agāasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitum. Yathā kho pana me sutam Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissām’ ahaṃ bho agāasmā anagāriyan’ ti.

‘Mā bhavaṃ Govindo agāasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaji,⁶ pabbajjā bho appesakkhā ca appalābhā ca, brahmaññaṃ⁷ mahesakkhā ca mahālābhā cāti.’

‘Mā bhavanto evaṃ avacuttha⁸: “Pabbajjā appesakkhā ca appalābhā ca, brahmaññaṃ mahesakkhā ca mahālābhā cāti.” Ko nu kho bho añño⁹ mayā mahesakkhataro vā mahālābhataro vā. Ahaṃ hi bho¹⁰ etarahi rājā ca raññaṃ Brahmā ca brāhmaṇānaṃ devatā ca gahapatikānaṃ, taṃ p’ ahaṃ sabbam pahāya agāasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāmi. Yathā kho pana me sutam Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamā-

1. SS putte.

2. B^m K anusāsissama.

3. SS *insert* bho *again*.

4. S^d aññad^o; S^t aññāni dāni.

5. SS ācariyapācariyesantu ; B^m ācariyapari^o.

6. SS pabbajito bho pabbajjā

7. SS and B^m *sometimes* brahmañña and put the adjectives in ā.

8. S^t avuttha. B^m K repeat the whole clause.

9. B^m K aññatra; K (note) añño ti vā pāṭho.

10. So SS B^m ; K ahaṃ vo; K (Sī) ahaṃ hi bho.

nassa te na sunimmadayā agāraṃ ajjhāvasatā, pabbajissāṃ' ahaṃ bho agārasmā angāriyaṃ' ti.

'Sace bhavaṃ Govindo agārasmā angāriyaṃ pabbajissati, mayā pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā to gati sā no gati bhavissatīti.'

56. Then the High Steward, the brahmin, came to those seven eminent and wealthy brahmins and to those seven hundred graduates, and said:— 'Will ye now seek another teacher, sirs, who will (by repetition) teach you the mystic verses ?¹ I wish to leave the world for the homeless life. I am going forth in accordance with the word of Brahmā which I have heard concerning foul odours. These cannot easily be suppressed when one is living in the world.'

'Let the honourable Steward not leave the world for the homeless life! Leaving the world means little power and little gain; to be a brahmin brings great power and great gain.'

'Speak not so, gentlemen, of leaving the world or of being a brahmin. Who for that matter has greater power or wealth than I ? I, sirs, have been hitherto as a king of kings, as Brahmā to brahmins, as a deity² to householders. And this, all this, I put away in leaving the world, in accordance with the word of Brahmā ...'

'If the lord Steward leaves the world for the Homeless State, we too will do the like. Whither thou goest, we will go.'

57. Atha kho bho Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo yena cattārīsā³ bhariyā sādisiyo ten' upasamkami, upasaṃkamitvā vattārīsā bhariyā sādisiyo etad avoca : 'Yā bhoti naṃ⁴ icchati sakāni va⁵ ñāti-kulāni gacchatu,⁶ aññaṃ⁷

1. Mante. See last note.

2. Devatā; 'like Sakka, king of gods, to all other heads of families.' Cy. The phrase might be taken to mean that Brahmā was not a devatā.

3. S^c -risa ; S^t B^m K -risā.

4. MSS. na.

5. SS pañ; B^m omits ; K vā.

6. S^{cd} gacchati; K gacchantu (B^m gacchatu).

7. B^m K add vā.

bhattāraṃ pariyesaṭu.¹ Icchāṃ' ahaṃ bhoti agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitaṃ.² Yathā kho pana me sutāṃ Brahmuno āmagandhe bhāsamānassa te na sunimmadaya āgāraṃ ajjjhāvasatā, pabbajissāṃ' ahaṃ bhoti agārasmā anagāriyaṃ' ti.

'Tvam yeva no ñāti ñāti-kāmānaṃ. Tvam pana bhattā bhattu-kāmānaṃ. Sace bhavaṃ Govindo agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissati, mayam pi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajissāma, atha yā te gati sā no gati bhavissatīti.'

57. Then the High Steward, the Brahmin, went to his forty wives, all on an equality, and said :— 'Will each of you, ladies, who may wish to do so, go back to her own family and seek another husband ? I wish, ladies, to leave the world for the homeless life, in accordance with the word of Brahmā . . .'

'Thou, even thou, art the kinsman of our hearts' desire; thou art the husband of our hearts' desire. If the lord Steward leaves the world for the Homeless State, we too will do the like. Whither thou goest, we will go.'

58. Atha kho bho Mahā Govindo brāhmaṇo tassa sattā-hassa accayena kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbaji. Pabbajitañ³ ca pana Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ, satta ca rājāno khattiyaṃ muddhāvasittā, satta ca brāhmaṇa-mahāsālā satta ca nahātaka-satāni, cattārīsā ca bhariyā sādisiyo, anekāni ca khattiya-satāni, cattārīsā ca bhariyā sādisiyo, anekāni ca khattiya-sahassāni, anekāni ca brāhmaṇa-sahassābni, anekāni ca gahapati-sahassāni, anekā⁴ ca itthāgārehi⁵ itthikāyo⁶ kesa-massuṃ ohāretvā kāsāyāni vatthāni acchādetvā Mahā-Govindaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitaṃ anupabbajimsu. Tāya sudaṃ bho parisāya parivuto Mahā-

1. SS K -santu ; B^m -satu.

2. S^c pabbajissitaṃ ; S^{dt} -jissatu.

3. SS tañ.

4. SS anekāni; B^m anekahi.

5. So SS B^m ; K itthāgārā.

6. B^m K itthiyo.

Govindo brāhmaṇo gāma-nigama-rāja-dhānīsu cārikaṃ carati. Yaṃ kho pana bho tena sama-yena Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo gāmaṃ vā nigamaṃ vā upasaṃkamati, tattha rājā va hoti raññaṃ Brahmā va brāhmaṇānaṃ devatā va gahapatikānaṃ. Ye ca¹ kho pana bho tena samayena manussā khipanti² vā upak-khalanti³ vā, te evaṃ āhamsu : ‘Nam’ atthu Mahā-Govindassa brāhmāṇassa, nam’ atthu satta-purohitassāti.’

58. And so the High Steward, the brahmin, when those seven days were past, let his hair and beard be cut off, donned the yellow robes and went forth from his home into the Homeless State. And he having so acted, the seven kings also, anointed kshatriyas, as well as the seven eminent and wealthy brahmins and the seven hundred graduates, the forty wives all on an equality, several thousand nobles, several thousand brahmins, several thousand commoners and several young women from women’s quarters, let their hair be cut, donned the yellow robes and went forth from their homes into the Homeless State. And so, escorted by this company, the High Steward, the brahmin, went a-wandering through the villages, towns, and cities. And whether he arrived at village or town or city, there he became as a king to kings, as Brahmā to brahmins, as a deity to commoners,. And in those days when any one sneezed or slipped, they called out:— ‘Glory be to the High Steward, the brahmin ! Glory be to the Minister of Seven !’

59. Mahā-Govindo bho⁴ brāhmaṇo mettā-sahagatena cetasā⁵ ekaṃ disaṃ pharitvā vihāsi, tathā dutiyaṃ, tathā tatiyaṃ, tathā catutthaṃ. Iti uddham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya⁶ sabbāvantam lokam mettā-sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena

-
1. B^m K omit.
 2. S^t khippanti.
 3. S^c ukkhalanti.
 4. B^m K omit.
 5. K inserts averena abyāpajjhena.
 6. So S^c corrected to -atthatāya ; S^d B^m -atthatāya (as at p. 242).

pharitvā vihāsi. Karuṇā-sahaga-tena cetasā muditā-sahagatena cetasā upkhā-sahagatena cetasā¹ ekam disaṃ pharitvā vihāsi tathā dutiyaṃ tathā tatiyaṃ tathā catutthaṃ. Iti udham adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbattatāya² sabbāvantam lokam upekhā-sahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamaṇena averena avyāpajjhena pharitvā vihāsi, sāvakānaṃ ca Bhahmaloka³ -sahavyatāya maggaṃ desesi.

59. Now the High Steward, the brahmin, continued to pervade each of the four quarters of the horizon with a heart charged with love . . . with pity . . . with sympathy in joy . . . with equanimity. And so the whole wide world above, below, around, and everywhere did he continue to pervade with heart charged with equanimity, far-reaching, expanded, infinite, free from wrath and ill will. And he taught to disciples the way to union with the world of Brahmā.

60. Ye kho pana bho tena samayena Mahā-Govin-bassa brāhmaṇassa sāvakā sabbena sabbam sāsanaṃ ājāṇiṃsu,⁴ te kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā sugatiṃ Brahma-lokam upapajjiṃsu. Ye na sabbena sabbam sāsanaṃ ājāṇiṃsu, te kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā app ekacce Paranimmita-Vasavattīnam devānam sahavyatam uppajjiṃsu, app ekacce Nimmāna-ratīnam devānam sahavyatam uppajjiṃsu, app ekacce Tusitānam devānam sahavyatam uppajjiṃsu, app ekacce Yāmānam devānam sahavyatam uppajjiṃsu, app ekacce Tāvatisānam devānam sahavyatam uppajjiṃsu, app ekacce Cātumma-hārājikānam devānam sahavyatam uppajjiṃsu. Ye sabbe sabba-nihīna-kāyam paripūresuṃ te gandhabba-kāyam paripūresuṃ.

Iti kho bho⁵ sabbesaṃ yena tesam kula-puttānam

-
1. B^m K pa to the end of the section.
 2. So S^c, again corrected as above, note.
 3. S^d-loke.
 4. S^t jāṇiṃsu ; S^{cd} ajō.
 5. B^m K pana.

amoghā pabbajjā ahosi avañjhā¹ saphalā sa-uddisā ti.²

60. Now all they who at that time had been the High Steward's disciples and in all points 'wholly understood his teaching, were after their death reborn into the blissful world of Brahmā. They who had not in all points wholly understood his teaching, were after their death reborn into the company either of the gods who Dispose of Joys purveyed from without, or of the gods of the Heaven of Boundless Delight, or of the gods of the Heavens of Bliss, or of the Yāma gods, or of the Three-and-Thirty gods, or of the gods who are the Four Kings of the Horizon. Even they who accomplished the lowest realm of all, attained to the realm of the Gandharva fairies.

Thus of all those clansmen there was not one whose renunciation proved vain or barren ; in each case it bore fruit and development.'

61. 'Sarati taṃ³ Bhagavā ti ?'

'Sarām'⁴ ahaṃ⁵ Pañcasikha. Ahaṃ tena samayena Mahā-Govindo brāhmaṇo ahosiṃ.⁶ Ahaṃ tesam sāvakanam Brahmaloaka-sahavyatāya maggaṃ desesiṃ.⁷ Taṃ kho pana Pañcasikho brahmacariyaṃ na nibbidāya na virāgāya na nirodhāya na upasamāya na abhiññāya na sambodhāya na nibbānaya saṃvattati, yāvad eva Brah-malokūpapattiyā. Idaṃ kho pana me Pañcasikha brahmacariyaṃ ekanta-nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya saṃvattati,⁸ ayaṃ eva ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko Maggo, seyyathidaṃ sammādiṭṭhi sammā-saṃkappo sammā-vācā sammā-kammanto sammā-ājīvo sammā-vāyāmo sammā-sati sammā-

1. B^m K avajjā ; K (note) avañjhāti vāavajjhāti vā pāṭho.

2. S^t sa-uddiyā ; B^m sa-uddrayā ; K sa-udrayā.

3. S^d kaṃ

4. S^c sārām.

5. B^m K insert bho.

6. S^{dt} ahosi.

7. S^{ct} desesi.

8. B^m K insert katamañ ca taṃ Pañcasikha brahmacariyaṃ ekanta-nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya saṃvattati ?

samādhi. Imaṃ kho taṃ Pañcasikha brahmacariyaṃ ekanta-nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya saṃvattati.

61. 'Does the Exalted One remember ?'

'I do remember, Five-crest. I was the High Steward of those days.¹ I taught my disciples the way to communion with the Brahmā world. But, Five-crest, that religious, life did not conduce to detachment, to passionlessness, to cessation of craving, to peace, to understanding, to insight of the higher stages of the Path, to Nirvana, but only to rebirth in the Brahmā-world. On the other hand my religious system, Five-crest, conduces wholly and solely to detachment, to passionlessness, to cessation of craving, to peace, to understanding, to insight of the higher stages of the Path, to Nirvana. And that is the Aryan Eightfold Path, to wit, right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right rapture.

62. 'Ye kho pana me Pañcasikha sāvakaṃ sabbena sabbam sāsanaṃ ājānanti, te āsāvānaṃ khayā anāsavaṃ ceto-vimuttiṃ paññā-vimuttiṃ diṭṭhe vā dhamme sayaṃ abhiññā sacchikatvā upasampajja viharanti. Ye na sabbena sabbam sāsanaṃ² ājānati appekacce pañcannaṃ orambhāgiyānaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā opapātikā honti, tattha parinibbāyino anāvatti-dhammā tasmā lokā. Ye na sabbena sabbam sāsanaṃ ājānanti app ekacce tiṇṇam saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā rāga-dosa-mohānaṃ tanuttā sakadāgāmino honti sakid eva imaṃ lokaṃ āgantvā dukkhass' antaṃ karonti³. Ye na sabbena sabbam sāsanaṃ ājānanti app ekacce tiṇṇam saṃyojanānaṃ parikkhayā sotāpannā honti avinipāta-dhammā niyatā sambodhi-parāyanā. Iti kho Pañcasikha sabbesaṃ yeva imesaṃ kula-puttānaṃ amoghā pabbajjā

1. In spite of this express statement this legend of the High Steward does not appear in the canonical collection of Birth Stories. See Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist India,' p. 196, for other instances.

2. B^m K te.

3. B^m K karissahti.

avañhā¹ saphalā sa-uddisā 'ti.²

Idam avoca Bhagavā. Attamano Pañcasikho Gandhabaputto Bhagavato bhāsitam abhinanditvā anumoditvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā padakkhiṇam katvā tatth' ev' antardhāyīti.

62. 'Those of my disciples, Five-crest, who in all points wholly understand my teaching, they from the destruction of the Deadly Taints have by and for themselves understood, realized and attained to, even in this life, freedom from taint, liberty of heart, liberty of intellect. Those who do not in all points wholly understand my teaching, some of them, in that they have broken away the five Fetters belonging to the Hither Side, are reborn without parents, where they will utterly pass away, being no more liable to return to this world. And some of them, in that they have broken away three [other] Fetters, and have worn down passion and hate and dulness, become Once. Returners, who after once returning to this world shall make an end of Ill. And some of them, again, in that they have broken away those three Fetters, become Stream-Attainers, not liable to be reborn in any state of woe, but assured of attaining to the Insight. And so, Five-crest, of all, even all those persons, there is not one whose renunciation is vain or barren ; in each case it will have brought fruit and development.' Thus spoke the Exalted One. And Five-crest of the Gandharva fairies was pleased at the word of the Exalted One, and in delight and gladness he saluted the Exalted One, and with the salutation of the right side he vanished from that place.

Mahā-Govinda-Suttam³
Niṭṭhitam.⁴

Here endeth the Story of the Lord High Steward.

1. B^m K avajjā.

2. S^{cd} sariddāyati; S^t as before § 60 ; B^m sa-udrayā.

3. MSS and K Suttam.

4. B^m adds chaṭṭham ; K chaṭṭham for niṭṭhitam.

INTRODUCTION TO THE Mahā-Samaya Sutta

The twentieth is the Mahā-Samaya Sutta, which is of special importance to the historians of religion in so far as it bears testimony to the continual change in animistic belief prevalent in India at the time. There are three parts to the poem. The first is the list of gods, the second, the frame work, put into the Buddha's mouth, at the beginning (after the prologues) and at the end, the third the prologue, with the verses of the four gods of the Pure abode.

This Sutta refers to some gods of the earth and also of the regions above and in it, there is a reference to a long list of gods.

xx. Mahā-Samaya Sutta¹

The Great Concourse

1. ² Evam me sutam. ekam samayaṃ Bhagavā Sakkesu viharati Kapilavat-thusmiṃ Mahāvano mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi sabbeḥ' eva arahantehi, dasahi ca loka-dhātūhi³ devatā yebhuyyena sannipatitā honti Bhagavantam dassanāya bhikkhu-saṃghañca.

1. Thus have I heard. The Blessed One was once dwelling among the Sākiyas, at Kapilavatthu in the Great Wood, together with a great band of the brethren, about five hundred of them, all being Arahants. And gods from the ten thousand world-systems oft-times assembled there that they might visit the Exalted One and the band of brethren.

2. Atha kho catunnam Suddhāvāsakāyikānam devānam etad ahoṣi :

'Ayaṃ kho Bhagavā Sakkesu viharati Kapila-vatthusmiṃ Mahāvane mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi sabbeḥ' eva arahantehi, dasahi ca loka-dhātūhi dhātūjo devatā yebhuyyena sannipatitā honti Bhagavantam dassanāya bhikkhu-saṃghañca. Yan nūna mayam pi yena Bhagavā ten' upasaṃkamey-yāma, upasaṃka-mitvā Bhagavato santike pacceka-gātham⁴ bhāseyyāmāti.'

1. Edited by Grimblot, *Septs Suttas Pālis*, Paris, 1876, pp. 280-88, = Gr ; by Frankfurter, *Handbook of Pali*, London, 1883, pp. 112-118 = F; Anonymously in *Colombo*, 1891 = Col ; by Takakusu, *pali Chrestomathy*, Tokyo, 1900 = Tak.

2. §§ 1-3 in S. 1. 26.

3. Col -dhātuhi.

4. S^c -ekagāthā ; S^d -ekagātha ; Gr F Tak and Feer (S. i. 26 in note),

2. Now to four gods of the hosts of the Pure Abodes this thought occurred:— ‘That Blessed One is now dwelling among the Sākiyas, at Kapilavatthu in the Great Wood, together with a great band of the brethren, about five hundred of them, all being Arahants. And gods from the ten thousand world-systems oft-times are assembling there to see the Exalted One and his band of brethren. What if we, too, were to go into his presence, and before him were to recite each of us a poem ?’

3. Atha kho tā devatā seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitam vā bāham pasāreyya, pasāritam vā bāham sammiñjeyya, evam evam¹ Suddhāvāsesu devesu antarahitā Bhagavato purato pātur ahmsu.² Atha kho tā devatā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atthaṃsu, ekamantaṃ thitā kho ekā devatā Bhagavato santiko imaṃ gātham abhāsi:—

‘Mahā-samayo pavanasmim, deva-kāyā samāgatā,
Āgat’ amha³ imaṃ dhamma-samayaṃ dakkhitāye⁴
aparānita-saṃghan ti.’

Atha kho aparā devatā Bhagavato santike imaṃ gātham abhāsi:—

‘Tatra⁵ bhikkhavo samādahaṃsu cittaṃ⁶ attano
ujukam akaṃsu,
Sārathi⁷ va nettā ni⁸ gahetvā indriyāni rakkhanti
paṇḍitā ti.’

Atha kho aparā devatā Bhagavato santike imaṃ gātham abhāsi:—

-ekam gātham ; K (note) pāyato evam ; paccekagāthātipi pāṭhena pana bhavitabbam.

1. B^m eva. SS F Col evam evam, and so Trenckner always (except M. 1.205); B^m Gr Tak K evam eva.
2. Gr Tak ahosum.
3. B^m F Gr Tak amhā and so all MSS. at D. i. 18.
4. S^d -āhe ; B^m Gr -tāya, note -tāye ; K dakkhitā yeva.
5. S^t adds kho.
6. S^d ttā.
7. S^d sar^o ; S^t K -thī.
8. B^m nattāni ; Gr nethāni (note nettāni) ; yottāni.

‘Chetvā khilam¹ chetvā paligham² inda-khīlam ūhacca-
m-anejā,³

Te caranti suddhā vimalā cakkhumatā sudantā susu
nāgā ti.’

Atha kho aparā devatā Bhagavato santike imaṃ gātham
abhāsi:—

‘Ye keci Buddhā saraṇaṃ gatāse na te gamissanti
apāyam,⁴

Pahāya mānusaṃ dehaṃ deva-kāyaṃ paripūressantīti.

3. Then those gods, as easily as a strong man might stretch out his arm, or draw back his out-stretched arm, vanished from the Pure Abodes, and appeared before the Exalted One. There they saluted him and stood on one side. And so standing one of the gods recited to the Blessed One this verse :—

‘Great is the gathering in the glade ! The hosts of heaven
together met!

We too are come unto this congress blest, and fain would
see

The Company Invincible.’

Then another god recited to the Exalted One this
verse :—

‘The brethren there, wrought up to concentration rapt, make
straight their hearts,

Wisely, as driver keeping grip on rein, their faculties they
guard.’

Then another god recited to the Exalted One this verse:—

‘All bars and bolts are hewn in twain for them,

1. SS B^m Gr Col khilam ; Gr (note) F Tak K Khīlam.

2. K paligham.

3. K and Feer S i. 27, ohacca ; Gr F Tak Col uhacca. See S.N. 1119 (quoted Kathā Vatthu 64).

4. So SS, all MSS. at Sum i. 233, and B^m Gr F Col Tak ; K and Feer apāyabhūmim ; K (note) sabbapothakesu pāyato apāyanti pāṭho dissati. Divy, p. 195, has durgatiṃ.

The threshold is dug up.¹

In purity, their way they go,

Stainless, with vision clear, like well-tamed elephants.'

Then the other god recited to the Exalted One this verse :—

'Who in the Buddha refuge take, they shall not go to
woeful doom.

When they put off this human frame they shall fill up the
hosts in heaven.'

4. *Atha kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi :—*

'Yebhuyyena bhikkhave dasasu loka-dhātusu devatā
sannipatitā² Tathāgataṃ dassanāya bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ ca. Ye
pi te bhikkhave ahesuṃ atīta, addhānaṃ arahanto sammā-
sambuddhā, tesam pi Bhagavantānaṃ eta-paramā yeva devatā
sannipatitā ahesuṃ seyyathā pi mayhaṃ etarahi. Ye pi te
bhikkhave bhavissanti anāgataṃ addānaṃ arahanto
sammāsammāsambuddhā, tesam pi Bhagavantānaṃ eta-
parammā yeva devatā sannipatitā bhavissanti seyyathā pi
mayhaṃ etarahi. Ācikkhissāmi bhikkhave devakāyānaṃ
nāmāni, kittayissāmi bhikkhave deva-kāyānaṃ nāmāni,
desissāmi bhikkhave devakāyānaṃ nāmāni. Taṃ suṇātha
sādhukaṃ manasikarotha, bhāsissāmīti.'

'Evaṃ bhante ti' kho te bhikkhū Bhagavato paccas-
sosuṃ.

Bhagavā etad avoca :—

4. Then said the Exalted One to the brethren:— 'Oft-times,
brethren, do gods from the ten world-systems foregather to see
the Tathāgata and the company of the Brethren. Whosoever, brethren,
in the past were Arahant Buddhas supreme, upon them waited
a like number of the heavenly hosts, and a like number shall wait
upon whosoever shall, in the future, be Arahant Buddhas su-
preme. I will detail to you, brethren, the names of the

1. 'The bars and bolts and hindering threshold stone of lust, ill-will
and stupidity,' explains Buddhaghosa.

2. B^m K *add* honti. SS Gr F Col Tak *omit* it.

hosts of gods, I will publish abroad, brethren, their names, I will teach you, brethren, their names. Hearken hereunto and pay heed, and I will speak.'

'Even so, lord,' responded the brethren. And the Exalted One spake thus :—

5. 'Silokam anukassāmi ; yattha¹ bhumma tad assitā,
Ye sitā giri-gabbharam² pahitattā samāhitā
Puthau sihā v' asallinā lomahaṃsābhisambhuno
Odāta-manasā suddhā vipasannā-m-anāvilā³
Bhīyyo⁴ pañca-sate nātvā vane Kāpilavatthave.'
Tato āmantayi Satthā sāvake sāsane rate:
'Deva-kāyā abhikkantā te vijānātha bhikkhavo.'
Te ca ātappam akarum sutvā Buddhassa sāsanaṃ.

5. 'In measured speech I will give utterance :—
Where'er their realm, there will ye find the gods,
But they who in the bowels of the hills
Sit with heart thoroughly purged and well composed,
Like to so many lions crouching still,
Are vanquishers over the creeping dread,
White-minded, pure, serene and undefiled
Seeing within Kapilavatthu's grove
Five hundred such and more, disciples all,
'To them who loved his word the Master spoke :
"Celestial hosts draw nigh !
Look to it, brethren, that ye them discern !"
And they, hearing the Buddha's word, forthwith
Strove ardently to see.⁵

1. Gr Fr Tak yathā.

2. B^m Col Gr gabbharam ; S^{cd} Tak Fr K gabbharam.

3. So S^{ct} Sum Gr; S^d K Col Tak Gr note vipasannam-; F vipassanaṃ;
B^m omits m.

4. S^{cd} Col bhīyyo ; B^m K bhīyyo ; Gr F Tak bhīyo.

5. The connexion of the various clauses of this stanza is obscure ; and the interpretations of the native scholars differ. We have followed the version of the Colombo Sannaya of 1891. Samarasekhara's translation (Col. 1905) takes the assitā in line. 1 to refer to the

6. Tesam pātur ahū¹ nāṇaṃ amanussāna dassanaṃ
 App eke satam addakkhum sohasaṃ atha sattatiṃ²
 Sataṃ eke sahasānaṃ amanussānaṃ addasaṃ³
 App eke 'nantam addakkhum, disā sabbā phuṭā⁴ ahū.
 Tañ ca sabbam abhiññāya vavakkhitvāna⁵ cakkhumā
 Tato āmantayi Satthā sāvake sāsane rate :
 'Deva-kāyā abhikkantā te vijānātha bhikkhavo,
 Ye vo 'haṃ kittayissāmi girāhi anupubbaso.

6. And lo ! in them
 Arose vision of those not born of men.
 Some saw one hundred gods, ten hundred, some,
 And some saw seventy thousand, others saw
 Infinite multitudes thronging around.
 And all their sight and seeing He Who Sees
 Intuitively marked and understood.
 Then to his followers who loved his Word
 The Master turned and spoke :— "Celestial hosts
 Draw near ! Them do ye, brethren, recognize
 As I, in rhythmic speech, each in their turn
 Proclaim them unto you in order due :—"

7. Satta sahasā va⁶ yakkhā bhumma Kāpilavattavā
 Iddhimanto jutimanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino
 Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ
 Cha-sahasā Hemavatā yakkhā nānatta-vaṇṇino,
 Iddhimanto jutimanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
 Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

Arahants. Buddhaghosa's commentary may be understood either way. All agree in referring *ñatvā* in line 5 to the Buddha.

1. S^c āhum ; S^d F Tak āhu ; S^t Col ahū ; B^m Gr K ahu.
2. S^c K sattariṃ ; B^m and Col in note sattari ; Gr F Tak sattati (*nore* sattharuṇ and sattatiṃ).
3. S^t F Tak addaṃsu.
4. S^d Sum B^m puṭā ; Col and Gr in note phuṭhā.
5. B^m and Col in note pavekkhitvāna ; K (*note*) vavatti-tvānāti vā pāṭho ; Fr Tak pavakkhitvāna.
6. Gr te ; F and Tak omit, and put *ca* after yakkhā.

**Sātāgirā ti-sahassā yakkhā nānatta-vaṇṇino,
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā bhikkāmum bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanam.**

**Icc ete soḷasa-sahassā yakkhā nānatta-vaṇṇino,
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā abhikkāmum bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanam.**

7. Seven thousand Yakkhas of our country's soil
Of wondrous gifts and powers exceeding great,
And comeliness, and splendid following¹,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Six thousand Yakkhas from Himālaya,
Diverse in hue, of wondrous gifts and powers
And comeliness and splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

From Sāta's Hill three thousand Yakkhas more,
Diverse in hue, of wondrous gifts and powers
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Thus have I sixteen thousand Yakkhas told,
Of diverse hue, of wondrous gifts and powers
And comeliness, and splendid following,
Who come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

8. **Vessāmittā pañca-satā yakkhā nānatta-vaṇṇino,
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā abhikkāmum bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanam.**

**Kumbhīro Rājagahiko Vepullassa nivesanam,
Bhiyyo naṃ sata-sahassam yakkhānam² payirupāsati,
kumbhīro Rājagahiko so p'āga samitiṃ vanam.**

1. Yassassino, glossed here by Buddhaghosa as parivārasam-pannā,
and later, in this Sutta, by yasena samannāgatā.
2. B^m yakkhā.

8. Five hundred more from Vessāmittā's host,
Of diverse hue, of wondrous gifts and powers
And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Kumbhīra, too, of Rājagaha town,
Having his dwelling on Vepulla's mount,
More than a hundred thousand in his train,
This Yakkha likewise to the wood is come.

9. Purimañ ca disaṃ rājā Dhataratṭho¹ pasāsati,
Gandhabbānaṃ ādhipati² Mahārājā yasassi so.
Puttā pi tassa bahavo Inda-nāmā mahabbalā,³
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

Dakkhiṇaṃ ca disaṃ rājā Virūḷho taṃ⁴ pasāsati,
Kumbhaṇḍānaṃ ādhipati Mahārājā yasassi so.
Puttā pi tassa bahavo Inda-nāmā mahabbalā,
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

Pacchimañ ca disaṃ rājā Virūpakkho pasāsati,
Nāgānaṃ va⁵ ādhipati Mahārāja yasassi so.
Puttā pi tassa bahavo Inda-nāmā mahabbalā,
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.

Uttarañ ca disaṃ rājā Kuvero taṃ pasāsati⁶
Yakkhānaṃ va ādhipati Mahārājā yasassi so.
Puttā pi tassa bahavo Inda-nāmā mahabbalā,

-
1. All MSS. and editions except B^m Gr K add taṃ both here and in the Virūpakkhā verse.
 2. B^m Gr (in note) F Tak adhipati, and so below.
 3. K (note) atṭhakathāyaṃ sabbavāresu mahābalāti pāṭho. So Sum, on the recurrence of the phrase in Virūḷha's section.
 4. Sum B^m Gr taṃ here ; K tappasāsati.
 5. Gr Fr Tak ca. All MSS., K and Col omit. In next stanza all omit it.
 6. So SS B^m Gr ; K tappasāsati.

**Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino,
Modamānā bhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ vanaṃ.
Purimaṃ disaṃ Dhatarattho dakkhiṇena Virūlyako
Pacchimena Virūpakkho Kuvero uttaraṃ disaṃ
Cattāro te mahārājā samantā caturo disā,
Daddallamānā¹ aṭṭhaṃsu nave Kāpilavatthave.**

9. King Dhatarattha rules the Eastern clime,
Lord of Gandhabbas, mighty monarch he,
With splendid following. Sons has he too,
Many and strong, all after Indra named.
And these of wondrous gifts and mighty power
And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Virūlha, ruler of the Southern clime,
Lord of Kumbandas, mighty monarch he,
With splendid following. Sons has he too,
Many and strong, all after Indra named.
And these of wondrous gifts and mighty power
And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Virūpakkha rules o'er the Western clime,
Lord of the Nāgas, mighty monarch he,
With splendid following. Sons has he too,
Many and strong, all after Indra named.
And these, of wondrous gifts and mighty power
And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

Kuvera rules over the Northern clime,
Lord of the Yakkhas, mighty monarch he,

1. B^m daddaḷamānā ; K note daddaḷhamānātipi pāṭho. See Vim. V. p. 85 and Hardy V. V. A. 48.

With splendid following. Sons has he too,
Many and strong, all after Indra named.
And these, of wondrous gifts and mighty power
[288] And comeliness and splendid following,
Have come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

So stood those four great kings within the wood
Of Kapilavatthu, on the four climes
Shedding effulgent radiance round about:
Over the East King Dhataratthza shone,
To right, Virūlhaka, westward
Virūpakkha, Kuvera o'er the North.

10. Tesem māyāvino dāsā āgu¹ vañcanikā saṭhā
Māyā² Kutendu Vetendu³ Viṭuc ca⁴ Viṭucco⁵ saha
Candano Kāmasetṭho ca Kinnughaṇḍu Nighaṇḍu ca
Panādo Opamañño ca devasūto ca Mātali.
Cittaseno ca gandhabbo Nalo⁶ rājā Janesabho
Āgu⁷ Pañcasikho c' eva Timbarū Suriyavaccasā.⁸
Ete c' aññe ca rājāno gandhabbā saha rājubhi
Modamānā bhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ
vanam

10. With them are come their vassals versed in craft,
Hoodwinking wizards, apt to cloak and feign :—
Māyā, Kutendu, Vetendu, Vitu,
Vitucca, Caridana, Rāmasettha too,
Kinnughandu, Nighandu (nine in all).
Next, these Gandhabba chieftains all are come:—

1. K āgū, and below.
2. S^d B^m mayā.
3. S^t Veteṇḍu and so Sum as v. 1.
4. K Viṭu ca (Sum eko Viṭu nāma).
5. B^m Viṭuto; K Viṭuṭo.
6. Sum B^m Gr K Naḷo ; SS Fr Tak Nala-.
7. Fr Tak āguṃ ; Gr Col āga.
8. B^m K vacchasā ; K (note Sī) suriyavaccasā (see p. 265)

Panāda, Opamañña too, and Mātali
 The driver of the gods, Cittasena
 The Gandhabba, Nala, Janesabha,
 Pañcasikha and Suriyavaccasā,
 Daughter of Timbarū. These princes all
 And with them other chiefs, Gandhabbas too,
 Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
 To see the brethren met together there.

11. Ath' āgu Nābhasā nāgā Vesālā¹ saha Tacchakā,
 Kambalassatarā² āgu Pāyāgā saha ñātibhi.
 Yāmunā Dhataratthā ca āgu nāgā yasassino,
 Erāvano mahā-nāgo so p'āga samitiṃ vanam.
 Ye nāga-rāje³ sahasā haranti
 Dibbā dijā⁴ pakkhi visudda-cakkhū
 Vehāsayā te vana-majjha-pattā
 Citrā⁵ Supaṇṇā iti tesam nāmam.
 Abhayan tadā nāga-rājānam āsi,⁶
 Supaṇṇato khemam akāsi Buddho.
 Saṇhāhi vācāhi upavhayantā
 Nāgā Supaṇṇā saraṇam agamsu⁷ Buddhama.⁸

11. Now too Nāgas are come from Nabhasa,
 And from Vesālī and from Tacchaka,
 Kambalas, Assataras, Pāyāgas
 With all their kin. Nāgas from Yamuna,
 And Dhatarattha, too, with brilliant trains,
 Erāvana, great among Nāga folk,
 He too is come into the forest glade.

1. Gr text Fr Tak Vesālā ; Gr note Vesālā and Vesālī.
 2. S^d - narā.
 3. S^d rājā ; B^m naga^o; Gr nāgā raje.
 4. Gr dvijā.
 5. B^m Gr cittā; Gr note citra.
 6. Gr note K āsi.
 7. B^m Gr note akamsu.
 8. B^m Buddhi.

They who twice-born¹, winged and keen
 Of sight, the heavenly Harpies who,
 With violence prey on Nāga chiefs,—
 Gaudy and Well-winged are their names—
 Have flown into the wood. —
 The cobra kings felt quite secure.
 A refuge from the dreadful birds
 Buddha had made. With gentle words
 Entreating one another they,
 The Harpies and their prey alike
 To the Buddha as their Sanctuary come.

12. Jitā Vajira-hatthena samuddaṃ Asurā sitā
Bhātaro Vāsavass' ete iddhimanto yasassino
Kālakañjā mahābhimsā² asurā Dānaveghasā
Vepacitti Sucitti ca Pahārādo Namucī saha
Satañ ca Bali-puttānaṃ sabbe Veroca-nāmakā
Sannayhitvā baliṃ senaṃ Rāhubhaddam
upāgamuṃ :
'Samayo dāni bhaddan te bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ
vanam.'

12. They whom the Lightning-Hand did smite,
 Now dwellers in the ocean, Asuras,
 Vāsava's brethren, they of wondrous gifts
 And splendid train³:—The Kālakañjas all
 Of fearsome shape, the Dānaveghasas,
 Sucitti, Vepacitti, and Pahārada—
 With them came Namuct, spirit of Evil;
 And Ball's hundred sons, all of them named

-
1. All birds are twice-born, first from the mother's womb (when she lays the egg), and then from the egg itself.
 2. S^d B^m Gr note K -bhismā.
 3. These are all born of Sujā, Vāsava's mother, and had been driven out of heaven by 'Him-with-the-thunderbolt-in-his-hand.' The latter had been identified, at the time when this poem was composed, with Sakka.

After Veroca¹, having armed a host
Of warriors, hied them to their noble liege,
And Rāhu said, "Good luck attend this mote
For which the brethren now have sought the wood!"

13. Āpo ca devā² Paṭhavi³ Tejo Vāyo tad āgamuṃ,
Varuṇā Vāruṇā⁴ devā Somo ca Yasasā saha,⁵
Mettā-karuṇā-kāyikā āgu devā yasassino.

Das' ete dasadhā kāyā sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ
vanam.

13. The gods of Fire and Water, Earth and Air
Are hither come ; celestial Varunas
With their attendant Varuneian sprites,
And Soma with Yaso. Come, too, the gods
From Love and Pity born, with splendid train.
These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty power,
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

14. Veṇhū⁶ ca devā Sahalī ca Asamā ca duve Yamā,
Candassūpanisā⁷ devā candam āgu purakkhatvā,⁸
Suriyassūpanisā devā Suriyam āgu purakkhatvā,⁹

1. That is, their uncle Rāhu.

2. B^m devo.

3. All MSS. and Sum add ca.

4. S^d varuṇāvaruṇā

5. S^d yasasasasā.

6. S^d dvenhu.

7. Gr Fr Tak upanissā. See A. iv. 351 ; S.N. p. 135.

8. B^m pūrekkhatvā ; Gr purakkhitvā (note -khatvā) ; K purakkhitā
twice, but not the third time.

9. K - itā.

Nakkhattāni purakkhatvā¹ āgu Manda-valāhakā,²
 Vasūnaṃ Vāsavo seṭṭho Sakkho p' āga purindado.
 Das' ete dasadhā kāyā sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino
 Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino
 Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ
 vanaṃ.

14. Come Vishnu with his gods, the Sahalis,
 The Asamas and the Yama twins³ ; the elves
 That dwell within the moon attend the Moon,
 The solar fairies too attend the Sun,
 While fragile spirits of the Clouds attend
 The Constellations ; Lord of the Vasus, too,
 God Sakka, Generous One of yore⁴:—
 These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
 Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
 And comeliness, with splendid following,
 Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
 To see the brethren met together there.

15. Ath' āgu Sahabhū⁵ devā jalam aggi-sikhā-r-iva,
 Aritṭhakā ca Rojā ca ummā-puppha-nibhāsino,
 Varuṇā Saha-dhammā ca Accutā ca Anejakā,
 Sūleyya-rucirā⁶ āgu,⁷ āgu Vāsavanesino.
 Das' ete dasadhā kāyā sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino
 Iddhianto jutīmanto⁸ vaṇṇavanto yasassino
 Modamānā abhikkāmmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ
 samitiṃ vanaṃ.

1. So K here.

2. S^d āgucchandavalāhakā.

3. The Castor and Pollux of Indian mythology.

4. This seems to come in here most strangely: but it is an epithet of Sakka expressly designed to distinguish him from Indra, the Vedic god, whose epithet was 'Destroyer of Towns,' see p. 297.

5. S^c -bhu.

6. S^d su^o.

7. K always āgū.

8. Col. nearly always jutīmanto.

15. Now too are come the fairies Sahabhu,
 In flaming radiance like crests of fire :—
 The Aritthakas, Rojas, like azure flowers,
 With Varunā and eke Sahadhammā,
 And Accutā is come, Anejakā
 And Suleyya and Rucirā are come,
 Come too Vāsavanesi deities.

These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
 Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
 And comeliness, with splendid following,
 Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
 To see the brethren met together there.

16. **Samānā Mahā-samānā Mānusā Mānusuttamā**
Khiḍḍā-padusikā¹ āgu, āgu Mano-padūsikā,
Ath' āgu Harayo devā ye ca Lohita-vāsino
Pāragā Mahā-pāragā āgu devā yasassino.

Das' ete dasadhā kāyā sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino
Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino
Modamānā abhikkāmuṃ bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ
vanāṃ.

16. Samānas, Great Samānas, sprites like men
 And sprites like Supermen, are come, the gods
 Debauched-by-sport² are come and those Debauched
 In-mincl³, fairies that haunt the Green and they
 That wear the Red, they too that Pass-Over,
 And the Great Passers-o'er, with splendid following.

These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
 Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
 And comeliness, with splendid following,
 Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
 To see the brethren met together there.

1. S^d -dus; B^m -dos°. See vol. i. p. 19.

2. On these described in the Brahmajāla Sutta, see Dialogues I, 32, 33.

3. Nimmānarati, Paranimmita [vasavatti].

17. Sukkā Karumhā Aruṇā¹ āgu Veghanasā saha,
 Odāta-gayhā² pāmokkhā āgu devā vicakkhaṇā,³
 Sadāmattā Hāragajā Missakā ca yasassino,
 Thanayaṃ āga⁴ Pajjunno yo disā abhivassati.
 Das' ete dasadhā kāyā sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino
 Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino
 Modamānā abhikkhāmum bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ
 vanaṃ

17. Sukka, Aruna, Karumha fairies too,
 With Veghanasas, having at their head
 Th' Odātagayhas, come ; Vicakkhanas,
 Sadāmattas, Hāragajas, and they
 Called the Mixed gods with splendid following ;
 Pajunna thundering is come, he who
 Pours down the rains upon the quarters four.
 These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
 Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
 And comeliness, with splendid following,
 Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
 To see the brethren met together there.

18. Khemiyā Tusitā Yāmā Kaṭṭhakā⁵ ca yasassino,
 Lambitakā⁶ Lāma-setṭhā Joti-nāma ca Āsavā,
 Nimmāna-ratino āgu, ath' āgu Paranimmitā.
 Das' ete dasadhā kāyā sabbe sabbe nānatta-
 vaṇṇino
 Iddhimanto jutīmanto vaṇṇavanto yasassino
 Modamānā abhikkhāmum bhikkhūnaṃ samitiṃ
 vanaṃ.

1. K Arūṇā.

2. B^m odātavhayā

3. S^{cdt} vicakkhanā, but Col. has the n.

4. S^{ct} aga ; S^d bhāga ; B^m Gr Col. āgu' K āgā, Note yebhuyyena āgūti
 pāṭho dissati. See next page, note.

5. Sum (according to a note in K) Kathakā.

6. B^m Gr K Lambitakā.

18. The Khemiyas and gods from Tusita
And Yāma heav'ns, the Katthakas and suite,
Lambâtakas and the chief Lāma-gods,
The Fiery spirits, and the Āsavas,
They who rejoice in shapes they make themselves,
And they who use creations not their own².

These ten, a tenfold host in all, of hue
Diverse, of wondrous gifts and mighty powers,
And comeliness, with splendid following,
Are come rejoicing to the forest glade
To see the brethren met together there.

19. Saṭṭh' ete deva-nikāyā sabbe nānatta-vaṇṇino,
Nāmanvayena āgañchum ye c' aññe sadisā saha.
'Pvuttha-jātiṃ akhilaṃ¹ogha-tiṇṇaṃ anāsavaṃ
Dakkhem' ogha-taraṃ nāgaṃ candaṃ ca saitātigaṃ.²

19. These sixty spirit hosts, of divers hues,
According to their name and class are come,
And with them others, whosoe'er they be,
Saying "Him who has outlived birth, for whom
No barrier stands, for whom the flood is crossed,
The Āsavas are not, Him shall we see,
Ferry-man o'er the flood, mighty through purity³,
Moon that has passed beyond th' enshrouding dark."

20. Subrahmā Paramatto ca puttā iddhimato saha
Sanaṃ-kumāro Tisso ca so p' āga samitiṃ vanam.
Sahassa-Brahmalokānaṃ⁴ Mahā-Brahmā 'bhitiṭṭhati,
Upapanno jutimanto bhismā-kāyo yasassi so.⁵
Das' ettha issarā āgu pacceka-vasavattino,

1. K -jātimakkhilaṃ.

2. K asitātitaṃ ; K note asitātiganti vā pātho.

3. In this word-play, Nāgo means also N'āgu, not having sin, says the Cy.:—āgum akaranato. So the gods, too, make bad puns!—untranslateable ones, alas.

4. Col. sahassaṃ.

5. S^{ct} yasassino.

¹ Tesañ ca majjhato¹ āga² Hārīto parivārīto.

20. Then Tissa, the Eternal Youth, and with
Him Paramatta and Subrahmā, sons
Of the Potent One, came to the congress-wood.
Great Brahmā, suzerain of thousand worlds
In Brahmā-heaven, has thither been reborn³,
Mighty in power, and in shape awesome
And vast, of great renown. Ten of his lords,
Each regnant o'er a Brahma-world, are come,
And in their midst with all his suite comes Hārīta⁴.

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- 1.1. So S^c corrected from tesamajjhato; S^d tesamajjhagato ; S^t tesamajjhato.
2. B^m Gr āgu; Gr note āga ; K āgā ; K note pāyato āgūti pāṭho dissatī.
3. Upapanno. Note the Buddhist care to bring even 'Great Brahmā' under the universal Law, 'rem inexorabilem.'
4. The inter-dependence of the clauses, and also of the names, in this stanza, is ambiguous. It may hereafter become clear that the author (or authoress) thought of Tissa and the Eternal Youth as two distinct persons, or of the Eternal Youth and the Great Brahmā of the Buddha's time as one. The grammar is against the first of these suppositions. But we have seen (above, p. 272, 3) that the Mahā-Brahmā of Govinda's time was Sanam-kumāra, the Eternal Youth (so also D.^o I, 200 compared with D. II, 209, 225); and Tissa according to tradition (Smp. p. 296, 7) was the name of a Mahā-Brahmā. Buddha-ghosa explains 'the Potent One' (iddhimā) as the Buddha; it is much more likely to have been intended for Brahmā, who claims (above, p. 247) to have acquired the potency of iddhi.

This legend of the Ever-virgin Knight, Sanam-kumāra, is the Indian counterpart of the European legend of Sir Galahad. The oldest mention of it is in the Chāndogya Upanished (Ch. VII), where the ideal of the saintly knight teaches a typical brahmin about the highest truth (compare Deussen's note on p. 171 of Sechzig Upanishads'). In the Nikāyas the Eternal Youth is frequently quoted as the author of a famous verse which says that, though the knight takes precedence among all those that trust in lineage, he that is perfect in wisdom takes precedence over all (see above, I, 121, and M. I, 358; S. I, 153; A. V, 326. At S. II, 284 the verse is ascribed to the Buddha). A similar sentiment is ascribed to

21. Te ce sabbe abhikkante sa-Inda-¹ deva sa-Brahmake,²
 Māra-senā³ abhikkāmi,⁴ passa Kaṇhassa mandī-
 yam.⁵
 ‘Ethā gaṇhatha bandhatha⁶ rāgena baddham⁷ atthu
 ve
 Samantā parivāretha mā vo muñcittha⁸ koci naṃ.’
 Iti tattha Mahā-seno Kaṇha-senaṃ apesayi,
 Pāṇinā talam⁹ āhacca saraṃ katvāna bheravaṃ.
 Yathā pāvussako meggho thanayanto savijjuko,
 Tadā so paccudāvatti saṃkuddho asayaṃvasi.¹⁰

21. To all of them thus hither come, those gods,
 Marshalled around the Lord and Great Brahmā,
 The host of Māra cometh up. Lo! now
 The folly of the Murky One¹¹ :—“Come on
 And seize and bind me these, let all be bound
 By lust! Surround on every side, and see
 Ye let not one escape, whoe’er he be!”

him in the Great Bhārata. In mediaeval literature he is said to have been one of five or seven mind-born sons of Brahmā, like the Sons of the Potent One in our verse. (For the five see the references in Wilson’s ‘Vishnu Purāṇa’, I, 38; for the seven those in Garbe’s ‘Sāmkhya-philosophie,’ p. 35). Buddhaghosa has a similar tale (quoted J.R.A.S., 1894, p. 344). A later and debased Jain version of the legend tells us at length of the love adventures and wives of the chaste knight, with a few words at the end on his conversion to the saintly life (Jacobi, ‘Ausgewählte Erzählun-gen in Mahārashtrī’ pp. 20-28, translated by de Blonay in ‘Rev. de l’H. des Rel.,’ 1895, pp. 29-41).

1. S^t Col. sa-Inde; B^m Inda; Gr sa-Inda; Gr note sa-Inde ; K sinde.
2. B^m sabrahmane.
3. S^{ct} senām; S^d senaṃ ; B^m Gr K senā.
4. Col. abhikkāmuṃ.
5. S^c -yā ; S^d candisā ; S^t B^m Gr K mandivaṃ.
6. S^t bandatha.
7. S^t B^m Gr K bandham.
8. B^m muñcatha; Sum gives a u. l. muñcetha.
9. Col thalam.
10. S^d B^m -vasi ; Gr note -vasi and vase ; K -vase.
11. Kanho, for Māra. Cf. Kālī, the Black Woman.

Thus the Great Captain bade his swarthy host¹,
And with his palm did smite upon the ground
Making a horrid din, as when a storm-cloud
Thunders and lightens, big with heavy rains.
Then he recoiled, still raging, powerless
Aught to effect.

22. Tañ ca sabbam abhiññāya vavakkhitvāna cakkhumā
Tato āmantayi Satthā sāvake sāsane rate :
'Māra-senā abhikkantā, te vijānātha bhikkhavo.'
Te ca ātappam akarum sutvā Buddhassa sasanam.
Vīta-rāgehi pakkāmuṃ na saṃ lomam pi² iñjayum.
Sabbe vijita-saṃgāmā bhayâtītā yasassino
Modanti saha bhūtehi sāvakā te jane sutā ti.

22. And He-Who-Sees by insight knew all this
And understood. Then to his followers
Who loved his word the Master spake: "The host
Of Mara comes ! Brethren, beware of them !"
And they, hearing the Buddha's word, forthwith
Held themselves all alert. The foe departs
From them in whom no lust is found, nor e'er
Upon whose bodies stirs a hair. [Then Māra spake :-]
"All they, those victors in the fight, for whom
All fear is past, great of renown, His followers,
Whose fame among the folk spreads far and wide,
Lo! now with all creation they rejoice³."

Mahā-Samaya-Suttaṃ⁴ Nīṭṭhitam

1. Māra is called Mahā-seno, his army being of course senā. The Pāli, making no distinction between syena (hawk) and sena, it is not impossible that a pun is here intended.
2. S^d sanamlomamhi ; S^c nasamlomamhi ; S^l Col samlomam pi; B^m K nesam lomam pi. *The Sanna takes sam as belonging to iñjayum.*
3. We have followed the traditional interpretation in ascribing these last four lines to Māra. They may quite as well, or better, be a statement by the author himself.
4. B^m K Col Suttaṃ (but the Sanna in Col has sūtrānta, three lines below.)

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Sakka-Pañha Sutta

The twenty first is the Sakkapañha Sutta which is, in some respects, the most interesting of all mythological dialogues.

Sakka, king of the Thirty three, finding it difficult to approach the Buddha who was then in deep meditation, sought the aid of a Gandhabba named Pañcasikha who by the sweet Play of his lyre sang in praise of the Awakened one, the Truth, the Arahant and the love. The verses sung by the Gandhabba were addressed to a lady by one who received no return for his love for her as she was then in love with another. The song put into the mouth of the heavenly musician is clothed in words conveying a couple meaning, one applicable to the Buddha and the other to the lady. The Buddha being moved by the music conversed with the Gandhabba who in the course of conversation informed Buddha of the advent of Sakka. Then Sakka Came forward and paid homage to the Exalted One. He put to the Buddha several questions mostly dealing with ethics and psychology. Buddha answered the questioned to the great satisfaction of sakka who was thereafter converted to the Buddhist faith. The conversation of the king of the Thirty three appears, at first sight, to be Proposterous, but the analysis of the meaning in which the word 'Sakka' is used, leads us to hold that the king of the gods is not free from the three deadly evils, lusts, ill will, and stupidity, nor from anxiety. He is still subject to death and rebirth, and as such, he desires to be reborn in some higher planes of celestial beings.

Some other topics are discussed in the Sutta: (1) Causes

of malice and avarice, (2) causes of farour or disfavour, (3) path leading to Papañca (any of the evil conditions), Saññā (consciouness) and saṁkhāra nīrodha (cessation of confections) and (4) how a bhikkhu can be said to bellow the rules of the Pātimokkha.

The Sakkapañha Sutta refers to the Buddha dwelling in the Magadhan kingdom and to a Sākya Princess Gopikā. She was pleased with the Buddha Dhamma and Saṁgha. She used to observe Precepts fully, became disgusted with woman life and meditated to become a man.

xxi. Sakka-Pañha Sutta¹

The Questios of Sakka

1. 1. Evam me suṭaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Magahesu² viharati, pācīnato³ Rājagahassa Ambasaṇḍa⁴ nāma brāhmaṇa-gāmo, tass' uttarato Vēdiyake pabbate Indasāla-guhāyaṃ.⁵ Tena kho pana samayena Sakkassa devānam indassa ussukkam udapādi Bhagavantam dassanāya.

Atha kho sakkassa devānam indassa etad ahoṣi : 'Kahaṇ⁶ nu kho Bhagavā etarahi viharati araham araham sammā-sambuddho ti ?' Addassā kho Sakko devānam indo Bhagavantam Magadhesu viharantam, pācīnato Rājaga-hassa Ambasaṇḍānā nāma brāhmaṇa-gāmo, tass' uttarato Vēdiyade pabbate Indasā-guhāyaṃ. Disvā⁷ deve Tāvatiṃse āmantesi:

'Ayaṃ mārīsā Bhagavā Magadhesu viharati, pācīnato Rājagahassa Ambasaṇḍā nāma brāhmaṇagāmo, tass' uttarato Vēdiyake pabate indasāla-guhāyaṃ. Yaḍi pana mārīsā mayan tam Bhagavantam dassanāya upasaṃkameyyāma arahantam sammā-sambuddhan ti.'

1. This Sutta is quoted by name at Samyutta III, 13; Mahāvastu I, 350; Milinda 350; Sumaṅgala Vilāsinī I, 24 (where it is called vedalla). The last passage is repeated at Gandha Vamsa 57.
2. S^d Māg-, see vol. i. p. 127.
3. B^m pācin^o and below.
4. So SS Sum; B^m here Ambasaṇḍo below usually Sambasaṇḍo ; K throughout Ambasaṇḍo.
5. See Fa-Hian, chap. xxviii. and Yuan Chwang chap. ix. Julien, "Memoires," ii. 58, conjectures Indracilagouha; and Beal, 'Records,' ii. 180, Indasailaguhā.
6. S^t B^m K kahaṃ.
7. B^m disvānam ; K disvāna.

‘Evaṃ bhaddan tavâtī’ kho devā Tāvatiṃsā Sakkassa devānam indassa paccassosum.

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying in Magadha, to the east of Rājagaha, at a brahmin village named Ambasadā. There he resided on the Vediya mountain to the north of the village, in the cave called the cave of Indra’s Sāl Tree¹. Now at that time a longing came over Sakka, the king of the gods, to visit the Exalted One.

And this idea occurred to him :— ‘Where may he now be staying, the Exalted One, the Arahant, the Buddha supreme?’ And Sakka saw that he was staying in Magadha at Ambasadā, east of Rājagaha, in the cave called Indra’s Sāltree Cave on the Vediya mountain to the north of the village. And seeing that, he said to the Three-and-Thirty gods:— ‘Gentlemen, that Exalted One is staying in Magadha, to the east of Rājagaha at a brahmin village named Ambasadā, in the cave called Indra’s Sāltree Cave, on the Vediya mountain to the north of the village. How would it be, gentlemen, if we were to go and visit the Exalted One ?’

‘So be it and good luck to you !’ replied the Three-and-Thirty gods consenting.

2. Atha kho Sakko devānam indo Pañcasikham Gandhabba-puttaṃ āmantesi :

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1. Inda-sāla-guhā. Buddhaghosa says there was a cave here between two overhanging rocks with a large Sal tree at the entrance. The village community had added walls with doors and windows ; and ornamented it with polished plaster scroll-work and garlands, and presented it to the Buddha. In Fā Hian’s time (Legge. p. 81) it was still inhabited. In Yuan Chwāng’s time (Walters, II, 173) it was deserted. Both pilgrims were told that certain marks on the rock had been made by Sakka writing his questions (!). The Sanskritisation of the name into Indra-śaila-guhā (Schiefner, Böhrtlingk-Roth, Julien, Legge, and Beal) is a mere blunder. The name Indra enters into the names of several plants, probably merely in the sense of excellent. There is nothing to justify the idea that Indra was supposed to haunt this tree.

‘Ayaṃ tāta Pañcasikha Bhagavā Magadhesu viharati, pāncīnato Rājagahassa Ambasaṇḍā nāma brāhmaṇa-gāmo, tass’ uttarato Vedyake pabbate Indasāla-guhāyaṃ. Yadi pana tāta Pañcasikha mayan taṃ Bhagavantam dassanāya upsaṃkameyyāma arahantaṃ sammā-sambuddhan ti.’

‘Evaṃ bhaddan tavāti’ kho Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto Sakkassa devānam indassa paṭissutvābeluva-panḍu-vīṇam¹ ādāya Sakkassa devānam indassa anucariyaṃ² uapāgami.

Atha kho sakko devānam indo devehi Tāvatiṃsehi parivuto Pañcasikhena Gandhabba-puttena purakkhato, seyyathā pi nāma balavā puriso sammiñjitaṃ vā bāhaṃ pasāreyya pasāritaṃ vā bāhaṃ sammiñjeyya, evaṃ evaṃ³ devesu Tāvatiṃsesu antarahito Magadhesu, pācīnato Rājagahassa Ambasaṇḍā nāma brāhmaṇa-gāmo, tass’ uttarato Vedyake pabbate paccutthāsi.

2. Then Sakka [made the same statement and proposal to Five-crest the Gandhabba, and received the same reply] and Five-crest taking his lyre of yellow Beluva wood, followed in attendance on Sakka, the king of the gods.

So Sakka, the king of the gods, surrounded by the Thirty-and-Three, and attended by Five-crest the Gandhabba, vanished from his heaven as easily as a strong man might shoot out his arm, or draw in his arm outshot, and reappeared in Magadha, standing on the VEDIYA mountain.

3. Tena kho pana samayena Vedyako pabbato atiriva⁴ obhāsa-jāto hoti, Ambasaṇḍā ca⁵ brāhmaṇa-gāmo, yathā taṃ devānam devānubhāvena. Api ’ssudam parito gāmesu manussāevam āhamsu:

-
1. S^d veluve pācīnaṃ; S^c beluva-panḍu-vīṇā; B^m beluva-panḍu-vīṇaṃ; K veḷuva (so M. B. V. p. 31. See S. i. 122 = Dh. A 255.)
 2. S^{cdt} anucciyaṃ.
 3. B^m eva; K eva kho.
 4. S^t atīva.
 5. B^m va.

‘Āditt’ assu nām ajja Vedyako pabbato, pajjhāyit’¹ assu nām’ ajja Vedyako pabbato, jalit’ assu² nām’ ajja Vedyako pabbato.³ Kim su nām’ ajja Vedyako pabbato⁴ atiriva⁵ obhāsa-jāto, Ambasaṇḍā ca brāmaṇa-gāmo’ ti saṃviggā lomhaṭṭha-jātā⁶ ahesuṃ.

3. Now at that time the Vediya mountain was bathed in radiance, and so was Ambasandā, the brahmin village,—such is the potency of the celestials—so much so that in the villages round about folk were saying :— ‘For sure the Vediya mountain is on fire to-day, for sure the Vediya mountain is burning to-day, for sure the Vediya mountain is in flame to-day ! Why. O why, is the Vediya mountain bathed in radiance to-day, and Ambasandā too the brahmins’ village ?’ And they were anxious and sore afraid.

4. Atha kho Sakko devānam indo Pañcasikhaṃ Gandhabba-puttaṃ āmantesi :

‘Durupasaṃkamā kho tāta Pañcasikha Tathāgatā mādisena,⁷ jhāyī jhāna-ratādc⁸ tadanataram⁹ patisallīnā.¹⁰ Yadi pana¹¹ tāta Pañcasikha Bhagavantam paṭhamam pasādeyyāsi, tayā tāta paṭhamam pasāditam pacchā mayam tam Bhagavantam dassanāya upasaṃkameyyāma arahantam sammā-sambuddhan ti.’

‘Evaṃ bhaddan tavāti’ kho Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto Sakkassa devānam indassa paṭissutvā beluva-paṇḍu-vīṇam ādāya yena Indasāla-guhā ten’ upasaṃkami. Upasaṃ-

-
1. SS pajjhāyati sajju ; B^m jhāyati ; K jhāyatassu.
 2. S^d jalita su; B^m jalatissu; K jalatassu ; K (note) ; jhāyitassu . . . jalitassūtipi pāṭhadvayena bhavitabbaṃ.
 3. K omits.
 4. B^m omits.
 5. S^t atiriv’ ;
 6. S^t lomhaṭṭhā jātā.
 7. S^c omits ; S^d jhādisena.
 8. S^{cdt} -vataṃ.
 9. S^c udantarāja : S^{dt} udantaram ; B^m tadantaram.
 10. K paṭsallīnā (see D. i. 134 ; M. i. 526; S. v. 12, 13; A. iv. 120).
 11. B^m K add tvam.

kamitvā: ‘Ettāvatā me Bhagavā n’eva atidūre bhavissati¹ na accāsanne,² saddaṇ ca kho sossatīti’ ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ekamantaṃ ṭhito kho Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto beluva-panḍu-vīṇaṃ assāvesi imā ca gāthā³ abhāsi Buddhūpasamhitā dhammūpasamhitā⁴ arahantūpasamhitā kāmūpasamhitā :

4. Then said Sakka, the king of the gods, to Five-crest the Gandhabba :—‘Difficult of approach, dear Five-crest, are Tathāgatas, to one like me when they are rapt in the bliss of meditation, and for that purpose abiding in solitude. But if you were first to gain over the Exalted One [by your music] then might I afterwards come up and visit him, the Arahant, the Buddha supreme.’

‘So be it and good luck to you !’ consented Five-crest, and taking his lyre he went to the Indra-Sāltree-cave. On coming there he thought:— ‘Thus far will the Exalted One be neither too far from me nor too near to me, and he will hear my voice.’ And he stood on one side, and let his lyre be heard and recited these verses concerning the Awakened One and the Truth, the Arahants and Love :—⁵

5. ‘Vande te pitaraṃ bhadde Timbaru Suriya-vaccase,⁶
Yena jātā ’si kalyāṇi⁷ ānanda-jananī mama.

1. K kho vasati.

2. B^m nāccāsanne ; K nāccāsane.

3. K gāthāyo as B^m at end of § 6.

4. B^m K add saṃghūpasamhitā; K (Sī) saṃghūpasamhitāti pāṭho na dissati.

5. This idea is found again in the Mahā-bhārata (I, 2. 383). That poem there claims to be artha-śāstra, dharma-śāstra, and kama-śāstra. So Windisch (‘Buddha’s Geburt,’ 82) speaks of a group of ideas, recurrent in Indian literature, which very happily sums up and exhausts the matter—the Useful, the True, and the Agreeable—to which Emancipation is sometimes added as a fourth. Our passage here is the earliest in which such a group appears.

6. B^m Sūriyavaccase ; K suriyavaccase ; K (Sī) suriya-vaccase. See D. i. 114, and ii. 258.

7. SS kalyāṇi (all five times) ; B^m twice ī K ī throughout.

Vāto va¹ sedakaṃ² kanto pāṇiyaṃ³ va pipāsino⁴
 Aṅgīraśi⁵ piyā me 'si dhammo arahatāṃ iva,⁶
 Āturass'⁷ eva bhesajjaṃ, bhojanaṃ va jighacchato,⁸
 Parinibbāpaya⁹ bhadde jalantam iva¹⁰ vārinā.
 Sītodakiṃ pokkharaniṃ yuttaṃ¹¹ kiñjakkha-reṇuṇā
 Nāgo ghammābhitatto¹² va ogahe te thanūdaraṃ.¹³
 Accaṃkuso va nāgo jitaṃ me tutta-tomaraṃ,¹⁴
 Kāraṇaṃ nappajānāmi sammatto lakkhaṇūrasā.¹⁵
 Tayi gathita-citto¹⁶ 'smi cittaṃ vipariṇāmitaṃ,
 Paṭigantumaṃ¹⁷ na sakkomi vaṅka-ghasto¹⁸ va ambujo.
 Vāmura¹⁹ saja maṃ bhadde saja maṃ mandalocane,²⁰
 Palissaja²¹ maṃ kalyāṇi etaṃ me abipatthitaṃ.

1. SS Pāto ca.
2. So all MSS. and K ; Sum: sedanaṃ (for sedānaṃ.)
3. S^c adds yaṃ ; B^m pāṇiyaṃ.
4. B^m K pipāsato.
5. B^m aṅgīrasmiṃ ; K aṅgīraṃsī.
6. S^{ct} arahāṃ iva ; B^m arahataṃmiva ; K arahataṃ iva.
7. B^m ātūr^o
8. B^m jighacchito.
9. S^c -pasaṃ ; B^m -paya maṃ ; K -payi.
10. S^c vārito ; B^m K vārinā.
11. S^t yutaṃ ; B^m K yattaṃ.
12. S^d gam^o.
13. S^d ogahetathenudaraṃ ; S^t ogahetethahūdaraṃ ; B^m ogāhe te samanuddaraṃ ; K -thanūdaraṃ.
14. See Car. Pit. p. 95 ; M. iii., 133.
15. S^t ūsarā B^m lakkhaṇurūhā ; K lakkhaṇūrūyā ; Sum. ūrasā in text, ūrūyā in explanation. Comp. Th. i. 27, 233 ; Jāt. ii. 275.
16. S^d gacita- ; S^c ganita- ; B^m K gadhitā.
17. K paṭiggantumaṃ.
18. S^d vaṃ kaghasto va ; S^t vaṃkagattho va ; S^c taṃ paṭigghasto va ; B^m vaṃkaghaso va ; K vaṃkaghatto va ; vaṃkaghasovātipi pāṭho. Sum-ghasto, with -ghaso as v. l.
19. S^t B^m K vāmūru. See Jāt. ii. 443.
20. So B^m K ; S^{dt} Sajja maṃ mandā mocane (S^t -da).
21. S^c palassaja ; S^d palissajaṃ. See Jāt. v. 158.

Appako vatame santo kāmo vellita-kesiyā¹
 Aneka-bhāgo² sampādi arahante va dakkhiṇ.
 Yam me atthi kataṃ puññaṃ arahantesu tādisu,
 Tam me sabbaṅga-kalyāṇi tayā saddhiṃ vipaccataṃ.
 Yam me atthi kataṃ puññaṃ asmiṃ puthuvi-
 maṇḍale,³
 Tam me sabbaṅga-kalyāṇi tayā saddhiṃ vipacca-
 taṃ.
 Sakya-putto va jhānena ekodi⁴ nipako⁵ sato
 Amataṃ muni jigimsāno⁶ tam ahaṃ⁷ Suriyava-
 ccase.⁸
 Yathā pi muni nandeyya patā sambobhim uttamaṃ,
 Evaṃ nandeyya⁹ kalyāṇi missī-bhāvaṃ¹⁰ gato tayā.
 Sakko ca¹¹ me varaṃ dajjā¹² Tāvatiṃsānam issaro,
 Tāhaṃ¹³ bhadde¹⁴ vareyyāhe evaṃpitaraṃ te sume-
 dhase
 Vandamāno namassāmi yassa s'etādisi¹⁶ pajā ti.'

5. 'Lady, thy father Timbaru I greet
 With honour due, O Glory-of-the-Sun!¹⁷

-
1. S^c vellitarosiyā ; S^d vellī tarosiyā ; S^t vellātarosiyā.
 2. S^t pāgo ; B^m K -bhāvo ; K (note) anekabhāgotipi pāṭho.
 3. M^m pathavi-; K paṭhavi. See Jāt. v. 156.
 4. Ss eko va.
 5. B^m nipakā.
 6. S^c jimsāno; B^m jigisāgino.
 7. B^m ahī.
 8. S^{dt} vaccaye; B^m K vacchase.
 9. B^m K nandeyyaṃ.
 10. SS B^m missi-; K missa-. See Jāt. ii. 330, iv. 471.
 11. B^m K ce.
 12. S^d dajja.
 13. S^c tasam.
 14. B^m bhaddena.
 15. S^c K sālavanaṃ.
 16. S^{dt} yetādīsī ; B^m sethādīsī.
 17. Suriya-vaccase, the young lady's name; sunshine in prose. See § 10 of the Mahā-samaya.

In that he wrought a thing so nobly fair
As thou, O fount divine of all my joy !

Sweet as the breeze to one foredone with sweat,
Sweet as a cooling drink to one athirst,
So dear art thou, O presence radiant!
To me, dear as to Arahants the Truth.

As medicine bringing ease to one that's sick,
As food to starving man, so, lady, quench,
As with cool waters, me who am all a-flame.

E'en as an elephant with heat oppressed,
Hies him to some still pool, upon whose face
Petals and pollen of the lotus float,
So would I sink within thy bosom sweet.

E'en as an elephant fretted by hook,
Dashes unheeding curb and goad aside,
So I, crazed by the beauty of thy form,
Know not the why and wherefore of my acts.

By thee my heart is held in bonds, and all
Bent out of course ; nor can I turn me back,
No more than fish, once he hath ta'en the bait.

Within thine arm embrace me, lady, me
With thy soft languid eyne embrace and hold,
O nobly fair ! This I entreat of thee.

Scanty in sooth, O maid of waving locks,
Was my desire, but now it swelleth aye,
Indefinitely great, e'en as the gifts
Made by the faithful to the Arahants.

Whate'er of merit to such holy ones
I've wrought, be thou, O altogether fair,
The ripened fruit to fall therefrom to me.

Whate'er of other merit I have wrought
In the wide world, O altogether fair,
Be thou the fruit thereof to fall to me.

As the great Sakyan Seer, through ecstasy

Rapt and intent and self-possessed, doth brood
 Seeking ambrosia, even so do I
 Pursue the quest of thee, O Glory-of-the-Sun !
 As would that Seer rejoice, were he to win
 Ineffable Enlightenment, so I
 With thee made one, O fairest, were in bliss.
 And if perchance a boon were granted me
 By Sakka, lord of Three-and-Thirty gods,
 'Tis thee I'd ask of him, lady, so strong
 My love. And for thy father, wisest maid—
 Him as a sāl-tree freshly burgeoning
 I worship for such peerless offspring giv'n.'

6. Evaṃ vutte Bhagavā Pañcasikhaṃ Gandhabbaput-
 taṃ etad avoca:

‘Saṃsandati kho pana¹ te Pañcasikha tantissaro gīta-
 sarena gītassaro va tantissarena, na ca pana te Pañcasikha
 tantissaro ativaṇṇati gītassaramṃ, gītassaro vā tantissaramṃ.
 Kadā saṃyūlhā² pana te³ Pañcasikha imā gāthā
 Buddhûpasamhitā dhammûpasamhitā⁴ arahantûpasamhitā
 kāmûpasamhitā ti ?’

‘Ekam ida⁵ bhante samayaṃ Bhagavā Uruvelāyaṃ
 viharati najjā Nerañjarāya tīre Ajapāla-nigrodha-mûle⁶
 paṭhamâbhisambuddho. Tena kho panâhaṃ bhante samayena,
 Bhaddā⁷ nāma Suriya-vaccas⁸ Timbaruno Gandhabba-rañño
 dhītā, tam abhikaṃkhāmi.⁹ Sa¹⁰ kho pana bhante bhaginī¹¹

1. B^m K omit.

2. S^d saṃsul^o; S^t sasul^o; B^m samyulā. See M.i. 386, 562.

3. SS tā; B^m panāte.

4. B^m K add saṃghûpasamhitā (see end of § 4).

5. S^{ct} B^m K idâhaṃ; S^t idaṃ. See § 9.

6. B^m K nigrodhe.

7. S^t gandada; S^{cd} handadā.

8. S^d -vaccasaṃ; B^m sūriyacchesā; K -vacchasā

9. S^d abhikkhāmi; B^m K ābhikaṃkhāmi.

10. S^{cd} sa; K prints sakho.

11. SS -ni; B^m bhaginī.

parakāminī hoti, Sikhaddhi¹ nāma Mātalissa saṅgāhakassa² putto, tam abhikaṃkhati.³ Yato kho ahaṃ bhante taṃ bhaginiṃ nālatthaṃ kenaci pariyāyena, athāhaṃ beluva-paṇḍu-vīṇaṃ ādāya yena Timbaruno Gandhabba-rañño nivesanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamaṃ, upasaṃkamtvā beluva-paṇḍu-vīṇaṃ assāvesiṃ, imā ca⁴ gāthā⁵ abhāsiṃ Buddhūpasamhitā dhammūpasamhitā⁶ arahantūpasamhitā kāmūpasamhitā:—

6. When Five-crest had finished the Exalted One said to him :— 'The sound of your strings, Five-crest, so harmonizes with that of your song, and the sound of your voice with that of the strings, that your lyre does not too much colour your song, nor your song too much colour your play. Where, Five-crest, did you learn these verses "concerning the Awakened One and the Truth, the Arahants, and Love ?" '

'The Exalted One, lord, was once staying at Uruvelā, on the bank of the Nerañjarā river, at the foot of the Goatherd's Banyan tree before he attained to Enlightenment. Now at that time, lord, the lady called Bhaddā, in appearance as Sunshine, daughter of Timbaru, king of the Gandhabbas, was beloved by me. But that lady, lord, was in love with another—Sikhaddi, son of Mātali the charioteer. And since I could not get the lady by any method whatever, I took my lyre of yellow Beluva wood, and going to the abode of Timbaru, king of the Gandhabbas, I played my lyre and recited these verses concerning the Awakened One, the Truth, the Arahants and Love :—

7. 'Vande te pitaraṃ bhadde Timbarau⁷ Suriya-vaccase⁸

Yena jātā' si kalyaṇi ānanda-jananī mama.

1. S^t Sakho.

2. See A. iv. 90, 470 ; Jāt. ii, 257, iv. 63.

3. S^d abhikkhati ; S^t abhikaṃkhanti ; B^m Katamābiko.

4. K omits.

5. B^m gāthāyo, as K at end of § 4.

6. B^m K add samghūpasamhitā.

7. SS -ru.

8. B^m K vacchase.

. . . pe . . .

Sālaṃ va na¹ ciraṃ phullaṃ pitaraṃ te sumedhase
Vandamāno namassāmi yassa s'etādisi pajā ti.'

'Evaṃ vutte bhante Bhaddā Suriya-vaccasā maṃ etad
avoca:

' "Na kho me mārisa so Bhagavā sammukhā diṭṭho,
api ca suto yeva me so Bhagavā devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ
Sudhammāyaṃ sabhāyaṃ upanaccantiyā. Yato kho tvaṃ
mārisa taṃ 'Bhagavantaṃ kittesi, hotu no ajja samāgamo
ti."

'So yena no bhante tassā² bhaginiyā saddhiṃ samā-
gamo ahosi, na ca dāni, tato pacchā ti.'

7. 'Lady, thy father Timbaru I greet
With honour due, O Glory-of-the-Sun,
In that he wrought a thing so nobly fair
As thou, O fount divine of all my joy !
Sweet as the breeze to one foredone with sweat,
Sweet as a cooling drink to one athirst,
So dear art thou, O presence radiant!
To me, dear as to Arahants the Truth.
As medicine bringing ease to one that's sick, As food to
Starving man, so, lady, quench,
As with cool waters, me who am a-flame.
E'en as an elephant with heat oppressed,
Hies him to some still pool, upon whose face
Petals and pollen of the lotus float,
So would I sink within thy bosom sweet.
E'en as an elephant fretted by hook,
Dashes unheeding curb and goad aside,
So I, crazed by the beauty of thy form,
Know not the why and wherefore of my acts.

1. S^{dt} B^m vana ; K sālavanam.

2. B^m tāya.

By thee my heart is held in bonds, and all
Bent out of course ; nor can I turn me back,
No more than fish, once he hath ta'en the bait.

Within thine arm embrace me, lady, me
With thy soft languid eyne embrace and hold,
O nobly fair ! This I entreat of thee.

Scanty in sooth, O maid of waving locks,
Was my desire, but now it swelleth aye,
Indefinitely great, e en as the gifts
Made by the faithful to the Arahants.

Whate'er of merit to such holy ones
I've wrought, be thou, O altogether fair,
The ripened fruit to fall therefrom to me.

Whate'er of other merit I have wrought
In the wide world, O altogether fair,
Be thou the fruit thereof to fall to me.

As the great Sākyan Seer, through ecstasy
Rapt and intent and self-possessed, doth brood
Seeking ambrosia, even so do I
Pursue the quest of thee, O Glory-of-the-Sun !

As would that Seer rejoice, were he to win
Ineffable Enlightenment, so I
With thee made one, O fairest, were in bliss.

And if perchance a boon were granted me
By Sakka, lord of Three-and-Thirty gods,
'Tis thee I'd ask of him, lady, so strong
My love. And for thy father, wisest maid—
Him as a sāl-tree freshly burgeoning
I worship for such peerless offspring giv'n.

'And when I had finished, lord, the Lady Suriya-vaccasā
said to me :—

"That Blessed One, sir, I have not seen-face to face, and
yet I heard of him when I went to dance at the Sudhamma Hall

of the Three-and-Thirty gods¹. Since you so extol the Blessed One, let there be a meeting between thee and me to-day. So, lord, I met that lady, not on that day but afterwards.” ’

8. Atha kho sakkassa devāvam indassa etad ahosi:

‘Paṭisammodati kho² Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto Bhagavatā, Bhagavā ca Pañcasikhenāti.’

Atha kho Sakko devānam indo Pañcasikhaṃ Gandhabba-puttaṃ āmantesi:

‘Abhivādehi me tvaṃ tāta Pañcasikha Bhagavantam: sakko bhante devānam indo sāmacco saparijano Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatīti.

‘Evaṃ bhaddan tavāti’ kho Pañcasikho Gandhabba-putto Sakkassa devānam indassa paṭissutvā Bhagavantam abhivādesi:

‘Sakko bhante devānam Indo sāmacco saparijano Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatīti.’

³Sukhī hotu Pañcasikha Sakko devānam indo sāmacco saparijano, sukha-kāmā hi devā manussā Asurā Nāgā Gandhabbā ye c’ aññe santi puthu-kāyā ti.’

Evañ ca pana Tathāgatā evrūpe⁴ mahesakkhe⁵ abhivadanti. Abhivādito⁶ Sakko devānam indo Bhagavato Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atṭhāsi, devā pi Tāvatiṃsā Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantam bhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atṭhaṃsu, Pañcasikho pi Gandhabba-putto Indasāla-guhaṃ pavisitvā Bhagavantam abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ atṭhāsi.

8. Now Sakka, the king of the gods, thought:— ‘Five-crest and the Exalted One are in friendly converse.’ And he called to Five-crest and said :— ‘Salute the Exalted One for me, dear

1. When Sakka pronounced his eulogy in the Mahā-govinda, says Buddhaghosa.

2. B^m omits.

3. B^m inserts evaṃ.

4. SS evape.

5. B^m K add yakkhe.

6. S^t K -vadito ; S^{cd} -vadato.

Five-crest, and tell him :— “Sakka, lord, the ruler of the gods, with his ministers and suite, does homage at the foot of the Exalted One.” [And Five-crest did so.]

‘May good fortune, Five-crest, attend Sakka, ruler of gods, and his ministers and suite. For they desire happiness—those gods and men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas, and whatever other numerous hosts there be !’ On this wise do the Tathāgatas salute these dignitaries. And so saluted by the Exalted One, Sakka, the king of the gods, entered the cave of Indra’s Sāl-tree, and saluting the Exalted One stood on one side. Thus did also the Three-and-Thirty gods and Five-crest the Gandhabba.

9. Tena kho pana samayena Indasāla-guhā visamā yanti samā¹ sampādi,² sambādha³ yanti urundā⁴ sampādi,⁵ andhakāra-guhāyaṃ⁶ āloko udapādi, yathā taṃ devānaṃ devānubhāvena. Atha kho Bhagavā Sakkam devānaṃ indaṃ etad avoca :

‘Acchariyam idaṃ āyasmato Kosiyassa, abbhutam idaṃ āyasmato Kosiyassa, tāva⁷ bahukiccassa bahukaraṇīyassa, yad idaṃ idhāgamanan ti.’

‘Cira-paṭikāhaṃ⁸ bhante Bhagavantam dassanāya upasaṃkhamitu-kāmo, api ca devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ kehici kehici⁹ kicca-karaṇīyehi vyāvaṭo¹⁰ evāhaṃ¹¹ nāsak-khiṃ¹² Bhagavantam dassanāya upasaṃkhamitum. Ekam ida¹³ bhante

-
1. S^d repeats.
 2. B^m K samapādi both times.
 3. SS sambādha ; B^m -bādā ; K - bādā.
 4. S^t urunda ; K santi uruddhā ; K (Sī) urundā.
 5. B^m K samapādi.
 6. B^m K -kāro g^o ; B^m adds antadhāyi : K antaradhāyi.
 7. K tava.
 8. S^c cirapatik^o ; S^d cirapathikāhaṃ : S^t virūpaṭk^o ; B^m -paṭkāyaṃ ; K paṭikāhaṃ ; Sum cirapaṭi ’ham. See S. iii. 120.
 9. K omits.
 10. S^{ct} vāvaṭo ; B^m K byāvaṭo. See D. ii. 141.
 11. S^d evaṃ.
 12. S^d B^m nāsakkhi.
 13. SS B^m K idaṃ. See § 6.

samayaṃ Bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati Salalāgārake.¹ Atha kho 'haṃ bhante Sāvatthiyaṃ² agamāsiṃ Bhagavantam dassanāya.

9. Now at that time in the cave the rough passages were made smooth, the narrow spaces were made wide, and in the dark cavern it became bright, such was the potency of the celestials. Then said the Exalted One to Sakka :— 'Wonderful is this ! marvellous is this, that the venerable Kosiya, with so much to do, so much to perform, should come hither !'

'For a long time, lord, have I been desirous of coming to see the Exalted One, but I was hindered by one task and another that I had to perform for the Three-and-Thirty gods, and was not able to come. On one occasion the Exalted One was staying at Sāvatthi, in the Salala cottage. So I went to Sāvatthi to see the Exalted One.

10. 'Tena kho pana bhante samayena Bhagavā aññatarena samādhinā nisinno hoti, Bhuñjati³ ca nāma Vessa-Vaṇassa⁴ paricārikā Bhagavantam paccupaṭṭhitā hoti pañjalikā namassamānā.⁵ Atha kho 'haṃ bhante Bhuñjatiṃ etad avocaṃ⁶ :

"Abhivādehi⁷ tvaṃ me bhagini Bhagavantam : Sakko bhante devānam indo sāmacco saparijano Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandatīti."

'Evaṃ vutte⁸ Bhuñjatiṃ maṃ eted avoca : "Akālo kho mārisa Bhagavantam dassanāya, patisallīno Bhagavā ti."

' "Tena hi bhagini yadā Bhagavā tamhā samādhimhā vuṭṭhito hoti, atha mama vacanena Bhagavantam abhivā-dehi: Sakko bhante devānam indo sāmacco saparijano Bhagavato

1. S^d Saladāg^o ; S^t Saladag^o ; B^m K sum Salalāgārake. See S. v. 200.

2. V^m K Sāvatthiṃ.

3. B^m K Bhujati ; K (Sī) Bhuñjati ; K omits ca.

4. B^m -vaṇassa : K -vaṇassa ; B^m K add mahārājassa.

5. B^m K add tiṭṭhati.

6. SS B^m avoca.

7. S^t -vāti ; S^{cd} - vadeti.

8. B^m K add bhante sā.

pāde sirasā vandatīti." Kacci¹ me sā bhante Bhaginī Bhavantam abhivādesi, sarati Bhagavā tassā bhaginiyā vacanan ti ?"

'Abhivādesi maṃ sā devānam inda bhaginī. Sarāmaṃ ahaṃ tassā bhaginiyā vacanaṃ. Api cāhaṃ āyasmato ca nemi-saddena² tamhā³ samādhimhā vuṭṭhito ti.'

10. 'Now at that time, lord, the Exalted One was seated, rapt in some stage of meditation, and Bhuñjati, wife of Vessavana⁴, was waiting on him, worshipping with clasped hands. Then I said to Bhuñjati :— "Madam, do you salute the Exalted One for me, and say :— 'Sakka, lord, ruler of gods, with ministers and suite, does homage at the feet of the Exalted One.' " And Bhuñjati replied :— "Tis not the right time, sir, for seeing the Exalted One; he is in retreat." "Well then, madam, when the Exalted One rouses himself from his meditation, salute him for me and say what I have told you." Did the lady so salute the Exalted One, lord, for me ? And does the Exalted One remember what she said?'

'She did salute me, ruler of gods. I remember her words. And this too—that it was the noise of your excellency's chariot wheels that aroused me from that meditation.'

11. 'Ye te bhante devā amhehi paṭhamataram Tāvatiṃsa-kāyaṃ uppannā,⁵ tesam me sammukhā sutam sammukhā paṭiggahītam: "Yadā Tathāgata loka uppajjanti arahanto sammā-sambuddhā, dibbā⁶ kāyā paripūrenti, hāyanti saura-kāyā⁷ ti." Tam me idaṃ bhanto sakkhi-diṭṭhaṃ yato Tathāgato loka uppanno araham sammā-sambuddho,

1. S^l ka ; B^m kicci.

2. B^m K cakka-nemi.

3. S^l tasmā.

4. That is, Kuvera, king of the North Quarter, ruler over Yakkhas. See previous Sutta, § 9.

5. B^m K upapannā.

6. S^c K dibbā : S^{dt} B^m dibba- (but below, SS B^m K dibbā. And so above, p. 208).

7. B^m asūra-kāyā.

dibbā kāyā paripūrenti hāyanti asura-kāyā ti. Idh' eva bhante Kapilavatthusmiṃ Gopikā nāma Sakya-dhītā ahosi Buddhe pasannā dhamme passannā saṃghe pasannā sīlesu paripūrakārinī. Sā itthiccittam¹ virājetvā purisa-cittam² bhāvetvā kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā sugatim saggaṃ lokaṃ uppannā devānaṃ Tāvatisānaṃ saḥavyataṃ, amhākaṃ puttattam ajjhūpa-gatā. Tatra pi³ naṃ evaṃ jānanti: Gopako deva-putto Gopako deva-putto ti. Aññe pi bhante tayo bhikkhū Bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā hīnaṃ Gandhabba-kāyaṃ uppannā.⁴ Te pañcahi kāma-guṇehi samappitā samaṅgi-bhūtā paricārayamānā amhākaṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ āgacchanti amhākaṃ pāricariyaṃ. Te amhākaṃ upaṭṭhānaṃ āgate amhākaṃ pāricariyaṃ Gopako deva-putto paṭicodesi : “Kuto-mukhā nāma tumhe mārisā tassa Bhagavato dhammaṃ assutvā ?⁵ Ahaṃ hi⁶ itthikā samānā Buddhe pasannā dhamme pasannā saṃghe pasannā sīlesu paripūrakārinī itthi-cittam virājetvā purisa-cittam bhāvetvā kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā sugatim saggaṃ lokaṃ uppannā, devānaṃ Tāvatisānaṃ saha-vyataṃ Sakkassa devānaṃ Indassa puttattam ajjhūpagatā. Idha pi⁷ maṃ evaṃ jānanti: Gopako deva-putto Gopako deva-putto ti. Tumhe pana mārisā Bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ caritvā hīnaṃ Gandhabba-kāyaṃ uppannā. Duddiṭṭha-rūpaṃ vata addasāma, ye mayaṃ addasāma sahadhammike hīnaṃ Gandhabba-kāyaṃ uppanne ti.” Tesam bhante Gopakena deva-puttena paṭicoditānaṃ dve devā diṭṭhe va dhamme satim paṭilabhiṃsu kāyaṃ Brahma-purohitaṃ. ‘Eko pana devo te va⁸ kāme ajjhāvasi.’

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1. B^m itthittam, but itthi-cittam below.
 2. B^m pūrisattaṃ, but purisa-cittam below.
 3. B^m K tatrāpi.
 4. B^m K upapannā throughout.
 5. S^t asutvā; K āyūhittha.
 6. S^c omits; B^m K add nāma.
 7. B^m K idhāpi.
 8. B^m K omīte te va.

11. 'Lord, I have heard and understood when in the presence of those gods who were reborn into the heaven of the Three-and-Thirty before Us, that when a Tathāgata, an Arahant Buddha supreme, arises in the world, the celestial hosts wax in numbers, and the Asura hosts wane. And I myself, lord, have seen and can witness that this is so. Take, lord, this case. There was, at Kapilavatthu, a daughter of the Sākyans named Gopikā, who trusted in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Order, and who fulfilled the precepts. She, having abandoned a woman's thoughts and cultivated the thoughts of a man, was, at the dissolution of the body after her death, reborn to a pleasant life, into the communion of the Three-and-Thirty gods, into sonship with us. And there they knew her as "Gopaka of the sons of the gods, Gopaka of the sons of the gods." Moreover, lord, there were three bhikkhus who, having followed the religious life prescribed by the Exalted One, were reborn into a lower state among the Gandhabbas. Surrounded by and enjoying the pleasures of the five senses, they used to wait upon and minister to us. Things being so, Gopaka upbraided them saying :— "Where were your ears, sirs, that ye hearkened not to the Dhamma of the Exalted One ? Here am I who being but a maiden, trusting in the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Order, and fulfilling the precepts, abandoned all my woman's thoughts and, cultivating a man's thoughts, was reborn after my death into a pleasant life, into communion with the Three-and-Thirty gods, into the sonship of Sakka, the lord of the gods, and am known as Gopaka, son of the gods. But ye, sirs, following the religious life of the Exalted One, have only been reborn into the lower state of Gandhabbas. A sad thing, indeed, is this to see, when we behold our co-religionists reborn into the inferior condition of Gandhabbas." Of those fairies, lord, thus rebuked by Gopaka, two acquired in that same lifetime mindfulness, and therewith the heaven of the ministers of Brahmā. But the third fairy clave to sensuous enjoyment.

12. 'Upāsikā cakkhumato ahosiṃ nāmam pi mayhaṃ ahu Gopikā ti,

Buddhe ca dhamme ca abhippasannā saṃghaṇ c' upaṭṭhāsim¹
 pasanna-cittā.
 Tass' eva Buddhassa sudhammatāya Sakkassa putto 'mhi
 mahānubhāvo
 Mahā-jutiko² Tidivûpapanno, jānanti pi maṃ idha³ Gopako
 ti.
 Ath⁴ addasaṃ bhikkhavo diṭṭha-pubbe Gandhabba-kāyû-
 pagate vasīne,⁵
 Ime hi te⁶ Gotama-sāvaka⁷ ye ca mayaṃ pubbe manussa-
 bhūtā
 Annena pānena upaṭṭhahimhā pādûsaṃgayha⁸ sake nivesane.
 Kuto-mukhā nāma ime bhavanto Buddhassa dhammaṃ na⁹
 paṭiggaheṣuṃ.
 Paccattaṃ veditabbo hi¹⁰ dhammo sudesito¹¹ cakkhumatā-
 nubuddho.
 Aham pi tumhe ca¹² upāsamānā sutvāna¹³ ariyāna subhā-
 sitāni,¹⁴
 Sakkassa putto 'mhi mahānubhāvo mahājutiko¹⁵ Tidivû-
 papanno.
 Tumhe pana seṭṭham upāsamānā anuttare¹⁶ brahmacariyaṃ
 caritvā,

1. SS saṃgham up^o ; B^m -āsi.
2. S^{ct} -jutiko. *See below*, p. 273.
3. B^m idha pi.
4. S^d K (*but not* B^m) *omit*.
5. B^m K vasine.
6. S^c so; S^d *omits*.
7. S^d B^m K -se ; S^{ct} -so.
8. S^c mahānubhāvo pādûpamaggayha ; S^t pādûpamag-gayhā; B^m pādûpasamghe (*sic*)
9. S^d dhammāhi ; S^{ct} dhammāni (*or* °ti).
10. S^c *omits*.
11. SS desito.
12. B^m K va.
13. B^m sutvā.
14. B^m *adds* naṃ.
15. S^t jutiko. *See above*, p. 272 *note*⁶.
16. B^m anuttaraṃ.

Hīna-kāyaṃ upapannā¹ bhavanto anānulomā² bhavatū-
papatti.³

Duddiṭṭharūpaṃ vata addasāma sadhammike⁴ hīna-kāyū-
pappe,

Gandhabba-kāyūpagatā bhavanto devānam āgacchatha
pāricariyaṃ.

Agāre⁵ vasato mayhaṃ idaṃ passa visesaṃ,

Itthi hutvā svajja⁶ pumo⁷ 'mhi devo dibbehi kāmehi
samaṅgibhūto.'

Te coditā Gotama-sāvakena saṃvegā āpādu⁸ samecca⁹
Gopakaṃ:

'Handa vitāyāma¹⁰ viyāyamāma¹¹ mā no mayaṃ para-pessā
ahumha.'

Tesaṃ duve vīriyaṃ¹² ārabhiṃsu, anussarā¹³ Gotamasāsanāni
Idh' eva cittāni virājayitvā kāmesu ādīnavam addasiṃsu.

Te kāma-saṃyojana¹⁴-bandhanāni pāpima¹⁵-yogani durac-
cayāni

Nāgo va sandāna-guṇāni¹⁶ bhetvā¹⁷ deve Tāvatiṃse atik-
kamasiṃsu.

1. SS uppannā.

2. S^d B^m ananulomā.

3. So S^t B^m K; S^{cd} -uppatti.

4. B^m K sahadhammike.

5. S^{ct} agārā ; S^d agāra.

6. K svājja.

7. S^t pume.

8. S^c adu; S^t āduṃ.

9. B^m samacca.

10. S^d vacītā^o ; S^t hañcitāyāma ; B^m vihāyāma; K handa vigāyāma.

11. S^d vidhāyamāma ; S^t idhāyamāma ; B^m byāyāma ; K viyāyamāma.

12. S^c viriya ; S^{dt} B^m viriyaṃ.

13. S^d B^m K -raṃ.

14. S^c sañño ; S^{dt} saṃño.

15. B^m K pāpimato.

16. All MSS. and K sandāni ; Sum-sandāna-.

17. S^d bhotvā ; B^m K chetvā ; K (Sī, bhetvā.

Sa-Inda-devā¹ sa-Pajāpatikā sabbe Sudhammāya sabhāy'
 uviṭṭhā.²
 Te sannisinānam atikkamiṃsu vīrā virāgā³ virajaṃ karonta.
 Te disvā saṃvegā akāsi Vāsavo devābhibhū⁴ devagaṇassa
 majjhe :
 'Ime hi te hīna⁵-kāyūpapannā deve Tāvatiṃse atikkamanti.'
 Samvega-jātassa vaco⁶ nisamma so⁷ Gopako Vāsavaṃ
 ajjhabhāsi :
 'Buddho paṇ' Ind' atthi manussa-loke kāmābhibhū Sakya-
 munīti nāyat,
 Tass' ete⁸ puttā satiyā vihīnā cūtā⁹ mayā te satī¹⁰ pacca-
 latthum.¹¹
 Tiṇṇaṃ tesam' avasīn' ettha¹² eko Gandhabba-kāyūpagato¹³
 vāsīno¹⁴
 Dve c'eva¹⁵ sambodhi-pathānusārino¹⁶ deve pi hīlenti¹⁷
 samāhitattā.
 Etādisī dhamma-pakāsan' ettha na tattha kiṃ kaṃkhati koci
 sāvako.

1. B^m Sanandā devā.
2. S^d uviṭṭhā ; B^m K upaviṭṭhā.
3. S^d virāvirājā ; S^t virāgāvirājā ; B^m cīrāvirājā ; K vīrā virāgā.
4. S^c debhibhūta ; S^{dt}-bhūtā.
5. S^c imehi te hīna-; S^d imehitehina-; S^t idha me hi te hīna-. See p. 272.
6. So SS B^m ; K va te.
7. K omits.
8. B^m K eva te.
9. S^t cūtā ; S^{cd} cutā ; B^m vuditā ; K cuditā.
10. B^m satīṃ.
11. SS -tthu.
12. S^{cd} B^m K avasinettha.
13. S^d -kāyāpahato ; S^{ct} -kāyāpāgato.
14. S^c sīno.
15. B^m K dve va.
16. B^m pasānusārino ; K padānusārino.
17. SS jālenti ; B^m (much overwritten) hi uḷenti ; K hīlenti.

**Nittiṇṇa-oghaṃ¹ vicikiccha-chinnaṃ Buddhaṃ namassāma
 jinaṃ janindaṃ,
 Yan te dhammaṃ idh' aññāya visesaṃ ajjhagaṃsu te
 Kāyaṃ brahma-purohitaṃ duve tesāṃ visesagū.
 Tassa² dhammassa pattiya āgat' amhāse³ mārusam
 Katokāsā⁴ Bhagavatā pañhaṃ pucchemu mārisāti.'**

12. Gopaka's Verses.

“Disciple once of Him-Who-Sees,—
 By name they called me :—Gopikā,—
 In Buddha, Dhamma, firm my trust,
 I served the Order glad of heart.
 Through this good service paid to Him
 Behold me son of Sakka, born
 All glorious in the Deva-world,
 Of mighty power, and known henceforth
 As Gopaka. Now saw I men
 Who, bhikkhus in a former birth,
 Had won to mere Gandhabba rank.
 What! persons erst of human kind,
 And followers of Gotama,—
 Supplied by us with food and drink
 And tended in our own abode,—
 Where were their ears that they, so blest,
 Yet failed to grasp the Buddha's Law ?
 The Gospel well proclaimed to all
 And understood by Him-Who-Sees,
 Each for himself must comprehend.
 I, serving only you, have heard
 The good words of the Noble Ones—
 And now behold me reborn here,
 All glorious and powerful,

1. B^m K nitiṇṇa-.

2. SS and Sum have mayam pi before Tassa (perhaps an old gloss).

3. SS amhāsi ; K amhāpi.

4. SS tāvakāsā ; B^m K katāvakāsā.

As Sakka's son in Deva-world,
But you who served the Best of men,
And by the Highest shaped your lives,
Have re-appeared in lowly rank,
Degraded from your due advance.

An evil sight is this, to see
One's co-religionists sunk low,
Where, as Gandhabba spirits, sirs,
Ye come to wait upon the gods.

For me see ! what a change is here!
From house-life as a woman, I,
A male to-day, a god reborn,
In joys celestial take my share."

Upbraided thus by Gopaka,
Disciple erst of Gotama,

They in sore anguish made response :—
"Yea verily ! let us go hence

And strive our utmost, lest we live
The slaves of others ! "Of the three
Two bent their will unto the work,
Mindful of Gotama's behests.

The perils in the life of sense
They saw, e'en here cleansing their heart

And like an elephant that bursts
Each strap and rope, so they o'ercame
The fetters and the bonds of sense,
Ties of the Evil One, so hard

To get beyond—yea, e'en the gods,
The Three-and-Thirty, seated round

With Indra, with Pajāpati,
Enthroned in Sudhammā's Hall,

The heroes twain left far behind,
Purging all passion, ousting lust.

At sight of them distress arose
In Vāsava, ruler of gods,
In midst of all his retinue:—

“Lo now! these, born to lower rank,
 Outstrip the Three-and-Thirty gods !”
 His sovereign’s apprehension heard,
 Gopaka spake to Vāsava :—
 “O Indra ! in the world of men
 A Buddha, called the Sākya Sage,
 Is conqueror o’er the world of sense.
 And these his children, who had lost
 All conscience when they left the world,
 Through me their conscience have regained.
 One of the three yet dwelleth here,
 Reborn among Gandhabba folk ;
 And two, on highest Wisdom bent,
 In deepest rapture scorn the gods.
 Let no disciple ever doubt
 That by the kind who here abide
 The Truth may yet be realized.
 All hail to Buddha who hath crossed
 The flood and put an end to doubt,
 Great Conqueror and Lord of all !”

They recognized thy Truth e’en here ; and they
 Have onward passed and won to eminence.
 ’Mong Brahmā’s ministers they twain have won
 A higher place than this. And we are come,
 O master, here that we too may attain
 That Truth¹. If the Exalted One should grant
 Us leave, Master, we fain would question him.’

**13. Atha kho Bhagavato etad ahosi : ‘Dīgha-rattam
 visuddho kho ayam Sakko. Yam kiñci maṃ² pañham
 pucchissati sabbam attha-saṃhitam yena pucchissati no**

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1. We follow the printed text. It is more probable that pattiya is the gloss. In that case the version would be: ‘For that Truth’s sake, O master, have we come.’ The full stop after visesagū is a misprint.
 2. B^m omits.

anattā-saṃhitā, ya¹ assāhaṃ puṭṭho vyākariissāmi taṃ
khippam eva ājānissatīti.'

Atha kho Bhagavā Sakkaṃ devānam indaṃ gāthāya
ajjhabhāsi :—

'Puccha Vāsava maṃ pañhaṃ yaṃ kiñci manas' icchasi,
Tassa tass' eva pañhassa ahaṃ antaṃ karomi te ti.'

13. Then the Exalted One thought: 'For a long time now
this Sakka has lived a pure life. Whatever question he may ask
of me will be to good purpose, and not frivolous. And what I
shall answer, that will he quickly understand.' Then did the Ex-
alted One address these verses to Sakka, lord of gods :—

'Question me, Vāsava, whate'er thy mind desires,
And on each problem put I'll end thy doubts !'

Paṭhamaka-bhāṇavāraṃ.²

End of the First Portion for Recitation.

1. B^m K yañ ca.

2. B^m omits ; K Paṭhama-bhāṇavāraṃ.

CHAPTER II

2. 1. Katâvakāso Sakko devānam indo Bhagavantam¹ imam² paṭhamam pañham pucchi :

‘Kim-saṃyojanā nu kho mārisa devā manussā asurā nāgā gandhabbā ye c’ aññe santi puthukāyā, te : averā adaṇḍā asapattā avyāpajjhā³ viharemu averino ti iti ce nesam⁴ hoti atha ca pana saverā sadaṇḍā sasapattā savyāpajjhā viharanti erino⁵ ti ?’

Ittham⁶ Sakko devānam indo Bhagavantam imam paṭhamam⁷ pañham apucchi.⁸ Tassa Bhagavā pañham puṭṭho vyākāsi :

‘Issā-macchariya-saṃyojanā kho devānam inda devā manussā asurā nāgā gandhabbā ye c’aññe santi puthukāyā te averā adaṇḍā asapattā avyāpajjhā viharemu averino ti iti ce nesam⁹ hoti atha ca pana saverā sadaṇḍā sadaṇḍā sasapattā savyāpajjhā viharanti verino ti.’

Ittham Bhagavā Sakkassa devānam indassa pañham puṭṭho vyākāsi. Attamano Sakko devānam indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandi anumodi: ‘Evam etaṃ Bhagavā evam etaṃ Sugata, tiṇṇā m’ettha kaṃkhā vigatā kathaṃ-kathā Bhagavato pañha-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā ti.’

1. B^m K Bhagavatā.

2. B^m K add Bhagavantam.

3. B^m abyāpajjā (*and below*).

4. K ca tesam (*and below*).

5. B^m K saverino (*and below*).

6. B^m imam attham (*and below*, attham for attham).

7. B^m K omit imam paṭhamam.

8. S^c pucchi, *and adds* tassa Bhagavā pañham pucchi.

9. B^m *here* ca nesam.

1. Thus invited, Sakka, the ruler of the gods, asked this first question of the Exalted One:— ‘By what fetters, sir, are they bound—gods, men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas, and whatever other great classes of beings there be—in that they, wishing thus :— “Would that, without hatred, injury, enmity, or malignity, we might live in amity !” —do nevertheless live in enmity, hating, injuring, hostile, malign ?

Such was the fashion of Sakka’s first question to the Exalted One. To him the Exalted One so asked made answer:—

‘By the fetters of envy and selfishness, ruler of gods, are they bound—gods, men, Asuras, Nāgas, Gandhabbas and whatever other great classes of beings there be—in that they wishing thus :— “Would that, without hatred, injury, enmity, or malignity, we might live in amity !” —do nevertheless live in enmity, hating, injuring, hostile, malign.’

Such was the fashion of the Exalted One’s answer to Sakka’s question. And Sakka, delighted with the Exalted One’s utterance, expressed his pleasure and appreciation saying :— ‘That is so, Exalted One, that is so, Welcome One! I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, through hearing the answer of the Exalted One.’

2. Iti ha¹ Sakko devānaṃ indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā Bhagavantam uttarim pañham apucchi :

‘Issā²-macchariyaṃ pana mārisa kiṃ-nidānaṃ kiṃ-samudayaṃ kiṃ-jātikaṃ³ kiṃ-pabbavaṃ, kismiṃ⁴ sati issā-macchariyaṃ hoti, kismiṃ⁵ asati issā-macchariyaṃ na hotīti?’

‘Issā-macchariyaṃ kho devānaṃ inda piyāppiya-nidānaṃ piyāppiya-samudayaṃ piyāppiya-jātikaṃ piyāppiya-pabbavaṃ, piyāppie hi⁶ sati issā-macchariyaṃ hoti, piyāppie asati issā-macchariyaṃ na hotīti’.

1. S^c throughout itīha.

2. S^c icchassa ; S^d icchā, and onwards.

3. S^c jāti.

4. K adds hi.

5. K adds hi.

6. B^m K omit.

‘Piyâppiyam pana¹ mārīsa kiṃ-nidānam kiṃ-samudayaṃ kiṃ-jātikam kiṃ-pabbavam, kismiṃ sati piyâppiyam hoti, kismiṃ asati piyâppiyam na hotīti ?’

‘Piyâppiyam kho devānam inda chanda-nidānam chanda-samudayaṃ chanda-jātikam chanda-pabbavam, chande sati piyâppiyam hoti chande asati piyâppiyam na hotīti.’

‘Chando pana mārīsa kiṃ-nidāno kiṃ-samudayo kiṃ-jātiko kiṃ-pabbavo, kismiṃ sati chando hoti, kismiṃ asati chando na hotīti ?’

‘Chando kho devānam inda vitakka-nidāno vitakka-samudayo vitakka-jātiko vitakka-pabbavo, vitakke sati chando hoti, vitakke asati chando na hotīti.’

‘Vitakko pana mārīsa kiṃ-nidāno kiṃ-samudayo kiṃ-jātiko kiṃ-pabbavo, kismiṃ sati vitakko hoti, kismiṃ asati vitakko na hotīti ?’

‘Vitakko kho devānam inda papañca-saññā-saṅkhā-nidāno papañca-saññā-saṅkhā- samudayo papañca-saññā-saṅkhā-jātiko papañca-saññā-saṅkhā-pabbavo, papañca-saññā-saṅkhāya sati vitakko hoti, papañca-saññā-saṅkhāya asati vitakko na hotīti.’

2. So Sakka, expressing pleasure and appreciation, asked a further question of the Exalted One :— ‘But envy and selfishness, sir,—what is the source thereof, the cause thereof ? what gives birth to them ? how do they come to be ? What being present, are envy and selfishness also present ? What being absent, are they also absent ?’

‘Things as dear and not dear to us, ruler of gods,— this is the source and cause of envy and selfishness, this is what gives birth to them, this is how they come to be. In the presence of what is dear or not dear, envy and selfishness come about, and in the absence of such feelings, they do not come about.’

‘But what, sir, is the source, what the cause of things being dear and not dear, what gives birth to these feelings, how

1. S^t omits pana.

do they come to be ? What being present, do we so feel, and what being absent, do we not so feel ?

‘Desire¹, ruler of gods, is the source and cause of things being dear or not dear, this is what gives birth to such feelings, this is how they come to be. If desire be present, things become dear and not dear to us ; if it be absent, things are no more felt as such.’

‘But desire, sir,—what is the source and cause of that ? What gives birth to it, how does it come to be ? What being present, is desire present, and what being absent, is desire also absent ?

‘Mental pre-occupation², ruler of gods,—this is the source, this is the cause of desire, this is what gives birth to desire, this is how desire comes to be. Wherewith our mind is pre-occupied, for that desire arises ; if our mind is not so pre-occupied, desire is absent.’

‘But what, sir, is the source and what is the cause of our mind being pre-occupied ? What gives birth to such a state, how does it come to be ? What being present, does our mind become pre-occupied, and what being absent, does it not ?’

‘The source, ruler of gods, the cause of our becoming pre-occupied is what we may call obsession³. This is what gives

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1. Chand a. The Cy. distinguishes exegetically five kinds of chanda:—desire to seek, to gain, to enjoy, to hoard, to spend, and includes all in the present connexion with the words: ‘here it is used in a sense tantamount to craving (tanhā).’
 2. Vitakka. The Cy. does not give the Abhidhamma definition of this term (see. Dh. S., § 7 ; ‘Bud. Psy.’ p. 10: ‘the disposing, fixating, focusing, applying the mind.’ Cf. also ‘Compendium of Buddhist Philosophy,’ Appendix: vitakka, P.T.S., 1910), but gives as a parallel term vinicchaya (see. above, p. 55 ‘lābhara paticca vinicchayo’—‘deciding respecting gain’). The word is used, according to Sutta method, not with any fine shade of psychological meaning, but in its popular sense of merimnāw, ‘taking thought for’ (Matt. vi. 25), ‘being pre-occupied about.’
 3. Papañca-saññā (idée fixe). An exactly similar sequence of ethical states is put elsewhere (M. I, 111, 112) into the mouth of Mahā

birth to pre-occupation of mind, this is how that comes about. If that obsession is present, our mind is pre-occupied [by the idea by which we are obsessed]; if it is absent, it is not.'

3. 'Kathaṃ-paṭipanno pana mārisa bhikkhu papañca-saññā-saṅkhā-nirodha-sārappa-gāmini-paṭipadaṃ paṭi-panno hotīti?'

'Somanassaṃ p'ahaṃ¹ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitaḃbaṃ pi asevitabbam pi. Domanassaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitaḃbaṃ pi asevitabbam pi. Upakhaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitaḃbaṃ pi asevitabbam pi.

'Somanassaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitaḃbaṃ pi asevitabbam pīti,' iti kho paṇ' etaṃ vuttaṃ. Kiṃ c'etaṃ paticca vuttaṃ ? ²Tattha yaṃ jaññā somanassaṃ : Imaṃ kho me somanassaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti kusalā dhammā parihāyantīti, evarūpaṃ somanassaṃ na sevitaḃbam. Tattha yaṃ jaññā somanassaṃ : Imaṃ kho me somanassaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhantīti, evarūpaṃ somanassaṃ sevitaḃbam. Tattha³ yaṇ ce savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ, yaṇ ce avitakkaṃ avicāraṃ, ye avitakke avicāre se⁴ pañītare.

Kaccāna. Buddhaghosa glosses papaña here by mattappa-mattākāra-pāpāna, where pāpāna is etymological word-play, and mattappamatta may be rendered 'infatuation.' The infatuation is either craving (taṇhā) in one or other of its 108 forms, or self-conceit (māna) in one or other of its nine forms, or speculation (ditthi) in one or other of its sixty-two forms.

This is one of the most recurrent conceptions of the higher Buddhism, the system of the Aryan Path (see above, Vol. I, p. 188), and is one of the many ways in which the early Buddhists struggled to give more precise and ethical an implication to the Indian conception of Avijjā. It is also one of the technical terms most frequently misunderstood. Neumann all through the Majjhima renders it Vielheit, plurality, and Dahlke follows him.

1. K cāhaṃ ; K (Sī) sabbavāresu pahanti pāṭho dissati (*and onwards*).
2. See A. iv. 366.
3. S^t omits tattha.
4. So S^{ct} and Sum ; Sd ye; B^m te; K omits (*and so throughout*).

“Somanassam p’aham devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi sevittabbam pi asevitabbam pīti” iti yan tam vuttam idam etam paticca vuttam.

“Domanassam p’aham devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi sevittabbam pi asevitabbam pīi,” iti kho pan’ etam vuttam. Kiñ c’ etam¹ paticca vuttam ? Tattha yaṃ jaññā domanassam : Imam kho me domanassam sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti kusalā dhammā parihāyantīti, evarūpaṃ domanassam na sevittabbam. Tattha yaṃ jaññā domanassam : Imam kho me domanassam sevato akusalā dhamāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhantīti, evarūpaṃ domanassam sevittabbam. Tattha yañ ce savitakkaṃ savicāram, yañ ce avitakkaṃ avicāram, ye avitakke avicāre se paññatāre.

“Domanassam p’aham devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi sevittabbam pi asevitabbam pīti” iti yan tam vuttam idam etam paticca vuttam.

“Upekkham² p’aham devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevittabbam pi asevitabbam pīti” iti kho pan’ etam vuttam kiñ c’ etam paticca vuttam ? Tattha yaṃ jaññā upekkham : Imam kho me upekkham sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti kusalā dhammā parihāyantīti, evarūpā upekkhā na sevittabbā. Tattha yaṃ jaññā upekkham : Imam kho me upekkham sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhantīti, evarūpā upekkhā sevittabbā. Tattha yañ ce savitakkaṃ savicāram, yañ ce avitakkaṃ avicāram, ye avitakke avicāre se paññatāre.

“Upekkham p’aham devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi sevittabbam pi asevitabbam pīti” iti yan tam vuttam idam etam paticca vuttam.

“Evaṃ paṭipanno kho devānam inda bhikkhu papañca-saññā-sāṅkhā-nirodha³-sāruppa-gāmini-paṭipadam paṭipanno hotīti.”

1. K kiccetam.

2. B^m K upekkam throughout.

3. SS (here only) nisedha- (S^t -dhā-).

Itthaṃ Bhagavā Sakkassa devānam indassa pañhaṃ putṭho vyākāsi. Attamano Sakko devānam Indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandi anumodi: ‘Evaṃ etaṃ Bhagavā evaṃ etaṃ Sugata, tiṇṇā m’ettha kaṅkhā vigatā kathaṅkathā Bhagavato pañha-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā ti.’

3. ‘But how, sir, has that bhikkhu gone about who has reached the path’ suitable for and leading to the cessation of obsession ?’

‘Happiness, ruler of gods, I declare to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided. Sorrow too I declare to be twofold, according as it is to be followed or avoided. Equanimity too I declare to be twofold, according as it is to be followed or avoided.

‘And the distinction I have affirmed in happiness, was drawn on these grounds :—When in following after happiness I have perceived that bad qualities developed and good qualities were diminished, then that kind of happiness was to be avoided. And when, following after happiness, I have perceived that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities developed, then such happiness was to be followed. Now of such happiness as is accompanied by pre-occupation and travail of mind, and of such as is not so accompanied, the latter is the more excellent.

‘Thus, ruler of gods, when I declare happiness to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, I say so for that reason.

‘Again, ruler of gods, when I declare sorrow to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, for what reason do I say so ? When, in following after sorrow¹ I have

1. The two sorts of sorrow or grief are geḥa-sita and nekkhamma-sita, and are well paralleled by St. Paul’s tou kósmon luph and katá qeòn lúph (2 Cor. vii. 10). And the working of the latter: ‘for that ye sorrowed after a godly sort . . . wrought in you . . . what vehement desire, yea, what zeal’—has its counterpart in Buddhaghosa’s exposition, namely, that through insight into the impermanence of all sensuous satisfaction ‘arouses yearning for deliverances even without beyond (anuttāresu), and that yearning leads to sorrow, when one thinks, O that I might reach that state wherein the elect (Ariyas) do dwell even now.”

perceived that bad qualities developed and good qualities were diminished, then that kind of sorrow was to be avoided. And when, following after sorrow, I have perceived that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities were developed, then such sorrow was to be followed after. Now of such sorrow as is accompanied by pre-occupation and travail of mind, and of such as is not so accompanied, the latter¹ is the more excellent. Thus, ruler of gods, when I declare sorrow to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, I say so for that reason.

‘Again, ruler of gods, when I declare equanimity to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, for what reason do I say so ? When, in following after equanimity, I have perceived that bad qualities developed and good qualities were diminished, then that kind of equanimity was to be avoided. And when, following after equanimity, I perceived that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities were developed, then that kind of equanimity was to be followed after². Now of such equanimity as is accompanied by pre-occupation and travail of mind and of such as is not so accompanied, the latter is the more excellent. Thus, ruler of gods, when I declare equanimity to be twofold, according as it is to be followed after, or avoided, I say so for that reason.

‘And it is on this wise that a bhikkhu, ruler of gods, must have gone about, who has reached the path suitable for, and leading to, the cessation of perceiving and taking account of distractions.’

1. According to the Cy., ‘the latter’ in this and the foregoing paragraph refers especially to the state of mind reached in the second and higher stages of Jhāna, as compared with the first, which is *savīta* *kam* *savicāram*.
2. For equanimity thus ethically distinguished, see M. I, 364. The Commentator (who repeats his comment in Asl. 194) describes the former ethical indifference (*upekkhā*) as that of the foolish average person, confused in mind, who has not overcome limitations or results (of Karma), but is bound by his world of objects of sense.

Such was the fashion of the Exalted One's answer to Sakka's question. And Sakka, delighted with the Exalted Ones utterances, expressed his pleasure and appreciation saying :—
 'That is so, Exalted One, that is so, O Welcome One! I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, through hearing the answer of the Exalted One.'

4. Iti ha Sakko devānam indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā Bhagavantam uttariṃ pañhaṃ apucchi :

'Kathaṃ-paṭipanno pana mārīsa bhikkhu pātimokkha-saṃvarāya paṭipanno hotīti ?'

'Kāya-samācāraṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitaḥham pi asevitaḥham pi. Vacī-samā-cāraṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitaḥham pi asevitaḥham pi. Pariyesanaṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitaḥham pi asevitaḥham pi.

"Kāya-samācāraṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitaḥham pi asevitaḥham pīti," iti kho paṇ' etaṃ vuttaṃ. Kiñ c' etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ ? Tattha yaṃ Jañña kāya-samācāraṃ : Imaṃ kho me kāya-samācāraṃ sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti, kusalā dhammā parihāyanti, evarūpo kāya-samācāro na sevitaḥham. Tattha yaṃ jañña kāya-samācāraṃ : Imaṃ kho me kāya-samācāraṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā ahivaḍḍhanti, evarūpo kāya-samācāro sevitaḥham.

"Kāya-samācāraṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi sevitaḥham pi asevitaḥham pīti" iti yaṇ taṃ vuttaṃ idaṃ etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ.

"Vacī-samācāraṃ p'ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitaḥham pi asevitaḥham pīti," iti kho paṇ' etaṃ vuttaṃ. Kiñ c' etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ ? Tattha yaṃ jañña vacī-samācāraṃ : Imaṃ kho me vacī-samācāraṃ sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti, kusalā dhammā parihāyanti, evarūpo vacī-samācāro na sevitaḥham. Tattha yaṃ jañña vacī-samācāraṃ : Imaṃ kho me vacī-samācāraṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā ahivaḍḍhanti, evatūpo vacī-samācāro sevitaḥham.

“Vacī-samācāraṃ p’ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitaḃbam pi asevitaḃbam pīti” iti yan taṃ vuttaṃ idam etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ.

“Pariyesanaṃ p’ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitaḃbam pi asevitaḃbam pīti” iti kho pan’ etaṃ vuttaṃ. Kiñ c’ etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ ? Tattha yaṃ jaññā pariye-sanaṃ: Imaṃ kho me pariyesanaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti kusalā dhammā parihāyanti, evaūpā pariyesanā na sevitaḃbā. Tattha yaṃ jaññā pariyesanaṃ: Imaṃ kho me pariyesanaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti, evarūpā pariyesanā sevitaḃbā.

“Pariyesanaṃ p’ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitaḃbam pi asevitaḃbam pīti” iti yan taṃ vuttaṃ idam etaṃ paṭicca vuttaṃ.

“Evaṃ paṭipanno kho devānam inda bhikkhu pātimokkha-saṃvarāya paṭipanno hotīti.”

¹Itthaṃ Bhagavā Sakkassa devānam Indassa pañhaṃ puṭṭho vyākāsi. Attamano Sakko devānam Indo Bhaga-vato bhāsitaṃ abhinandi anumodi : ‘Evaṃ etaṃ Bhagavā, evaṃ etaṃ Sugata, tiṇṇā m’ettha kaṅkhā vigatā kathaṅkathā Bhagavato pañha-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā ti.’

4. So Sakka, expressing his pleasure and appreciation, asked a further question of the Exalted One :— ‘But how, sir, has that bhikkhu gone about who has acquired the self-restraint enjoined by the Patimokkha?’

‘I say, ruler of gods, that behaviour in act and in speech, as well as those things we seek after are twofold, according as they are to be followed after or avoided. [260] And for what reason do I say so ? When, in following some mode of behaviour in act or speech or in pursuing some quest, I have perceived that bad qualities developed and good qualities diminished, then such behaviour or such pursuits were to be avoided. And when, again, I perceived as the consequence of some other mode of behaviour

1. B^m itthaṃ Bhagavā || la || kathaṃ paṭipanno ; K omits the whole down to apucchi.

in act or speech, or of some other pursuit that bad qualities were diminished and good qualities were developed, then that behaviour, or that pursuit, was to be followed after. Thus when I, ruler of gods, declare that behaviour in act, behaviour in speech, and the things we seek after are twofold, I say so for those reasons.

‘And it is on this wise, ruler of gods, that a bhikkhu must have gone about to have acquired the self-restraint enjoined by the Pātimokkha.’

Such was the fashion of the Exalted One’s answer to Sakka’s question. And Sakka, delighted with the Exalted One’s utterance, expressed his pleasure and appreciation saying :— ‘That is so, Exalted One, that is so, O Welcome One ! I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, through hearing the answer of the Exalted One.’

5. Iti ha Sakko devānam indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā Bhagavantaṃ uttariṃ pañhaṃ apucchi :

‘Kathaṃ-paṭipanno pana mārisa bhikkhu indriya-samvarāya paṭipanno hotīti ?’

‘Cakkhu-viññeyyaṃ rūpaṃ p’ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pi. Sotaviññeyyaṃ saddaṃ p’ahaṃ devānam inda . . . pe . . . Ghānaviññeyyaṃ gandhaṃ p’ahaṃ devānam inda . . . pe² . . . Jivhā-viññeyyaṃ rasaṃ p’ahaṃ devānam inda . . . pe . . . Kāya-viññeyyaṃ phoṭṭhabbaṃ p’ahaṃ devānam inda . . . pe . . . Mano-viññeyyaṃ dhammaṃ p’ahaṃ devānam inda duvidhena vadāmi, sevitabbam pi asevitabbam pīti.’

Evam vutte Sakko devānam indo Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :

‘Imassa kho ahaṃ bhante Bhagavatā saṃ khittena bhāsitaṃ evaṃ vitthāreṇa atthaṃ ājānāmi. Yathārūpaṃ² bhante cakkhu-viññeyyaṃ rūpaṃ³ sevato akusalā dhammā

1. SS omit throughout all the pe’s after the first.

2. B^m K -rūpañ ca kho.

3. SS omit rūpaṃ here, but insert it regularly below ; so B^m K here.

abhivaḍḍhanti kusalā dhammā parihāyanti, evarūpaṃ cakkhu-viññeyyaṃ rūpaṃ na sevitaḥḥaṃ ; yathārūpañ ca kho bhante cakkhu-viññeyyaṃ rūpaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti, evarūpaṃ cakkhu - viññeyyaṃ rūpaṃ sevitaḥḥaṃ. athārūpaṃ ca kho¹ bhante sota-viññeyyaṃ saddaṃ sevato . . . pe . . . ghāṇa - viññeyyaṃ gandhaṃ sevato . . . pe . . . jivhā-viññeyyaṃ rasaṃ sevato . . . pe . . . kāya-viññeyyaṃ phoṭṭhabbaṃ sevato . . . pe . . . mano-viññeyyaṃ dhammaṃ sevato sevato akusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti kusalā dhammā parihāyanti, evarūpo mano-viññeyyo dhammo na sevitaḥḥo. Yathā-rūpañ ca kho bhante mano-viññeyyaṃ dhammaṃ sevato akusalā dhammā parihāyanti kusalā dhammā abhivaḍḍhanti, evarūpo mano-viññeyyo dhammo sevitaḥḥo—Imasa kho me bhante Bhagavatā saṃkhittena bhāsitaṃ evaṃ vitthāreṇa atthaṃ ājānato² tiṇṇā m'ettha kaṅkhā vigatā kathañkathā Bhagavto pañha-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā ti.'

5. So Sakka, expressing his pleasure and appreciation, asked a further question of the Exalted One :— 'But how, sir, has that bhikkhu gone about who has acquired control of his faculties ?'

'I say, ruler of gods, that the objects of the senses—visible, audible, odorous, sapid, tangible and mental objects³—are twofold, according as they are to be followed after or avoided.'

Then said Sakka to the Exalted One:— 'I, sir, understand the details of that which you have told me in outline. Those sense-objects which are not to be followed are such as cause bad qualities to develop and good qualities to diminish ; and those sense-objects which have the opposite effect are to be followed after. And because I can thus understand in detail the

1. SS omit here.

2. SS ājānato ; B^m ājānato ; K ājānanto.

3. According to Buddhist psychology, these are not ideas as distinct from impressions, but are *any* presentations or objects of consciousness, whether on occasion of sense or of reflexion, *at that stage* when mind 'turns toward' the object and 'receives' it (āvajjana, sampa-ticchana).

meaning of that which the Exalted One has told me in outline, I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, now that I have heard the Exalted One's answer to my question.'

6. Iti ha Sakko devānam indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā Bhagavantam uttarim pañham apucchī :

'Sabbe va nu kho mārisa samaṇa-brāhmaṇā ekanta-vādā ekanta-sīlā ekanta-chandā ekanta-ajjhosānā ti ?'

'Na kho devānam inda sabbe samaṇa-brāhmaṇā ekanta-vādā ekanta-sīlā ekanta-chandā ekanta-ajjhosānā ti.'

'Kasmā pana mārisa na sabbe samaṇa-brāhmaṇā ekanta-vādā ekanta-sīlā ekanta-chandā ekanta-ajjhosānā ti?'

'Aneka-dhātu nānā-dhātu kho devānam inda, loko. Tasmim anekadhātu¹ - nānādhātusmim loke yaṃ yad eva² sattā dhātum abhinivisanti taṃ tad eva³ thāmasā parāmassa⁴ abhinivissa⁵ voharanti : "Idam eva saccaṃ mogham aññan ti." Tasmā na sabbe samaṇa-brāhmaṇā ekanta-vādā ekanta-sīlā ekanta-chandā ekanta-ajjhosānā ti.'

'Sabbe va nu kho mārisa samaṇa-brāhmaṇā accanta-niṭṭhā accanta-yogakkhemī accanta-brahmacārī accanta-pariyosānā ti ?'

'Na kho devānam inda samaṇa-brāhmaṇā accanta-niṭṭhā accanta-yogakkhemī accanta-brahmacārī accanta-pariyosānā ti.'

'Kasmā pana mārisa na sabbe samaṇa-brāhmaṇā accanta-niṭṭhā accanta-yogakkhemī accanta-brahmacārī accanta-pariyosānā ti ?'

'Ye kho te⁶ devānam inda samaṇ-brāhmaṇā⁷ taṇhā-saṅkhaya-vimuttā, te accanta-niṭṭhā accanta-yogakkhemī

1. K anekadhātusmim.

2. K yaṃ yaṃ deva.

3. K taṃ taṃ deva.

4. S^d ap^o; B^m K parāmāsā.

5. So SS, S^c corrects to -vessa.

6. S^{ct} omit.

7. S^{ct} omit. The Samyutta (iii. 13), when twice quoting this sentence, has it, but not kho nor devānam inda.

accanta-brahmacārī accanta-pariyosānā.¹ Tasmā na sabbe samaṇ-brāhmaṇā accanta-niṭṭhā accanta-yogakkhemī accanta-brahmacārī accanta-pariyosānā ti.’

Itthaṃ Bhagavā Sakkassa devānam indassa pañhaṃ puṭṭho vyākāsi. Attamano Sakko devānam Indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandi anukodi : ‘Evam etaṃ Bhagavā, evam etaṃ Sugata, tiṇṇā m’ettha kaṅkhā, vigatā kathaṇ-kathā, Bhagavato pañha-veyyākaraṇaṃ sutvā ti.’

6. So Sakka, expressing his pleasure and appreciation, asked a further question of the Exalted One:— ‘Are all recluses and brahmins, sir, wholly of one creed, one practice, one persuasion², one aim ?’

‘No, ruler of gods, they are not.’

‘But why, sir, are they not ?’

‘Of many and divers elements, ruler of gods, is this world composed. And that being so, people naturally incline to adhere to one or another of those elements ; and to whichever it be they, being so inclined, become strongly and tenaciously addicted, holding that “just *this* is true, the rest is foolish.” And therefore it is that recluses and brahmins are not all wholly of one creed, one practice, one persuasion, one aim.’

‘Are all recluses and brahmins, sir, perfectly proficient, perfectly saved, living perfectly the best life³, have they attained the right ideal⁴ ?’

‘No, ruler of gods, they are not all so.’

‘Why, sir, are they not all so ?’

‘Those recluses and brahmins, ruler of gods, who are set free through the entire destruction of craving, only they are perfectly proficient, only they are perfectly saved, only they are

1. S. iii. 13, *adds each time* seṭṭhā deva-manussānaṃ.

2. Ekantacchandā, lit. of one desire, will or purpose ; but equated by the Cy. with ekaladdhikā, of one heresy.

3. Accanta-brahmacārī = ‘setthatthena brahmaṇ ariyamaggaṃ caratūti.’ Cy. ‘Walking in the highest, Aryan Path.’

4. Accanta-pariyosānā = ‘pariyosānaṃ ti nibbānaṃ.’ Cy. ‘The ideal’ is a free rendering, the term meaning the end, goal or climax.

living perfectly the best life and have attained the ideal. Therefore is it that not all recluses and brahmins are perfectly proficient, perfectly saved, living perfectly the best life, and have attained the ideal¹.

Such was the fashion of the Exalted One's answer to Sakka's question. And Sakka, delighted with the Exalted One's utterances, expressed his pleasure and appreciation saying :— 'That is so, Exalted One, that is so, O Welcome One ! I have got rid of doubt and am no longer puzzled, through hearing the answer of the Exalted One.'

7. Iti ha Sakko devānam indo Bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinanditvā anumoditvā Bhagavantaṃ etad avoca :

'Ejā bhante rogo ejā eaṇḍo djā sallamaṃ ejā imaṃ purisaṃ parikaḍḍhati² tassa tass' eva bhavassa abhinipphattiya³,³ tasmā ayaṃ puriso uccāvacama āpajjati. Yesāhaṃ bhante pañhānaṃ ito bahiddhā aññesu samaṇa-brāhmaṇesu okāsa-kammam pi nālatthaṃ, te me Bhagavatā vyākata dīgharattānusayino,⁴ yaṇ ca pana me vicikicchā-kathaṅkathā-sallamaṃ taṇ ca Bhagavatā abbūlhan⁵ ti.'

'Abhijānāsi no tvaṃ devānam inda ime pañhe aññe samaṇa-brāhmaṇe pucchittho ti ?'⁶

"Abhijānāmaṃ ahaṃ bhante ime pañhe aññe samaṇa-brāhmaṇe pucchitā ti."

1. This paragraph is quoted as from the Sakka-pañha at Samyutta III, 13. Two unnecessary words are there added at the end of it. Buddhaghosa does not say anything on the discrepancy. The two words are either there added by mistake from Majjhima I, 251, where the phrase recurs, or stood originally in our text here.
2. S^t anti.
3. S^d B^m abhinipphattiya ; K abhinibbattiya ; K (note) abhinipphattiya ti vā pāṭho.
4. S^{dt} B^m-ānusayi ; S^c -ānusāmyi ; K -ānupassatā.
5. S^{cd} asammūlhan. See S.N. 593,779 ; M. i. 139 = A. iii. 84; Vim. Vatthu 83. 9, 10.
6. S^c pucchittāti corrected to pucchitthāti ; S^t B^m pucchitāti ; K pucchitoti. See D. i. 51; sum 158.

‘Yathā-kathaṃ pana te¹ devānam inda vyākamsu,² sace te agaru, bhāsassūti.’

‘Na kho me bhante garu yatth’ assa Bhagavā nisinno Bhaganta-rūpā vā ti.’³

‘Tena hi devānam inda bhāsasaūti.’

‘Ye sâhaṃ⁴ bhante maññāmi samaṇa-brāhmaṇe:⁵ “āraññakā panta⁶ senāsanā” ti⁷ tyāhaṃ upasaṃkamitvā ime pañhe pucchāmi. Te mayā puṭṭhā na sampāyanti, asampāyantā mamaṃ yeva paṭipucchanti: “Ko nāmo āyasmā ti?” Tesāhaṃ puṭṭho vyākaroṃi : “Ahaṃ kho mārisa Sakko devānam indo ti.” Te mamaṃ yena uttarim paṭi pucchanti: “Kim pan’ āyasmā devānam indo⁸ kammaṃ katvā imaṃ ṭhānaṃ tattp to?” Tesahaṃ yathā-sutaṃ yathā-pariyattaṃ dhammaṃ desemi. Te tāvaken’⁹ eva attamanā honti: “Sakko ca no devānam indo diṭṭho, yañ ca no apucchimhā tañ ca no vyākāsaūti.” Te aññadatthu mamaṃ yeva sāvaka sampajjanti, na cāhaṃ tesam, kho pana bhante Bhagavato sāvako, sotāpanno avinipāta-dhamo niyato sambodhi-parāyano ti.’

‘Abhijānāsi no tvaṃ devānam inda ito pubbe evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābha ti?’

‘Abhijānāṃ ahaṃ bhante ito pubbe evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhan ti?’

‘Yathā-kathaṃ pana tvaṃ devānam inda abhijānāsi ito pubbe evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhan ti?’

‘Bhūtapubbaṃ bhante devāsura-saṃgāmo samūpabbulho¹⁰ ahosi. Tasmim kho pana bhante saṃgāme devā

1. S^{cd} omits; Sⁱ me. See Sum 159.

2. S^d vayākariṃsu; B^m byākamsu; K byākariṃsu. See D. i. 51.

3. B^m K -rūpo cāti.

4. Sⁱ yesahaṃ; Sum yassāhaṃ (= sandhi for ye assu ahaṃ). See § 9.

5. B^m K brāhmaṇā.

6. Sⁱ paṇṇa; S^{cd} pantha-; B^m santa-.

7. SS senāsanānīti.

8. B^m K inda.

9. S^c tāvayāken’; B^m K tāvataken.’

10. So SS Sum; B^m K samūpabyulho; K (Sī) samūpabbulho. But see M. i. 253; S. i. 98.

jinim̐su, asurā parājim̐su. Tassa mayham̐ bhante tam̐ samgāmaṃ abhivijinitvā¹ vijita-samgāmassa etad ahosi: “Yā c’ eva dāni dibbā ojā,² yā va³ asura-ojā,⁴ ubhayam⁵ etaṃ⁶ devā paribhuñjissantīti.” Yo kho pana me bhante veda-paṭilābho somanassa-paṭilābho sadaṇḍāvacaro sa-satthāvacaro na nibbidāya na virāgāya na nirodhāya na upasamāya na abhiññāya na sambodhāya na nibbānāya samvattati. Yo kho pana me ayam̐ bhante Bhagavato dhammaṃ sutvā veda-paṭilābho somanassa-paṭilābho, so adaṇḍāvacaro asatthāvacaro ekanta-nibbidāya virāgāya nirodhāya upasamāya abhiññāya sambodhāya nibbānāya samvattatīti.’

7. So Sakka, expressing his pleasure at, and appreciation of the Exalted One’s utterance, spoke thus :— ‘Passion⁷, lord, is disease, passion is a cancer, passion is a dart, passion drags a man about by one rebirth and then another, so that he finds himself now up above now down below. Whereas other recluses and brahmins not of your followers, lord, gave me no opportunity to ask these questions, the Exalted One has answered for me, instructing me at length, so that the dart of doubt and perplexity has by the Exalted One been extracted.’

‘Do you admit to us, ruler of gods, that you have put the same questions to other recluses or brahmins ?’

‘I do, lord.’

‘Then tell me, if it be not inconvenient to you, how they answered you.’

‘It is not inconvenient to me when the Exalted One is seated to hear, or others like him.’

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1. S^{cd} abhivijitva.
 2. S^c mijā ; S^d jā.
 3. B^m K ca.
 4. S^c asurambajā ; S^d K asurā ojā : B^m asūrā ojā.
 5. S^c ubhayacetam̐.
 6. B^m K ettha ; K (Sī) etaṃ.
 7. Ejā = calanatthena tanhā. Cy., i.e. ‘Craving, with respect to the thrill’ (e-motion, corn-motion) caused by it. ‘Passion’ lacks etymological coincidence with the implication of ‘movement’ in ejā, but no other term is forceful enough.

‘Then tell, ruler of gods.’

‘I went to those, lord, whom I deemed to be recluses and brahmins, because they were dwelling in secluded forest abodes, and I asked them those questions. Being asked, they did not withdraw themselves, but put a counter-question to me :— “Who is the venerable one ?” I replied, “I, sir, am Sakka, ruler of gods.” They asked me further :— “What business has brought the venerable ruler of gods to this place ? “Whereupon I taught them the Dharma as I had heard and learnt it. And they with only so much were well pleased saying :— “We have seen Sakka, ruler of gods, and he has answered that which we asked of him ! “And actually, instead of me becoming their disciple, they became mine. But I, lord, am a disciple of the Exalted One, a Stream-winner, who cannot be reborn in any state of woe, and who has the assurance of attaining to enlightenment¹.’

‘Do you admit to us, ruler of gods, that you have ever before experienced such satisfaction and such happiness as you now feel ?’

‘Yes, lord, I do admit it.’

‘And what do you admit, ruler of gods, with regard to that previous occasion ?’

‘In former times, lord, war had broken out between gods and asuras. Now in that fight the gods won and the asuras were defeated. Then when the battle was over, to me the conqueror the thought occurred : “The gods will henceforth enjoy not only celestial nectar but also asura-nectar.” But, lord, the experiencing satisfaction and happiness such as this, which was wrought by blows and by wounds, does not conduce to detachment, nor to disinterestedness, nor to cessation, nor to peace, nor to the higher spiritual knowledge², nor to enlightenment, nor to Nirvana. But this satisfaction, lord, this happiness that I have experienced in

1. Cf. Vol. I, pp. 190-2.

2. Abhiñña, i.e. knowledge of that advanced (abhi-) nature, which is neither conveyed by the channels of sense, nor is occupied with sense-experience as such.

hearing the Dhamma of the Exalted One, this which is not wrought by blows and by wounds does conduce to detachment, to disinterestedness, to cessation, to peace, to spiritual knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nirvana.'

8. 'Kim pana tvaṃ devānam inda atthavaśaṃ sampassamāno¹ evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pavedesīti ?'

'Cha kho ahaṃ bhanto atthavaśo sampassamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pave demi.

'Idh' eva tiṭṭhamānassa deva-bhūtassa me sato Punar² āyu ca³ me laddho evaṃ jānāhi mārīsāti.

'Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante paṭhamam atthavaśaṃ sampassamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pavedemi.

'Cutāhaṃ diviyā kāyā āyuma hitvā amānusaṃ, Amūlho⁴ gabbhamissāmi⁵ yattha me⁶ ramati⁷ mano ti.

'Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante dutiyaṃ atthavaśaṃ sampassamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pavedemi.

'So 'haṃ⁸ amūlha-paṇh'assu viharaṃ sāsane rato, Nāyena⁹ viharissāmi sampajāno paṭissato ti.

'Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante tatiyaṃ atthavaśaṃ sampassamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pavedemi.

1. S^{cd} vary, with samphass^o.

2. K pun' ev'.

3. S^t K va.

4. S^c - l'he.

5. B^m K essāmi.

6. S^t omits.

7. SS K -tī ; B^m -ti.

8. S^{dt} so ahaṃ ; K svāhaṃ.

9. SS kāyena (twice).

‘Ñāyena ca me carato¹ sambodhi ce bhavissati,
Aññātā² viharissāmi sveva³ anto bhavissatīti.⁴

‘Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante catitthaṃ atthavaśaṃ sampas-
samāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ
pavedemi.

‘Citāhaṃ mānusa⁵ kāyā āyuṃ hitvāna mānusaṃ,
Puna devo bhavissāmi deva-lokasmiṃ uttamo ti.

‘Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante pañcamāṃ atthavaśaṃ sam-
passamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ
pavedemi.

‘Te paṇītatarā⁶ devā Akanitṭhā yasassino,⁷
Antime vattamānamhi⁸ so nivāso bhavissatīti.

‘Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante chaṭṭhaṃ atthavaśaṃ sam-
passamāno evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilā-
bhaṃ pavedemi.

‘Imaṃ kho ahaṃ bhante cha atthavaśe sampassamāno
evarūpaṃ veda-paṭilābhaṃ somanassa-paṭilābhaṃ pavedemi.

8. ‘What are the things present to your mind, ruler of
gods, when you confess to experiencing such satisfaction and
such happiness ?’

‘Six are the things present to my mind, lord, that I feel
such satisfaction and happiness :—

‘I who here merely as a god exist
Have [by my acts]⁹ incurred the destiny
To live again once more. Hear, sir, and know !

1. S^t caraṇo ; K parato.

2. S^{cd} aññātāvi ; S^t aññātā.

3. SS seva ; B^m siveva.

4. B^m bhavidassati.

5. S^c man^o.

6. S^t -ro.

7. S^c -sano.

8. S^c vattha^o.

9. Cy. aññena kammavipākena, by another result of action.

'This, lord, is the first meaning implied in what I said.

'Deceasing from the gods I shall forsake
The life that's not of men, and straight shall go
Unerring to that womb I fain would choose.

'This, lord, is the second meaning implied in what I said.

'I who have had my problems rendered clear
And live delighting in His Word, shall then
Live righteously, mindful and self-possessed.

'This, lord, is the third meaning implied in what I said.

'And if into my life thus rightly led
Enlightenment should come, then shall I dwell
As one who Knows, and this shall be the end.

'This, lord, is the fourth meaning implied in what I said.

'Deceasing from the human sphere, I then
Forsake the life of men, and lo! once more
A god I'll be, best in the Deva-world.

'This, lord, is the fifth meaning implied in what I said.

'Finer than Devas are the Peerless Gods¹
All glorious, while my last span of life
Shall come and go 'tis there my home will be.

'This, lord, is the sixth meaning implied in my
confession of experiencing such satisfaction and such hap-
piness.

'These, lord, are the six things present to my mind that I
feel such satisfaction and such happiness.'

9. 'Apariyosita²-saṃkappo vicikicchī³ kathaṃkathī,
Vicārī⁴ dīgham addhānaṃ anvesanto Tathāgataṃ.

1. Those called Akanitthā.

2. S^t aparisoyi.

3. S^c -aṃ ; S^t -iṃ ; B^m -cchā ; K -cchā.

4. B^m vicari ; K vicaraṃ.

Y'assu¹ maññāmi samaṇe² pavivitta-vihārino
 Sambuddho iti maññāno³ gacchāmi te⁴ upāsituṃ⁵
 Kathaṃ ārādhaṇā hoti kathaṃ hoti virādhanā,⁶
 Iti puṭṭhā na sambhonti magge paṭipadāsu ca.
 Tyāssu⁷ yadā maṃ jānanti Sakko devānaṃ āgato,
 Tyāssu⁸ maṃ eva pucchanti kiṃ katvā pāpuṇi⁹
 idaṃ.¹⁰

Tesaṃ yathā suttaṃ dhammaṃ desayāmi¹¹ jane
 suttaṃ,

Ten' ass' attamaṇā¹² honti diṭṭho no Vāsavo ti ca.
 Yadā ca Buddhaṃ¹³ addakkhiṃ¹⁴ vicikicchā¹⁵ - vitā-
 raṇaṃ,

So 'mhi vītabhaya ajja sambuddhaṃ payirūpāsiya.¹⁶
 Taṇhā-sallassa hantāraṃ Buddhaṃ appaṭipuggalaṃ,
 Ahaṃ vande mahāvīraṃ vandāmi¹⁷ ādicca-bandhu-
 naṃ.

Yaṃ karomase¹⁸ Brahmaṇo samaṃ¹⁹ devehi mārisa

1. All MSS. and K and Sum yassa (see page 284, note 5).

2. S^{cd} samaṇo.

3. S^t maññāne : K maññamāno.

4. K (Sī) no.

5. B^m upāsīdatuṃ.

6. S^c -na ; S^t naṃ.

7. S^d K tyassa ; B^m (apparently) tūssu ; and below.

8. S^{cd} K tyassa.

9. papuṇiṃ ; S^d pāpunā ; S^t pāpuṇaṃ ; B^m pāpuṇi ; K pāuṇī.

10. So MSS and K.

11. S^d desissāmi ; B^m desiyāmi.

12. S^d Tenasantamaṇā ; S^t tenassattamaṇā ; B^m K tena attamaṇā.

13. K Sambuddhaṃ.

14. S^c B^m -khi.

15. SS vicikicchā.

16. So SS ; B^m -sayi ; K -sayiṃ.

17. B^m K Buddham.

18. SS B^m karomasi.

19. SS sama.

Tad ajja tuyhaṃ kassāma¹ handa sāmaṃ karoma te.²

Tuvaṃ ev'asi³ sambuddho tuvaṃ satthā anuttaro, Sadevakasmiṃ lokasmiṃ n'atthi te paṭipuggalo ti.'

9. 'With aspirations unfulfilled, perplexed
And doubting, long I wandered seeking him
Who-had-on-That-wise-Thither-Come. Me-thought,
Hermits who dwell secluded and austere
Must sure enlightened be ! To them I'll fare.
"What must I do to win, what doing fail ?"
Thus asked they rede me naught in Path or Ways.
But me, forsooth, whereas they know that I
Who come, am Sakka of the gods, 'tis me
They ask, "What would'st thou that thou comest here?"
Thereat to them I teach, as I have heard,
As all may hear, the Dhamma ; whereat they
Rejoicing cry, forsooth, "Vāsava have we seen !"
But since I've seen the Buddha, seen my doubts
Dispelled, now would I, all my fears allayed,
On him, the Enlightened One, adoring wait.
Him do I worship who hath drawn the dart
Of craving, him the Buddha, peerless Lord.
Hail, mighty hero ! hail, kin to the sun !
E'en as by gods is Brahma revered,
Lo ! even thus to-day we worship thee.
Thou art the Enlightened One, Teacher Supreme
Art thou, nor in the world, with all its heav'ns
Of gods, is any found like unto thee !'

**10. Atha kho Sakko devānam indo Pañcasīkhaṃ gan-
dhabba-puttaṃ āmantesi :**

**'Bhūpakāro kho me⁴ 'si tvam, tāta Pañcasikha, yaṃ
tvam Bhagavantam paṭhamam pasādesi. Tayā tāta paṭhamam**

1. B^m K dassāma.

2. S^d karomato; S^t kamate.

3. B^m tvamevapasi ; K tvameva sivaṃ.

4. S^c omits.

pasāditam¹ pacchā mayam² Bhagavantam dassanāya upasaṃkamimha³ arahantam sammā-sambuddham. Pettike tṭhāne tṭhapayissāmi, Gandhabba-rājā bhavissasi, Bhaddaṇ ca⁴ te Suriya⁵-vaccasaṃ⁶ dammi, sā hi te abhipatthitā⁷ ti.’

Atha kho Sakko devānam indo paṇinā paṭhaviṃ parā masitvā tikkhattum udānam udānesi :

‘Namo tassa Bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa!
Namo tassa Bhagavato arahato sammā-sambuddhassa!
Namo tassa Bhagavato arahato sammāsambud-
dhassāti.’⁸

Imasmiṃ ca pana veyyākaraṇasmim bhaññamāne Sak-
kassa devānam indassa virajam vītamalam dhamma-cakkuṃ
udapādi: ‘Yaṃ kiñci samudaya-dhammam sabban tam
nirodha-nirodha-dhamman’ ti, aññesaṇ ca asītiyā devatā-
sahassānam. Iti ha⁹ Sakkena devānam indena ajjhittā¹⁰ pañhā
puṭṭhā te Bhagavatā vyākatā. Tasmā imassa veyyākaraṇassa
Sakka-paṇho t’ eva¹¹ adhvācanan ti.

10. Then spake Sakka, ruler of gods, to Five-crest of the
Gandhabbas :— ‘Great has been your help to me, dear Five-
crest, in that you first placated the Exalted One. For it was after
you had first placated him, that we were admitted to his presence
to see the Exalted One, the Arahant, Buddha Supreme. I will take
the place of father to you, and you shall be king of the

1. S^d -tā ; B^m -dikam.

2. B^m K add tam.

3. K °imhā.

4. S^{ct} add se ; S^d adds ye.

5. B^m sūriya.

6. B^m K vacchasaṃ.

7. S^c abhipattā, omits ti; S^t abhipattito, corrected to -pattitā ; B^m-
pattitā.

8. This third repetition omitted in SS.

9. B^m K add ye.

10. SS acchariya ; B^m ajjhittāyāhā ; K ajjhittā-

11. B^m tve ; K tveva.

Gandhabbas, and I will give to you Bhaddā, the Sun-maiden, whom you have longed for.'

Then Sakka, touching the earth with his hand to call it to witness, called aloud thrice :—

'Honour to the Exalted One, to the Arahant, to the Buddha Supreme !'

Now while he was speaking in this dialogue, the stainless spotless Eye for the Truth arose in Sakka, the ruler of the gods, to wit : 'Whatsoever thing can come to be, that must also cease to be¹.' And this happened also to eighty thousand of devas besides.

Such were the questions which Sakka was invited to ask, and which were explained by the Exalted One². Therefore has this dialogue the name of 'The Questions of Sakka.'

Sakka-Pañha-Suttaṃ nitthitaṃ.³

Here the end of Sakya Pañha Sutta.

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1. See Vol. I, p. 184.
 2. 'Was invited' is doubtful. Sakka had not been invited to put any particular questions. Leave had been granted him generally to put any question he liked. Yet the editions printed in Siam and Ceylon read 'the invited questions put.' Buddhaghosa reads *ajjhittā*. It is doubtful whether the her reading (*ajjitthā*) could be properly applied to a question. In Vin. I, 113 it is applied to a person who is invited to speak. It looks here like a conjectural emendation of a *lectio difficilior*.
 3. B^m K *suttaṃ aṭṭhamāṃ*.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Mahā Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta.

The twenty second is the Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta. In it the Blessed one urges his disciples to set up mindfulness (Sati). The doctrine expounded in this Sutta may be said to be very important in early Buddhism. The Aryan Path is obtained by practising mindfulness only. It then discussed four types of meditation on impurities and impermanency of body and impermanency of vedana (sensation), citta (thought) and dhamma (condition).

This Sutta Speaks of the five hindrances, seven parts of wisdom, four truths, five khandhas or aggregates, and the various stages breaks up in the Majjhima Nikāya into two Portions each representing a separate discourse such as satipaṭṭhana (chapter on Sati). and Saccavibhaṅga (exposition of truth).

xxii. Mahā-Satipaṭṭhāna Sutta*

Setting-up of Mindfulness

1. Evam me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Kurūsu viharati. Kam-māssadhammaṃ¹ nāma Kurūnaṃ nigamo. Tatra kho Bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi 'Bhikkhavo' to. 'Bhadante'² ti to bhikkhū Bhagavato paccassosum Bhagavā etad avoca :

³Ekāyano ayaṃ bhikkhave maggo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā soka-pariddavānaṃ⁴ samatikkamāya dukkha-domanas-sānaṃ atthagamāya⁵ nāyassa⁶ adhigamāya nibbānassa⁷ sacchikiri-yāya, yadidaṃ cattāro satipaṭṭhānā.

Katame cattāro ? Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāy-ānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā, vineyya loke⁸ abhijjhā-domanassaṃ—vedanāsu vedanānupassī viharati ātāpī samapjāno satimā, vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanassaṃ—citte cittānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā, vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanassaṃ—dhammesu dhammānupassī

* Edited at Colombo, 1883, by Baṭuwan Tuḍāwa, with the old Sanna by Daramiṭipola = Col. Compare also Trenckner's edition of the corresponding text in the Majjhima (i. 55 foll.) = M^l.

1. S^d Col Kammāssad^o; S^{ct} M^l Kammāssadh^o; B^m Kammāssadh^o; K Kammāssadam^o. (See above, p. 55 and M. i. 532.)

2. B^m bhaddante.

3. Quoted Kathā Vatthu 158.

4. B^m K paridevānaṃ (and so K.V.) See M. i. 532.

5. K atthaṅg^o (and so K.V.)

6. B^m nāy^o.

7. Col nibbān^o.

8. Col prints ātāpīsampajāno satimāvineyyaloke.

viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā, vineyya loke abhijjhā-domanassam.¹

1. Thus have I heard. The Exalted One was once staying among the Kurus. Kammāssadhamma is a city of the Kuru country. There the Exalted One addressed the brethren, saying, 'Bhikkhus !' 'Reverend sir !' responded the brethren. And the Exalted One said :

The one and only path, Bhikkhus leading to the purification of beings, to passing far beyond grief and lamentation, to the dying-out of ill and misery, to the attainment of right method², to the realization of Nirvana, is that of the Fourfold Setting up of Mindfulness.³

Which are the Four? Herein⁴, O bhikkhus, let a brother, as to the body, continue so to look upon the body that he remains ardent, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. And in the same way as to feelings, thoughts, and ideas, let him so look upon each, that he remains ardent, self-possessed, and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world.

2. Kathañ ca⁵ bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati ?

1. B^m adds Uddeso niṭhito; K uddesa-vāra-kathā niṭṭhitā; Col. Uddesa-vāram.
2. Nāya. Practical Buddhism is summed up (Majjhima II, 182, 197) as exertion in nāya, dhamma, and kusala (the Method, the Norm, and the Good). Nāya is defined at Samyutta V, 388 as what comes pretty much to our method in philosophy. Above (p. 167) it is rendered System. There, in a very old verse, the Buddha says that seeking after Good he had been a pilgrim through the realm of System and Law, outside of which no victory can be won.
3. See Introduction.
4. The commentarial tradition sees in this word idha, the implication of 'belonging to this order or doctrine or school' (imasmim sāsane), and thus an antithesis to 'ito bahiddhā,' outside this [order] —an expression which occurs immediately after the verse mentioned in the last note.
5. B^m inserts pana.

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu araṇṇa-gato vā rukkhā-mūla-gato vā suñṇāgāra-gato vā nisīdati¹ pallaṅkaṃ ābhujitvā² ujum kāyaṃ paṇidhāya parimukhaṃ satim upatṭgaoetvā. So sato va assasati, sato³ passasati. Dīghaṃ vā assasanto 'Dīghaṃ assasāmīti' pajānāti, dīghaṃ vā passasanto 'Dīghaṃ passasāmīti' pajānāti, Rassam vā passasanto 'Rassam assasāmīti' pajānāti, rassam vā passasanto 'Rassam passasāmīti' pajānāti. 'Sabba-kāya-paṭisaṃvedī assasissāmīti' sikkhati 'Passambhayaṃ kāya-saṃkhāraṃ assasissāmīti' sikkhati, 'passambhayaṃ kāya-saṃkhāraṃ passasissāmīti' sikkhati.⁴

Seyyathā pi bhikkhave dakkho bhamakāro vā bhamakārantevāsī vā dīghaṃ vā añchanto⁵ 'Dīghaṃ añchāmīti' pajānāti, rassam vā añchanto 'Rassam añchamīti' pajānāti, evam eva kho bhikkhave bhikkhu dīhaṃ vā assasanto 'Dīghaṃ assasāmīti' pajānāti, dīghaṃ vā passasanto 'Dīghaṃ passasāmīti' pajānāti, rassam vā assasanto 'Rassam assasāmīti' pajānāti, rassam vā passasanto 'Tassam passasāmīti' pajānāti.⁶ 'Sabbakāya-paṭisaṃvedī assasissamīti' sikkhati, 'sabbakāya-paṭisaṃvedī passasissāmīti' sikkhati. 'Passambhayaṃ kāya-saṃkhāraṃ assasissāmīti' sikkhati, 'passambhayaṃ kāya-saṃkhāraṃ passasissāmīti' sikkhati.

'Iti ajjhataṃ vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati, vāya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim

1. From nisīdati down to rassam passasāmīti pajānāti quoted Yog. Man. p. 5.
2. B^m ābhujitvā.
3. S^c B^m Vin. iii. 70 add va.
4. Vin. iii. 71 adds thirteen similar clauses.
5. S^c B^m K Col M^t añch^o throughout; K (note) añjanto ti pi acchanto ti pi pāṭho; S^{dt} añj^o (but comp. Jāt 1. 192 last lines). The Sanna, p. 12, explains dīrgha mahat bhāṇḍayan liyana kala dingu kirīmen dik koṭa adane.
6. M^t p. 56 has pe for therest of this paragraph. So St here. S^{cd} B^m Col. K. have it in full.

viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammânupassî vā kāyasmim viharati. 'Atthi kāyo' ti vā pan' assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya.¹ Anissito ca viharati na ca kicci loke upādiyati. Evam pi² bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyânupassî viharati.³

2. And how, bhikkhus, does a brother so continue to consider the body ?

⁴ Herein, O bhikkhus, let a brother, going into the forest, or to the roots of a tree, or to an empty chamber, sit down cross-legged, holding the body erect, and set his mindfulness alert⁵.

Mindful let him inhale, mindful let him exhale. Whether he inhale a long breath, let him be conscious thereof; or whether he exhale a long breath, let him be conscious thereof. Whether he inhale a short breath, or exhale a short breath, let him be conscious thereof. Let him practise with the thought 'Conscious of my whole body will I inhale' ; let him practise with the thought 'Conscious of my whole body will I exhale.' Let him practise with the thought 'I will inhale tranquillizing my bodily organism ; let him practise with the thought 'I will exhale tranquillizing my bodily organism.'

Even as a skilful turner, or turner's apprentice, drawing (his string) out at length, or drawing it out short, is conscious that he is doing one or the other, so let a brother practise inhaling and exhaling.

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and exter-

1. B^m K paṭissati-; and onwards, §§ 5-12.

2. B^m adds kho.

3. B^m K add Ānāpāna-pabbam niṭṭhitam. Col has Ānāpāna-sati-kaṇḍam.

4. Quoted Patisambhidā I, 175, and 'Yogāvacara Manual,' p. 1. Each quotation gives a word for word commentary; and so does Sum. I, 210.

5. Parimukham satim upatthapati, literally, 'set up his memory in face of (the object of his thought). The ultimate object is throughout, as the 'Yogāvacara Manual' says, Nirvana. Examples of the subsidiary, changing, objects of thought are given in what follows.

nally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

3. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu gacchanto vā 'Gacchāmīti' pajānāti, thito vā 'Thito 'mhīti' pajānāti, nisinno vā 'Nisinno 'mhīti' pajānāti, sayāno vā 'Sayā-no 'mhīti' pajānāti. Yathā yathā vā pan' assa kāyo paṇihito hoti, tathā tathā naṃ pajānāti.

Iti ajjhataṃ vā kāye kāyānupassī fiharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kayānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati, vāya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati, samudaya-vāya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati. 'Atthi kāyo' ti vā pan' assa sati paccupatthitā hoti yāvad eva nāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evam pi¹ bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati.²

3. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, when he is walking, is aware of it thus :— 'I walk'; or when he is standing, or sitting, or lying down, he is aware of it. However he is disposing the body, he is aware thereof.

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away ; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby estab-

1. B^m adds kho.

2. B^m K add Iriyāpatha-pabbhaṃ niṭṭhitam; Col Iriyā-patha-kaṇḍam.

lished, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

4. *Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu abhikkante paṭikkante sampajāna-kārī hoti. Ālokitē vilokite sampa-jāna-kārī hoti. Sammiñjite¹ pasārite sampajāna-kārī hoti. Saṅghāṭi-patta-cīvara-dhāraṇe sampajāna-kārī hoti. Asite pīte khāyite sāyite sampajāna-kārī hoti. Uccāra-passāvakamme sampajāna-kārī hoti. Gate ṭhite nisinne sutte jāgarite bhāsīte tuṇhī-bhāve sampajāna-kārī hoti.*

Iti ajjhataṃ vā² kāye kāyānupasī viharati bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati, vāyā-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati, samudaya-vāyā-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati. ‘Atthi kāyo’ ti vā pan’ assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva nāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evam pi bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati.³

4. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother—whether he departs or returns, whether he looks at or looks away from, whether he has drawn in or stretched out [his limbs], whether he has donned under-robe, over-robe, or bowl, whether he is eating, drinking, chewing, reposing, or whether he is obeying the calls of nature—is aware of what he is about. In going, standing, sitting, sleeping, watching, talking, or keeping silence, he knows what he is doing.

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that

1. B^m *samiñjite*

2. B^m *omits the rest of the repetition and adds* *Sampajāna-pabbam* *niṭṭhitam.*

3. K *adds* *sampajāna-pabbam niṭṭhitam* ; Col *Catusampajāna-pabbam*.

comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to consider the body.

5. Puna ca param bhikkhave bhikkhu imam eva kāyaṃ uddham pādatalā¹ adho kesa-matthakā taca-pariyantaṃ pūraṃ² nānappakārassa asucino paccavekkhati: 'Atthi imasmim kāye kesā lomā nakhā dantā taco maṃsaṃ nahārū atthi³ atthi-miñjā⁴ vakkam hadayaṃ yakanam kilomakam pihakam papphasam antam anta-guṇam udariyam karīsam pittam semham pubbo lohitaṃ sedo medo assu vasā khelo⁵ siṅghānikā⁶ lasikā muttan ti.'⁷

Seyyathā pi bhikkhave ubhato-mukhā mutoli⁸ pūrā nārā-vihitassa dhaññassa, seyyathādaṃ sālīnaṃ vīhīnaṃ muggānaṃ māsānaṃ tilānaṃ taṇḍulānaṃ, tam enaṃ cakkhumā puriso muñcivā paccavekkheyya: 'Ime sālī, ime vīhī, ime muggā, ime māsā, ime tilā, ime taṇḍulā ti'—evam eva kho bhikkhave bhikkhu imam eva kāyaṃ uddham pādatalā adho kesa-matthakā taca-pariyantaṃ pūraṃ nānappakārassa asucino asucino paccavekkhati: 'Atthi imasmim kāye kesā lomā⁹ nakhā dantā taco maṃsaṃ nahārū atthi atthi atthi-miñjā vakkam hadayaṃ yakanam kilo-makam

1. Col pāpādatalā.

2. K M^t pūran.

3. B^m atthi.

4. B^m K miñjam, and below.

5. Col khelo, and below.

6. Col siṅghānikā, below Siṅghān^o; B^m siṅghan^o.

7. Khuddaka Pāṭha 3 adds matthake matthalungaṃ. This is not in the quotation at S. iv. 111.

8. B^m M^t-oli^o; Col K -oli^o; K (note) pūtolī ti pi pāṭho.

9. B^m . . . pa . . . muttan ti.

pihakam papphāsam antam anta-guṇam udariyam karīsam
pittam semham pubbo lohitaṃ sedo medo assu vasā kheḷo
siṅghānikā lasikā muttan ti.¹

Iti ajjhataṃ vā¹ kāye kāyānupassī viharati, bahiddhā
vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā kāye
kāyānupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammānupassī vā
kāyasmim viharati, vāyā-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim
viharati, samudaya-vāyā-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim
viharati. 'Atthi kayo ti' vā pan' assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti
yāvad eva nāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca
viharati, na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evam pi bhikkhave
bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati.²

5. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother reflects upon tills
very body, from the soles of his feet below upward to the crown
of his head, as something enclosed in skin and full of divers
impurities :— 'Here is in this body hair and down, nails, teeth,
skin, flesh, sinews, bones, marrow, kidney, heart, liver, mem-
branes, spleen, lungs, stomach, bowels, intestines ; excrement,
bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, serum, saliva, mucus,
synovial fluid, urine.'

Just as if there were a double-mouthed sample-bag³,
bhikkhus, full of various sorts of grain, such as rice, paddy,
beans, vetches, sesamum or rice husked for boiling ; and a keen-
eyed man were to reflect as he poured them out:— 'That's rice,
that's paddy, those are beans,' and so forth. Even so, bhikkhus,
does a brother reflect upon the body, from the soles of the feet

1. B^m omits from here as before, and adds Paṭikula-manasikāra-pabbam
niṭṭhitam.
2. K adds Paṭikūla-manasikāra-pabbam niṭṭhitam ; Col Paṭikkula-
manasikāra-kaṇḍam.
3. Mutoli. Buddhaghosa has no explanation. But Dhammitipola says
mallak pasumbiyak, that is, a small bag, such as is used by grain
merchants for keeping samples in. The particular kind meant is
kept tied up with string at both ends, and either end can be opened.
The word only occurs in this connexion (here, and at M. I, 57 ; III,
90). The spelling of the word is uncertain.

below upward to the crown of the head, as something enclosed in skin and full of divers impurities.

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

6. Puna ca param bhikkhave bhikkhu imam eva kāyaṃ yathā-ñhiṭaṃ yathā-paṇiṭitaṃ dhātuso¹ paccavekkhati : 'Atthi imasmiṃ kāye paṭhavī-dhātu āpo-dhātu tejo-dhātu vāyo-dhātūti.'

Seyyathāpi bhikkhave dakkho go-ghātako vā goghātak-antevāsī vā gāviṃ vadhitvā cātummahāpathe bilaso² paṭi-vibhajitvā³ nisinno assa, evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave bhikkhu imam eva kāyaṃ yathā-ñhiṭaṃ yathā-paṇiṭitaṃ dhātuso paccavekkhati: 'Atthi imasmiṃ kāye paṭhavī-dhātu āpodhātu tejo-dhātu vāyo-dhātūti.'

Iti ajjhataṃ vā⁴ kāye kāyānupassī viharati,⁵ bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmīṃ viharati, vāya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmīṃ viharati, samudaya-vāya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmīṃ viharati. 'Atthi kāyo ti' vā pan' assa sati paccuṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva nāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati

1. So SS.

2. K vil^o.

3. S^{ct} paṭibhajitvā; B^m vibhajitvā (sic).

4. K here inserts pe, down to viharati, and then adds Dhātu, &c. as in B^m.

5. B^m closes the section here, Dhātu-manasikāra-pabbāṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.

na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evam pi phikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati.¹

6. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother reflects upon this very body, however it be placed or disposed, with respect to its fundamentals :— ‘There are in this body the four primary elements of earth, water, heat, and air.’ Just as a cattle-butcher, or his apprentice, when he has slain an ox, displays the carcass piecemeal at the crossways as he sits, even so, bhikkhus, does a brother reflect upon this very body . . . with respect to its fundamental constituents . . .

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away ; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that ‘There is the body,’ mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

7. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu seyyathā pi pas-seyya sarīraṃ sīvathikāya chaḍḍitaṃ ekābamataṃ vā dvthamataṃ vā tihamataṃ vā uddhumātakaṃ vinilakaṃ vipubbaka-jātaṃ, so imam eva kāyaṃ upasaṃharati: ‘Ayam pi kho kāyo evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-bhāvī etaṃ² anatīto ti.

Iti ajjhataṃ vā³ kāye kāyānupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati, vāyā-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati, samudaya-vāyā-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati. ‘Atthi kāyo ti’ vā pan’ assa sati paccupatṭhitā hoti yāvad eva nāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati

1. Cho Dhātu-manasikāra-kaṇḍaṃ.

2. S^d (here only) ; B^m M. iii. 91 evam; S^c evam corrected to etaṃ.

3. B^m K omit the rest, but adds no title to the section.

na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evam pi bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati.¹

7. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, just as if he had seen a body abandoned in the charnel-field, dead for one, two, or three days, swollen, turning black and blue, and decomposed, applies that perception to this very body (of his own), reflecting : 'This body, too, is even so constituted, is of even such a nature, has not got beyond that (fate).'

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away ; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

8. Puna ca param bhikkhave bhikkhu seyyathā pi passeyya sarīraṃ sīvathikāya chaḍḍitam kākehi vā khajjamānaṃ kulalehi vā khajjamānaṃ giḍḍhehi vā khajja-mānaṃ supāṇehi² vā khajjamānaṃ sigālehi vā khajja mānaṃ vividhehi³ vā pāṇaka-jātehi khajjamānaṃ, so imam eva kāyaṃ kāyaṃ upasaṃharati: 'Ayam pi kho kāyo evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-bhāvī etaṃ anatīto ti.'

Iti ajjhataṃ vā⁴ kāye kāyānupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati Samudaya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati, vāya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim

1. Col adds Paṭhamam sīvathikaṃ.

2. SS Col supāṇehi ; S^y at M. iii. 91 supāṇehi; B^m kaṅkhehi; K M. iii. 91 suvāṇehi.

3. B^m adds Sunakhehi vā khajjamānaṃ, byagghehi vā khajjamānaṃ, dipīhi (sic) vā khajjamānaṃ. Comp. Yog. Man. 55.

4. B^m omits to close of section.

viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati. 'Atthi kāyo ti' vā pan' assa sat ipaccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva nāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati, na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ pi bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati.

8. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, just as if he had seen a body abandoned in the charnel-field pecked by crows, ravens, or vultures, gnawn by dogs or jackals or by various small creatures, applies that perception to this very body (of his own), reflecting: 'This body, too, is even so constituted, is of such a nature, has not got beyond that (fate).'

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

9. Puna ca param bhikkhave bhikkhu seyyathā pi passeyya sarīraṃ sīvathikāya chadditaṃ atthi-saṃkhali-kam¹ sa-maṃsa-lohitam nahāru²-sambandham,³ . . . pe . . . atthi-saṃkhalikam nimmaṃsam nimmaṃsam lohitamakkhiam⁴ nahāru-sambandham,⁵ . . . pe . . . atthi-saṃkhalikam⁶ apagata-

1. S^c Col K atthi-; so SS below; S^{cd} (here only) M^t, M. iii. 91, B^m atthika.
2. B^m nhāru, and below.
3. Col completes "so imam," &c., and then has a fresh beginning and close for each succeeding clause. B^m inserts pa; K pe.
4. All MSS. and edition nimmaṃsa-; Col lohitamak-khittam. Comp. M.i. 364.
5. B^m inserts pa; K pe.
6. B^m M^t atthika-.

maṃsa-lohitam nahāru-sambandham¹ . . . pe . . . atṭikāni
 apagata-sambandhāni² disā-vidisāsu³ vikkhittāni aññena
 hatthaṭṭhikam aññena pādaṭṭhikam⁴ aññena jaṅghaṭṭhikam
 aññena ūraṭṭhikam⁵ aññena kaṭaṭṭhikam⁶ aññena piṭṭhi-
 kaṇṭakam⁷ aññena sīsa-kaṭāham, so imam eva kāyam
 upasaṃharati : ‘Ayam pi kho kāyo evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-bhāvī
 etaṃ⁸ anatīto ti.’

Iti ajjhataṃ vā⁹ kāye kāyānupassī viharati, bahiddhā
 vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā kāye
 kāyānupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammānupassī vā kāya-
 miṃ viharati, vāya-dhammānupassī vā kāyasmim viharati,
 samudaya - vāya - dhammānupassī kāyasmim viharati. ‘Atthi
 kāyo’ ti’ vā pan’assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva nāṇa-
 mattāya patissati-mattāyo. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci
 loke upādiyati. Evam pi bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī
 viharati.

9. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, just as if he had
 seen a body abandoned in the charnel-field [reduced to] a chain
 of bones hanging together by tendons, with flesh and blood yet

1. B^m inserts pa ; K pe.
2. S^t sambandhanāni; K apagatanahārusambandhāni. K (Sī) apagatasambandhāni, imasmin ca pabbe hatthaṭṭhi-kam pādaṭṭhikam jaṅghaṭṭhikam ūraṭṭhikam kaṭaṭṭhi-kam piṭṭhikaṇṭakanti evaṃ pāṭhakkamo dissati.
3. So S^{dt} Col M. iii 92; S^c vidisā corrected to vidisāsu; K M^t vidisā.
4. B^m inserts aññena goppakaṭṭhikam [? intendd for goppak^o].
5. So SS M^t Col; B^m K ūruṭṭhikam.
6. M. iii. 92 and B^m kaṭiṭṭhikam; B^m adds aññena phāsukaṭṭhikam; K kaṭhaṭṭhikam.
7. So S^t Col M^t S^{cd} kaṇṭhakam; B^m piṭṭhiṭṭhikam, and adds aññena khandhaṭṭhikam aññena gīvaṭṭhikam aññena hanukaṭṭhikam aññena dantaṭṭhikam; K piṭṭhaṭṭhikam, and adds aññena kaṇṭakaṭṭhikam aññena phāsukaṭṭhikam aññena ūraṭṭhikam aññena aṃsaṭṭhikam aññena bāhuṭṭhikam aññena gīvaṭṭhikam aññena hanukaṭṭhikam aññena dantaṭṭhikam.
8. S^{dt} Col etaṃ, so Tr ; S^c evaṃ corrected to etaṃ; B^m evaṃ.
9. B^m omits the rest.

about it, or stripped of flesh but yet spotted with blood ; or cleaned of both flesh and blood ; or reduced to bare bones, loosed from tendons, scattered here and there, so that the bones of a hand lie in one direction, in another the bones of a foot, in another those of a leg, in another a thigh bone, in another the pelvis, in another the spinal vertebrae, in another the skull, applies that perception to this very body (of his own) reflecting: 'This body, too, is even so constituted, is of such a nature, has not got beyond that (fate).'

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother continue to regard the body.

10. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu seyyathā pi passeyya sarīraṃ sīvathikāya-chadditaṃ aṭṭhikāni setāni saṅkha-vaṇṇūpanibhāni,¹ . . . pe . . . aṭṭhikāni puñja kitāni² therovassikāni,³ . . . pe . . . aṭṭhikāni pūtīni⁴ cuṇṇaka-jātāni, so imam eva kāyaṃ upasaṃharati: 'Ayam pi kho kāyo evaṃ-dhammo evaṃ-bhāvī etaṃ anatīto ti.'

Iti ajjhataṃ vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā kāye kāyānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā kāye

1. Col vaṇṇūpanibhāni so imam, etc. ; B^m vaṇṇapaṭi-bhāgāni . . . pa . . . ; K saṅkhavaṇṇasannikāni . . . pe . . . ; K (Sī)- vaṇṇūpanibhāni; K (Cy) = B^m.

2. So Col M^t B^m K; S^{cdt} -katāni; M. iii. 92 -puñjaka-jātāni.

3. So M^t B^m K S^d, M. iii. 92, S. iv. 185; S^{ct} Col S. iv. 161 therovassikāni.

4. S^{dt} pūtīkāni.

kāyânupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmim viharati, vāya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmim viharati, samudaya-yaya-dhammânupassī vā kāyasmim viharati. 'Atthi kāyo fi vā pan'assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva nāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādayati. Evaṃ kho bhikkhave kāye kāyânupassī viharati.¹

10. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, just as if he had seen a body abandoned in the charnel-field, [reduced to] white bones the colour of a sea-shell . . . or to a mere heap of bones a year old . . . or to rotten powder, this perception does he apply to this very body (of his own) reflecting :— 'This body too is even so constituted, is of such a nature, has not got beyond that (fate).'

So does he, as to the body, continue to consider the body, either internally or externally, or both internally and externally. He keeps on considering how the body is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the body is something that passes away; or again he keeps on considering the coming to be with the passing away ; or again, conscious that 'There is the body,' and mindfulness hereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to the body, continue to consider the body.

11. Kathañ ca² bhikkhave bhikkhu vedanāsu vedanânupassī viharati ?

Inda bhikkhave bhikkhu sukhaṃ³ vedanaṃ vediya-māno⁴ 'Sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmīti' pajānāti, dukkhaṃ⁵

1. B^m adds Nava-sivathika-pabbam niṭṭhitam. Cuddasa kāyânupassanā niṭṭhitā. K adds Navasivathikāpabbam niṭṭhitam Kāyânupassanā niṭṭhitā. Col. Navamaṃ sīvathikaṃ. Kāyânupassanā-satipaṭṭhānām.

2. B^m adds pana.

3. B^m K add vā.

4. B^m K vedayamāno, and so onwards.

5. B^m K add vā

vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmīti' pajānāti. Adukkhamasukhaṃ¹ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Adukkhamasukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmīti' pajānāti. Sāmisam vā sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Sāmisam sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmīti' pajānāti. Nirāmisam vā sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Nirāmisam sukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmīti' pajānāti. Sāmisam vā dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Sāmisam dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmīti' pajānāti. Nirāmisam vā dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Nirāmisam dukkhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmīti' pajānāti. Sāmisam vā adukkhamasukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Sāmisam adukkhamasukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmīti' pajānāti. Nirāmisam vā adukkhamasukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyamāno 'Nirāmisam adukkhamasukhaṃ vedanaṃ vediyāmīti' pajānāti.

Iti ajjhataṃ vā vedanāsu vedanānupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā vedanāsu vedanānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā vedanāsu vedanānupassī, viharati. Samudya-dhammānupassī vā vedanāsu viharati, vāya-dhammānupassī vā vedanāsu viharati, samudaya-vāya-dhammānupassī vā vedanāsu viharati. 'Atthi vedanā ti' vā pan' assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito va viharati na ca kiñci loka upādiyati. Evaṃ² kho bhikkhave bhikkhu vedanāsu vedanānupassī viharati.³

11. And how, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to the feelings, continue to consider the feelings ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, is a brother when affected by a feeling of pleasure, aware of it, reflecting : 'I feel a pleasurable feeling.' So, too, is he aware when affected by a painful feeling, or by a neutral feeling, or by a pleasant or painful or neutral feeling concerning material things, or by a pleasant or painful or neutral feeling concerning spiritual things.

1. B^m K add vā.

2. B^m adds pi.

3. B^m K add Vedanānupassanā niṭṭhitā. Col. adds Vedanānupassanā-satipaṭṭhānam.

So does he, as to the feelings, continue to consider feeling, both internally and externally, or internally and externally together. He keeps on considering how the feelings are something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how the feelings are something that passes away, or he keeps on considering their coming to be with their passing away. Or again, with the consciousness : 'There is feeling,' mindfulness thereof becomes thereby established far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-collectedness. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, with respect to the feelings, continue to consider feeling.

12. Kathañ ca¹ bhikkhave bhikkhu citte cittānupassī viharati ? Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu²

sarāgaṃ vā cittaṃ 'sarāgaṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
vītarāgaṃ³ vā cittaṃ 'vītarāgaṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
sadosaṃ vā cittaṃ 'sadosaṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
vītadosaṃ vā cittaṃ 'vītadosaṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
samohaṃ vā cittaṃ 'samohaṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
vītamohaṃ vā cittaṃ 'vītamohaṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
saṃkhittaṃ vā cittaṃ 'saṃkhittaṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
vikkhittaṃ vā cittaṃ 'vikkhittaṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
mahaggataṃ vā cittaṃ 'mahaggataṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
amahaggataṃ vā cittaṃ 'amahaggataṃ cittaṃ ti'
pajānāti,

sa-uttaraṃ vā cittaṃ 'sa-uttaraṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
anuttaraṃ vā cittaṃ 'anuttaraṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
samāhitaṃ vā cittaṃ 'samāhitaṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
asamāhitaṃ vā cittaṃ 'asamāhitaṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
vimuttaṃ vā cittaṃ 'vimuttaṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,
avimuttaṃ vā cittaṃ 'avimuttaṃ cittaṃ ti' pajānāti,

Iti ajjhataṃ vā citte cittānupassī viharati, bahiddhā
vā citte cittānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā citte

1. B^m adds pana.

2. See Vol. i. p. 80.

3. B^m vita^o.

cittānupassī viharati. Samudya-dhammānupassī vā cittaṃ viharati, vāya-dhammānupassī vā cittaṃ viharati, samudaya-vāya-dhammānupassī vā cittaṃ viharati. 'Atthi cittaṃ ti' vā paṇ'assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva nāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ¹ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu citte cittānupassī viharati.²

12. And how, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to thought, continue to consider thought³ ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, if his thought be lustful, is aware that it is so, or if his thought be free from lust, is aware that it is so ; or if his thought be full of hate, or free from hate, or dull, or intelligent, or attentive, or distraught, or exalted, or not exalted, or mediocre, or ideal, or composed, or discomposed, or liberated, or bound, he is aware in each case that his thought is so, reflecting : 'My thought is lustful,' and so on.

So does he, as to thought, continue to consider thought, internally or externally, or internally and externally together. He keeps on considering how thought is something that comes to be, or again he keeps on considering how a thought is something that passes away, or again he ever considers its coming to be and passing away together. Or again, with the consciousness: 'There is a thought,' mindfulness thereof becomes thereby established, far enough for the purposes of knowledge and of self-possession. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, with respect to thought, continue to consider thought.

1. B^m adds pi.

2. B^m K add Cittānupassanā ṇiṭṭhitā. Col adds Cittānupassanā satipaṭṭhānaṃ.

3. Citta. The reader is reminded that 'thought' is used here for citta in the widest sense possible to that term, such as is intended when, in the Christian tradition, it is made to complement the 'word and deed' of the Epistles. And as such it is 'thinking' rather than 'what is thought,' that should be understood.

13. Kathañ ca¹ bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati pañcasu nīvaraṇesu.

Kathaṇ ca² bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī vihaati pañcasu nīvaraṇesu ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu santaṃ vā ajjhataṃ kāmaccandaṃ ‘Atthi me ajjhataṃ kāmaccando ti’ pajānāti, asantaṃ vā ajjhataṃ kāmaccandaṃ ‘N’atthi me ajjhataṃ kāmaccando ti’ pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannassa kāmaccandassa uppādo hoti taṇ ca pajānāti, yathā ca uppannassa kāmaccandassa pahānaṃ hoti taṇ ca pajānāti, yathā ca pahīnassa kāmaccandassa āyatim anuppādo hoti taṇ ca pajānāti.

Santaṃ vā ajjhataṃ vyāpādaṃ³ ‘Atthi me ajjhataṃ vyāpādo ti’ pajānāti, asantaṃ vā ajjhataṃ vyāpādaṃ ‘N’atthi me ajjhataṃ vyāpādo ti’ pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannassa vyāpādassa uppādo hoti taṇ ca pajānāti, yathā ca uppannassa vyāpādassa pahānaṃ hoti taṇ ca pajānāti, yathā ca pahīnassa vyāpādassa āyatim anuppādo hoti taṇ ca pajānāti.

Santaṃ vā ajjhataṃ thīna-middhaṃ ‘Atthi me ajjhataṃ thīna-middhan ti’ pajānāti, asantaṃ vā ajjhataṃ thīna-middhaṃ ‘N’atthi me ajjhataṃ thīnamiddhan ti’ pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannassa thīnamiddhassa uppādo hoti taṇ ca pajānāti, yathā ca uppannassa thīna-middhassa pahānaṃ hoti taṇ ca pajānāti, yathā ca pahīnassa thīna-middhassa āyatim anuppādo hoti taṇ ca pajānāti.

Santaṃ vā ajjhataṃ uddhacca-kukkuccaṃ ‘Atthi me ajjhataṃ uddhacca-kukkuccan ti’ pajānāti, asantaṃ vā ajjhataṃ uddhacca-kukkuccaṃ ‘N’atthi me ajjhataṃ uddhacca-kukkuccan ti’ pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannassa uddhacca-kukkuccassa uppādo hoti taṇ ca pajānāti, yathā ca uppannassa uddhacca-kukkuccassa pahānaṃ hoti taṇ ca

1. B^m adds pana.

2. B^m adds pana.

3. B^m K M^t byāpādaṃ.

pajānāti, yathā ca pahīnassa uddhacca-kukkuccassa āyatim anuppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti.

Santaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ vicikicchāṃ ‘Atthi me ajjhattaṃ vicikicchā ti’ pajānāti, asantaṃ vā ajjhattaṃ vicikicchāṃ ‘N’atthi me ajjhattaṃ vicikicchā ti’ pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannāya vicikicchāya uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca uppannāya vicikicchāya pahānaṃ hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca pahīnāya vicikicchāya āyatim anuppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti.

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammānupassī vā dhammesu vihaati, vāya-dham-mānupassī vā dhammesu viharati, samudaya-vāya-dham-mānupassī vā dhammesu viharati. ‘Atthi¹ dhammā ti’ vā pañ’assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva nāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ² kho bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati pañcasu nīvaraṇesu.³

13. And how, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to ideas⁴, continue to consider ideas ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider ideas from the point of view of the Five Hindrances⁵.

And how, bhikkhus, does a brother, as to ideas, continue to consider ideas relating to the Five Hindrances⁵ ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, when within him is sensuous desire, is aware of it, reflecting: ‘I have within me sensuous desire.’ Or again, when within him is no sensuous desire, he is aware of this. And he knows of the uprising of such desire unfelt before, knows too of his putting aside that uprisen sensuous

1. S¹ ati.

2. B^m K add pi.

3. B^m adds Nīvaraṇa-pabbāṃ niṭṭhitāṃ. K adds Nīv^opabbāṃ niṭṭhitāṃ. Col adds Nīvaraṇa-niddesaṃ.

4. Dhammā. See Introduction.

5. Literally, ‘in the Five Hindrances.’

desire, knows too of the non-arising in future of that banished sensuous desire.

[The paragraph is repeated of ill-will, sloth and torpor, flurry and worry, and doubt.]

So does he, as to ideas, continue to consider them, both internally or externally, or internally and externally together. He ever considers how an idea is a thing that comes to be, again he ever considers how an idea is a thing that passes away, or he ever considers their coming to be with their passing away ; or again, with the consciousness : ‘There is such and such an idea,’ mindfulness thereof is thereby established, far enough for purposes of knowledge and of self-possession. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, with respect to dispositions, continue to consider dispositions in the case of the Five Hindrances.

14. Puna ca param bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati pañcas’¹ upādānakkhandhesu.

Kathaṇ ca bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati pañcas’ upādānakkhandhesu ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu ‘Iti rūpaṃ, iti rūpassa samudayo, iti rūpassa atthagamo²—iti vedanā, iti vedanāya samudayo iti vedanāya atthagamo—iti saññā, iti saññāya samudayo, iti saññāya atthagamo—iti saṃkhārā, iti saṃkhārāṇaṃ samudayo, iti saṃkhārāṇaṃ atthagamo—iti viññāṇaṃ, iti viññāṇassa samudayo, iti viññāṇassa atthagamo ti,’³ Iti ajjhataṃ vā dhammesu dham-mānupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā vā dhammesu dham-mānupassī viharati. Samudaya-dhammānupassī vā dhammesu viharati, vāya-dhammānupassī vā dhammesu viharati, samudaya-vāya-dhammānupassī vā dhammesu viharati. ‘Atthi dhammā ti’ vā pan’ assa sati paccupaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva nāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati.

1. So SS M^t Col throughout ; B^m K pañcasu throughout.

2. B^m K atthaṅgamo throughout.

3. S^{ct} B^m omīti ti.

Evam¹ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati pañcas' upādānakkhandhesu.²

14. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider these from the point of view of the Five Skandhas of Grasping. And how, bhikkhus, does he so consider them ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother reflects : 'Such is material form, such is its genesis, such its passing away; such is feeling—perception—the mental activities— such is cognition, its genesis, its passing away.

So does he, as to dispositions, continue to consider them,

.....

15. Puna ca param bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati hasu ajjhattika - bāhiresu āyatanesu.

Kathañ ca³ bhikkhave bhikkhu dhamesu dhammānupassī viharati chasu ajjhattika-bāhiresu āyatanesu?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu cakkhuñ ca pajānāti, rūpe ca pajānāti, yañ ca ted ubhayaṃ paticca uppajjati saṃyoja-naṃ⁴ tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca anuppannassa saṃyojanassa uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā a uppannassa saṃyojanassa pahānaṃ hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca pahānassa saṃyojanassa āyatim anuppādo hoti tañ ca pajā nāti . . . sotañ ca pajānāti, sadde ca pajānāti . . . pe⁵ . . . ghānañ⁶ ca pajānāti, gandhe ca pajānāti . . . pe . . . jivhañ ca pajānāti, rase ca pajānāti . . . pe . . . kāyañ ca pajānāti, phoṭṭhabbe ca pajānāti . . . pe . . . manañ ca pajānāti, dhamme ca pajānāti, yañ ca tad ubhayaṃ paticca uppajjati saṃyojanam tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca anuppannassa saṃyojanassa uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca uppannassa saṃyojanassa pahānaṃ hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca pahinassa saṃyojanassa āyatim anuppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti.

1. S^{dt} *evam eva*; S^c *has the eva corrected to pi*.

2. B^m K *add* khandha-pabbam niṭṭhitam. Col khandha-niddesaṃ.

3. B^{rh} *adds* pana.

4. K *saññoj^o*, and onwards.

5. S^{cd} Col B^m *repeat* yañ ca tad ubhayaṃ, etc.; and so on in succession. Pe *not in* SS.

6. Col ghānañ.

Iti ajjhattaṃ vā dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati, ajjhatta-bahiddhā vā dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati. Samu-daya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati, vāya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati, samudaya-vāya-dhammânupassī vā dhammesu viharati. ‘Atthi dhammā ti’ vā pan’assa sati paccuppaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva ñāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati ajjhattika-bāhiresu āyatanesu.¹

15. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider ideas from the point of view of the Six Internal and External Spheres of Sense. And how does he do this ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother is aware of the organ of sight, is aware of the objects of sight, and any Fetter which arises on account of them both—of that, too, is he aware ; and how there comes an uprising of a Fetter not arisen before—of that, too, is he aware ; and how there comes a putting-aside of a Fetter that has arisen—of that, too, is he aware ; and how in the future there shall arise no Fetter that has been put aside—of that, too, is he aware.

And so, too, with respect to the organ of hearing and sounds, to the organ of smell and odours, to the organ of taste and tastes, to the organ of touch and tangibles, to the sensorium and images, he is aware of the sense and of the object, of any Fetter which arises on account of both, of how there comes an uprising of a Fetter not arisen before, of how there comes a putting-aside of a Fetter that has arisen, and of how in the future there shall arise no Fetter that has been put aside.

So does he, as to ideas, continue to consider ideas, from the point of view of the Six Internal and External Spheres of Sense.

16. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammânupassī viharati sattasu bojjhaṅgesu.

1. B^m K add Āyatana pabbam niṭṭhitam. Col adds Āyatana niddesaṃ.

Kathañ ca¹ bhikkhave bikkhu dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati sattasu boj्jhañgesu ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu santam vā ajjhataṃ satisam-boj्jhaṅgam ‘Atthi me ajjhataṃ sati-samboj्jhaṅgo ti’ pajānāti. Asantaṃ vā ajjhataṃ sati-samboj्jhaṅgam ‘N’atthi me ajjhataṃ sati-samboj्jhaṅgo ti’ pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannassa sati-samboj्jhaṅgassa uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti; yathā ca uppannassa sati-samboj्jhaṅgassa bhāvanāya² pāripūri hoti tañ ca pajānāti.

. . . santam vā ajjhataṃ dhamma-vicaya-samboj्jhaṅgam . . . pe³ . . .

. . . santam vā ajjhataṃ viriya-samboj्jhaṅgam . . . pe . . .

. . . santam vā ajjhataṃ pīti-samboj्jhaṅgam . . . pe . . .

. . . santam vā ajjhataṃ passaddhi-samboj्jhaṅgam . . . pe . . .

. . . santam vā ajjhataṃ samādhi-samboj्jhaṅgam . . . pe . . .

. . . satam vā ajjhataṃ upekhā⁴-samboj्jhaṅgam ‘Atthi me ajjhataṃ upekhā-samboj्jhaṅgo ti’ pajānāti. Asantaṃ vā ajjhataṃ upekhā-samboj्jhaṅgam ‘N’atthi me ajjhataṃ upekhā-samboj्jhaṅgo ti’ pajānāti. Yathā ca anuppannassa upekhā-samboj्jhaṅgassa uppādo hoti tañ ca pajānāti, yathā ca uppannassa upekhā-samboj्jhaṅgassa bhāvanāya pāripūri hoti tañ ca pajānāti.

Iti ajjhataṃ vā dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati, bahiddhā vā dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhāvā dhammesu dhammānupassī vihaati. Samudaya-dhammānupassī vā dhammesu viharati, vaya-dhammānupassī vā dhammesu viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammānupassī vā dhammesu viharati, samudaya-vaya-dhammānupassī vā

1. B^m adds pana.

2. K M^t bhāvanāpāripūri, and below.

3. B^m Col repeat the whole clause.

4. B^m K upekkhā.

dhammesu viharati. ‘Atthi dhammā ti’ vā pan’assa sati paccuppatthitā hoti yāvad eva nāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ¹ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati sattasu sambojjhaṅgesu.²

16. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider ideas, with respect to the Seven Factors of Enlightenment. And how does he do this ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, if there be present to him subjectively mindfulness as a factor of enlightenment, is aware that it is present. Or if it be absent, he is subjectively aware of its absence. And how there comes an uprising of such mindfulness not hitherto uprisen—of that, too, is he aware ; and how there comes a full development of such mindfulness when it has arisen—of that too is he aware. And so too with respect to the other subjective factors of enlightenment:—search the truth, energy, joy, serenity, rapture, equanimity—he is aware if they are subjectively present, or absent, and he is aware of how there comes an uprising of any factor not hitherto uprisen, and of how there comes a full development of such factors when it has arisen.

So does he, as to ideas, continue to consider ideas from the point of view of the Seven Factors of Enlightenment.

17. Puna ca paraṃ bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati catusu³ ariya-saccesu.

Kathaṃ ca⁴ bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati catusu⁵ ariya-saccesu ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu ‘Idaṃ dukkhan ti’ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti, ‘Ayaṃ dukkha-samudayo ti’ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti, ‘Ayaṃ dukkha-nirodho ti’ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti,

1. B^m K evampi.

2. B^m K add Bojjhaṅga-pabbaṃ niṭṭhitam. K further adds Paṭhamabhāṇavāro. Col adds Bojjhaṅga-niddesaṃ. Paṭhamaka-bhāṇavāraṃ (sic).

3. B^m catūsu.

4. B^m adds pana.

5. B^m catūsu.

‘Ayaṃ dukkha-nirodha-gāmini¹ paṭipadā ti’ yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti.²

17. And moreover, bhikkhus, a brother, as to ideas, continues to consider ideas from the point of view of the Four Aryan Truths. And how does he do this ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother at the thought : ‘This is Ill!’ is aware of it as it really is;—at the thought: ‘This is the coming to be of Ill!’ is aware of it as it really is ;—at the thought : ‘This is the cessation of Ill!’ is aware of it as it really is;—at the thought: ‘This is the way leading to the cessation of Ill!’ is aware of it as it really is.

18. ³ Katamañ ca bhikkhave dukkhaṃ ariya-saccaṃ ?

Jāti pi dukkhā, jarā pi dukkhā [vyādhī pi dukkhā],⁴ maraṇaṃ pi dukkhaṃ, soka-parideva-dukkha-domanass-upāyāsā pi dukkhā,⁵ yam p’ icchaṃ na labhati tam pi dukkhaṃ, saṃkhittena pañcupādānakkhandhā dukkhā.⁶

Katamā ca bhikkhave jāti ? Yā tesam tesam sattānaṃ tamhi tamhi satta-nikāye jāti sañjāti okkanti⁷ abhinibbatti khandhānaṃ pātu-bhāvo āyatanānaṃ paṭilābho, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave jāti.

Katamā ca bhikkhave jara ? Yā tesam sattā-nam tamhi tamhi satta-nikāye jarā jīranatā⁸ khaṇḍiccaṃ paliccaṃ valittacatā⁹ ayuno saṃhami¹⁰ indriyānaṃ paripāko, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhav jarā.

1. SS *often* gāmini; B^m gāmiṇi.

2. B^m *adds* Paṭhama-Bhānavāraṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.

3. *The following sections are not in the Majjhima.*

4. B^m K *omit*. It is also omitted in the questions below, and in M. iii. 249. Perhaps inserted here, by mistake, from the Dhammacakkappa-vattana Sutta (S.v. 421).

5. B^m *adds* apiyehi sampayogo dukkho, piyehi vippayogo dukkho (=S. v. 421). K *adds* appiyahi (*sic*) sampayogo pi dukkho, piyehi vippayogo pi dukkho.

6. D^d B^m pi dukkhā ; S^{ct} Col K *omit* pi.

7. K *adds* nibbatti. So M. iii. 249.

8. B^m jir^o.

9. K valittacatā. K (*note*) valittacatātipi pāṭho.

10. S^d saṃhānī. Sc M. iii. 249; S^{ct} Col K -ni. So M. i. 49; S. ii. 2, 42; Dh. S. 644.

Katamañ ca bhikkhave maraṇaṃ ? Yaṃ¹ tesāṃ tesāṃ sattānaṃ tamhā tamhā satta-nikāyā cuti cavanatā bhedo antaradhānaṃ maccu maraṇaṃ kāla-kiriyaṃ khandhānaṃ bhedo kaḷabarassa² nikkhepo,³ idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave maraṇaṃ.

Katamo ca bhikkhave soko ? Yo kho bhikkhave aññataraññatarena vyasanena⁴ samannāgatassa aññatar-aññatarena dukkha-dhammena phuṭṭhassa soko socanā socitattaṃ anto-soko anto-parisoko, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave soko.

Katamo ca bhikkhave paridevo ? Yo kho bhikkhave aññataraññatarena vyasanena samannāgatassa aññatar-aññatarena dukkha-dhammena phuṭṭhassa ādevo paridevo⁵ ādevanā paridevanā⁵ ādevitattaṃ paridevitattaṃ, ayaṃ vucati bhikkhave paridevo.

Matamañ ca bhikkhave dukkhaṃ ? Yaṃ kho bhikkhave kāyikaṃ dukkhaṃ kāyikaṃ asātaṃ kāya-sam-phassajaṃ dukkhaṃ asātaṃ vedayitaṃ, idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave dukkhaṃ.

Katamañ ca bhikkhave domanassaṃ ? Yaṃ kho bhikkhave cetasaṃ dukkhaṃ cetasaṃ asātaṃ mano-samphassajaṃ⁶ dukkhaṃ vedayitaṃ, idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave domanassaṃ.

Katamo ca bhikkhave upāyāso ? Yo kho bhikkhave aññataraññatarena vyasanena samannāgatassa aññatar-aññatarena dukkha-dhammena phuṭṭhassa āyāso upāyāso

1. K yā.

2. S^{cd} kalebarassa; B^m kaḷavarassa. See M. i. 49, iii. 1, 249; A. ii. 48 = S. i. 62; Jāt. ii. 437

3. B^m adds jīvitindriyass' upacchedo.

4. B^m K M iii. 149 byas^o and below S.

5-5. B^m omits, and so S^{ky} at M. iii. 250.

6. K (note) cetosamphassajanti vā pāṭho. M. (iii. 250) omits these two words.

āyāsittattam upāyāsittattam, ayam vuccati bhikkhave upāyāso.¹

Katamañ ca bhikkhae yam p'icchaṃ na labhati tam pi dukkhaṃ ? Jāti-dhammānaṃ bhikkhave sattanaṃ evaṃ icchā uppajjati : 'Aho vata mayaṃ na jāti ²-dhammā assāma, na ca vata no jāti āgaccheyyāti.' Na kho pan' etaṃ icchāya pattabbaṃ. Idam pi yam p'icchaṃ na labhati tam pi dukkhaṃ. Jarā-dhammānaṃ bhikkhave sattānaṃ . . . pe³ . . . vyādhai⁴-dhammānaṃ bhikkhave sattānaṃ . . . pe . . . maraṇa-dhammānaṃ bhikkhave sattānaṃ . . . pe . . . soka-parideva-dukka-domanass-upāyāsa-dhammānaṃ⁵ bhikkhave sattānaṃ evaṃ icchā uppajjati : 'Aho vata mayaṃ na soka-parideva-parideva-dukka-domanassa-upāyāsa-dhammā⁶ assāma, na ca vata no soka-parideva-dukka-domanassa-upāyāsa āgaccheyyati ti.' Na kho

1. B^m K Add katamo ca bhikkhave apiyehi¹ sampayogo dukkho ? Idha yassa te honti anīṭṭhā akantā amanāpā rūpā saddā gandhā rasā phoṭṭhabbā dhammā,² ye vā pan' assa te³ honti anattā-kāmā ahitā-kāmā aphāsuka-kāmā ayogakkhema-kāmā, yā tehi saddhiṃ saṅgati⁴ samāgamo samodhānaṃ missī-bhāvo, ayam vuccati bhikkhave apiyehi sampayogo dukkho. Katamo ca bhikkhave piyehi vippayogo dukkho ? Idha yassa te honti iṭṭhā kantā manāpā rūpā saddā gandhā rasā phoṭṭhabbā dhammā, ⁴ye vā pan' assa te⁴ honti attha-kāmā hita-kāmā phāsuka-kāmā yogakkhema-kāmā, mātā vā pitā vā bhātā vā bhaginī vā ⁵kaniṭṭhā vā⁵ mittā vā amaccā vā nāti-sālohitā vā, ⁶yā tehi saddhiṃ⁶ asaṅgati asaṅgati asamāgamo asamodhānaṃ amissī-bhāvo, ayam vuccati bhikkhave piyehi vippayogo dukkho.
2. S^{cd} jānāti.
3. Not in SS or K; Col B^m repeat the whole; so below.
4. B^m K M. iii. 250 byādhī.
5. Col repeats the whole for each term, sokadhammānaṃ, parideva-dhammānaṃ, etc.
6. K M. iii. 250 read -domanassupāyāsa-; B^m and Col repeat separately.

1. K appiy^o, and below. 2. K omits. 3. K omits.
4. K -kāmā tesam saṅgati. 4-4. K omits. 5-5. K omits.
- 6-6. K omits.

pan' etaṃ icchāya pattaḃbaṃ. Idam pi yam p'icchaṃ na labhati tam pi dukkhaṃ.

Katame¹ ca bhikkhave saṃkhittena pañcupādānakkhandhā² dukkhā ? Seyyathidaṃ rūpūpādānakkhandho³ vedanūpādānakkhandho saññūpādānakkhandho saṃkhārūpādānakkhandho viññāṇūpādānakkhandho, ime vuccanti bhikkhave saṃkhittena pañcupādānakkhandhā⁴ dukkhā Idam vuccati bhikkhave dukkhaṃ ariya-saccaṃ.

18⁵. And what, bhikkhus, is the Aryan truth [regarding] Ill?

Birth is painful, old age is painful⁶, death is painful, grief, lamentation, suffering, misery and despair are painful, painful is it not to get what is wished for, in a word, the Five Groups that arise from Grasping are connected with pain⁷.

1. SS katamo; B^m K Col M. iii. 250 katame.

2. B^m adds pi.

3. S^t pañcūp-; S^{cd}B^m K rūpūp^o.

4. B^m adds pi.

5. What follows (down to the line and space on p. 345) is not found in the Majjhima recension of the Satipatthāna (M. I, 55 ff.). Except for this the two recensions agree, and ours here is doubtless called the Mahā-satipatthāna, precisely because, to that extent, it is longer. That would show that when that title was first used the Majjhima recension was already known. It would not follow that the Dīgha is younger than the Majjhima; they may have been edited at the same time from older material.

The Dīgha addition is interesting as containing a fragment of Old Commentary (as old as the texts) of which other fragments are found in the Nikāyas, and also in the Vinaya.

The Vibhanea (99-106) quotes this Dīgha addition verbatim.

6. Many MSS. and the Colombo edition of 1876 add 'disease is painful.' But this is not mentioned in the word-for-word commentary that follows. It is probably transferred as a gloss from the Samyutta recension of the Four Truths (S. V, 421) which differs slightly from that of the repeaters of the Dīgha (the Dīgha-bhānakā).
7. Pañc' upādānakkhandhā. The Groups are the five groups of material and mental qualities that form, in combination brought about by grasping, an individual. One might, therefore, express this

And what, bhikkhus, is birth ? Birth is the production, the outcome¹, the rising up in a new form, the appearance of the Groups, the acquisition of sense-spheres, by this or that being in this or that class of beings. This is what is called birth.

And what, bhikkhus, is growing old² ? Growing old is the decay, the decrepitude, the breaking-up, the hoariness, the wrinkled state, the shrinkage of life's span, the collapse³ of the sense-faculties of this or that being in this or that class of beings. This is what is called growing old.

And what, bhikkhus, is dying ?

Dying is the fall (out of any state), the dropping out of it, the dissolution, the disappearance, the death, the dying, the accomplishment of the life-term, the breaking up of the Groups, the laying down of the body of this or that being in this or that class of beings. This is called dying.

And what, bhikkhus, is grief?

Grieving is the state of woe, heart ache, and affliction. The inward grief, the hidden wretchedness, of one who is visited by some calamity or other, of one who is smitten by some kind of ill. [306] This is what is called grief.

And what, bhikkhus, is lamenting ?

Lamenting is the act and the state of mourning, lamentation, deploring, of one who is visited by some calamity or other, of one who is smitten by some kind of ill. This is what is called lamenting.

And what, bhikkhus, is suffering ?

central thought of the first Aryan truth in modern Western language by saying that pain is involved in individuality—a most pregnant and far reaching suggestion. The rest of the Truth is merely a statement of facts universally admitted.

1. Sañjāti only found elsewhere as yet Dīgha I, 227, where it means the produce arising out of an estate and accruing to the landlord.
2. Cf. Dh. S. and Bud. Psy. on rupassa jarati (§ 644).
3. Paripāka, which in all other passages means maturity, must here mean over-ripeness, loss of power through having reached their full vigour and begun to give out.

Suffering is bodily ill, bodily pain, ill that is born of bodily contact, the being bodily affected by what is painful. This is what is called suffering.

And what, bhikkhus, is misery ?

Misery is mental ill, mental pain, ill that is born of mental contact, the being mentally affected by what is painful. This is what is called misery.

And what, bhikkhus, is despair?

Despair is the act and state of dejection, of despondency, of one who is visited by some calamity or other, of one who is smitten by some kind of ill. This is what is called despair.

And what, bhikkhus, is the ill of not getting what is wished for ?

In beings subject to birth the wish arises:— ‘Ah! if only we were not subject to birth, if only we could avoid being-born!’ But this is not to be got by wishing. This is the ill of not getting what is wished for. So too in the case of growing old, falling ill, dying, grieving, lamenting, suffering, being in misery and in despair, in being subject to these the wish arises :—‘Ah ! if only we were not subject to this one or that one of those things ! If only we could avoid them !’ But this cannot be had for the wishing. This again is the ill of not getting what is wished for.

And what, bhikkhus, is ‘in a word the Five Groups that arise from Grasping’ ? These are the Groups of material form, of feeling, of perception, of dispositions, and of cognition that arise from grasping. This is what is called ‘in a word the Five Groups that arise from Grasping are associated with Ill.’

This, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth regarding Ill.

19. Katamañ ca bhikkhave dukkha-samudayaṃ¹ ariya-saccaṃ ?

Yāyaṃ tañhā ponobhavikā² nandi-rāga-sahagatā tatra tatrābhinandinī, seyyathādaṃ kāma-tañhā bhava-tañhā vibhava-tañhā.

1. K -ayo, both here and at M. iii. 250.

2. B^m K; S. iv. 421; ponobbhavikā.

Sā kho pan' esā bhikkhave taṇhā kattha uppajjamānā -uppajjati, kattha nivisaṃānā¹ nivisati¹ ? Yaṃ² loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisaṃānā nivisati.

Kiñci³ loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ? Cakkhuṃ⁴ loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisaṃānā nivisati. Sotaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Ghānaṃ⁵ loke . . . pe . . . Jivhā loke . . . pe . . . Kāyo loke . . . Kāyo loke . . . pe . . . Mano loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisaṃānā nivisati.

Rūpā⁶ loke . . . pe⁷ . . . Saddā loke . . . pe . . . Gandhā loke . . . pe . . . Rasā loke . . . pe . . . Phoṭṭhabbā loke . . . pe . . . Dhammā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjati, ettha nivisaṃānā nivisati.

Cakkhu-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Sota-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Ghāna-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Jivhā-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Kāya-viññāṇaṃ loke . . . pe . . . Mano-viññāṇaṃ loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisaṃānā nivisati.

Cakkhu-samphasso loke . . . pe . . . Sota-samphasso loke . . . pe . . . Ghāna-samphasso loke . . . pe . . . Jivhā-samphasso loke . . . pe . . . Kāya-samphasso loke . . . pe . . . Mano-samphasso loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisaṃānā nivisati.

Cakkhu-samphassajā vedanā loke . . . pe . . . Sota-samphassajā vedanā loke . . . pe . . . Ghāna-samphassajā vedanā loke . . . pe . . . Jivhā-samphassajā vedanā loke . . .

1. S^{cd} nivīs^o, and below.

2. Col omits; but reads yaṃ in § 20.

3. K kiñca.

4. B^m cakkhu.

5. So S^{cd} B^m K; S^t (here only) Col throughout ghāṇaṃ.

6. SS Col rūpaṃ.

7. Col adds piya-rūpaṃ . . . nivisati, and so after each successive term, in this sentence and onwards.

pe . . . Mano-samphassajā¹ vedanā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisaṃānā nivisaṃti.

Rūpa-saññā loke, . . . pe . . . Sadda-saññā loke . . .
pe . . . Gandha-saññā loke, . . . pe . . . Rasa-saññā loke . . .
pe . . . Phoṭṭhabba-saññā loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-saññā loke
piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā
uppajjati, ettha nivisaṃānā nivisaṃti.

Rūpa-sañcetanā loke . . . pe . . . Sadda-sañcetanā loke
. . . pe . . . Gandha-sañcetanā loke . . . pe . . . Rasa-sañcetanā
loke . . . pe . . . Phoṭṭhabba-sañcetanā loke . . . pe . . .
Dhamma-sañcetanā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā
taṇhā uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisaṃānā nivisaṃti.

Rūpa-taṇhā loke . . . pe . . . Sadda-taṇhā loke . . .
pe . . . Gandha-taṇhā loke . . . pe . . . Rasa-taṇhā loke . . .
pe . . . Phoṭṭhabba-taṇhā loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-taṇhā loke
piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā
uppajjati, ettha nivisaṃānā nivisaṃti.

Rūpa-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Sadda-vitakko loke . . .
pe . . . Gandha-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Rasa-vitakko loke
. . . pe . . . Phoṭṭhabba-vitakko loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-
vitakko loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ etth' esā taṇhā
uppajjamānā uppajjati, ettha nivisaṃānā nivisaṃti.

Rūpa-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . adda-vicāro loke . . .
pe . . . Gandha-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . Rasa-vicāro loke . . .
pe . . . Phoṭṭhabba-vicāro loke . . . pe . . . Dhamma-vicāro
loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā uppajjamānā
uppajjati, ettha nivisaṃānā nivisaṃti. Idam vuccati bhikkhave
dukkha-samudayaṃ² ariyasaccaṃ.

19. And what, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth concerning the coming to be of Ill ?

Even this Craving, potent for rebirth, that is accompanied by lust and self-indulgence, seeking satisfaction now here now there, to wit, the craving for the life of sense, the craving for

1. S^c viññāṇa.

2. K -ayo.

becoming (renewed life), and the craving for not becoming (for no rebirth)¹.

Now this Craving, bhikkhus, where does it take its rise, where does it have its dwelling? In those material things of this world which are dear to us, which are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

What things in this world are dear, what things are pleasant? The sense of sight, the sense of hearing, the senses of smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Things seen, things heard, things smelt, tasted, tangible, things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

The thoughts that arise through sight, the thoughts that arise through hearing, the thoughts that arise through smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

The stimulus of visual sense, the stimulus of auditory sense, the stimulus of the senses of smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

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1. Vibhava. This word usually means power, prosperity, success—the prefix *vi* being used as an intensive particle. In this particular connexion the traditional interpretation takes the prefix in a negative sense, and paraphrases the word by ‘the absence of becoming (bhava).’ This view is apparently supported by some Nikāya passages (S. III, 57; It. no. 49), and by the Dhamma Samgaṇī 1314. But it may be derived from them; and it is odd that the word should have been found nowhere else in that sense. It is quite possible that the original sense was the usual one. At Dh. 282 it seems to mean decline in wisdom.

Feeling that is born of the stimulus of the visual sense, feeling that is born of the stimulus of the auditory sense, feeling that is born of the stimulus of the senses of smell, taste, touch and feeling born of imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

The perceiving of things visible, the perceiving of things audible, the perceiving of things odorous, sapid, tangible, of things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Intentions concerned with things visible, intentions concerned with things audible, intentions concerned with things odorous, sapid, that may be smelt, tasted, touched, tangible, with things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Craving for things visible, craving for things audible, craving for things that may be smelt, tasted, touched, for things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Pre-occupation about things seen, pre-occupation about things heard, pre-occupation about things smelt, tasted, tangible, about things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. There does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

Deliberating about things seen, deliberating about things heard, deliberating about things smelt, tasted, tangible, about things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. And there does Craving take its rise, there does it dwell.

This, bhikkhus, is what is called the Aryan Truth concerning the coming to be of Ill.

20. Katamañ ca bhikkhave¹ dukkha-nirodham² ariya-saccam ?

Yo tassā yeva taṇhāya asesa-virāga-nirodho cāgo paṭinissaggo mutti anālayo.

Sā kho pan' esā bhikkhave taṇhā kattha pahīyamānā pahīyati, kattha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati ? Yam³ loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Kiñci⁴ loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ⁵ ? Cakkhum⁶ loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati. Sotaṃ loke ... pe ... Ghānaṃ loke ... pe ... Jivhā loke ... pe ... Kāyo loke ... pe ... Mano loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Rūpā⁷ loke ... pe ... Saddā loke ... pe ... Gandhā loke ... pe ... Rasā loke ... pe ... Phoṭṭhabbā loke ... pe ... Dhammā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Cakkhu-viññāṇaṃ loke ... pe ... Sota-viññāṇaṃ loke ... pe ... Ghāna-viññāṇaṃ loke ... pe ... Jivhā-viññāṇaṃ loke ... pe ... Kāya-viññāṇaṃ loke ... pe ... Mano-viññāṇaṃ loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Cakkhu-samphasso loke ... pe ...⁸ Mano-sam-phasso loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Cakkhu-samphassajā vedanā loke ... pe ... Mano-

1. B^m adds bhikkhu.

2. K nirodho. See S.v. 421.

3. So Col here. See ante § 19.

4. K kiñca.

5. Col supplies in full; etth' esā ... nirujjhati.

6. B^m cakkhu.

7. SS Col rūpaṃ.

8. So SS. Col prints each clause in full, as before, and below also; B^m K repeat the succession sota-samphasso loke, etc. and below.

samphassajā vedanā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Rūpa-saññā loke ... pe¹ ... Dhamma-saññā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Rūpa-sañcetanā loke ... pe ... Dhamma-sañcetanā loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Rūpa-taṇhā loke ... pe ... Dhamma-taṇhā loke ... piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Rūpa-vitakko loke ... pe ... Sadda-vitakko loke ... pe ... Gandha-vitakko loke ... pe ... Rasa-vitakko loke ... pe ... Phoṭṭhabba-vitakko loke ... pe ... Dhamma-vitakko loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati.

Rūpa-vicāro loke ... pe ... Sadda-vicāro loke ... pe ... Gandha-vicāro loke ... pe ... Rasa-vicāro loke ... pe ... Phoṭṭhabba-vicāro loke ... pe ... Dhamma-vicāro loke piya-rūpaṃ sāta-rūpaṃ, etth' esā taṇhā pahīyamānā pahīyati, ettha nirujjhamānā nirujjhati. Idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave dukkha-nirodhaṃ² ariya-saccaṃ.

20. And what, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth concerning the cessation of Ill ?

The utter cessation of and disenchantment about that very Craving, giving it up, renouncing it, emancipation from it, detachment from it.

But now this Craving, bhikkhus, where, in being put away, is it put away ; where, in ceasing, does it cease ? In those material things of this world which are dear to us, which are pleasant—there may this Craving be put away, there does it cease.

What things in this world are dear, what things are pleasant ? The sense of sight, the sense of hearing, the senses of smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this

1. B^m sadda-saññā loke, etc.

2. K -dho.

world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Things seen, things heard, things smelt, tasted, tangible, things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

The thoughts that arise through sight, the thoughts that arise through hearing, the thoughts that arise through smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

The stimulus of visual sense, the stimulus of auditory sense, the stimulus of the senses of smell, taste, touch and imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant, Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Feeling that is born of the stimulus of the visual sense, feeling that is born of the stimulus of the auditory sense, feeling that is born of the stimulus of the senses of smell, taste, touch and feeling born of imagination—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

The perceiving of things visible, the perceiving of things audible, the perceiving of things odorous, sapid, tangible, of things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Intentions concerned with things visible, intentions concerned with things audible, intentions concerned with things odorous, sapid, that may be smelt, tasted, touched, tangible, with things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Craving for things visible, craving for things audible, craving for things that may be smelt, tasted, touched, for things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are

dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Pre-occupation about things seen, pre-occupation about things heard, pre-occupation about things smelt, tasted, tangible, about things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may this Craving be put away, here does it cease.

Deliberating about things seen, deliberating about things heard, deliberating about things smelt, tasted, tangible, about things in memory recalled—these are the things in this world that are dear, that are pleasant. Here may Craving be put away, here does it cease.

This, bhikkhus, is what is called the Aryan Truth concerning the cessation of Ill.

21. Katamañ¹ ca bhikkhave dukkha-nirodha-gāminiṃ paṭipadā ariya-saccaṃ ?

Ayam eva Ariyo Aṭṭhaṅgiko Maggo, seyyathidaṃ sammā-diṭṭhi sammā-ājīvo sammā-vācā sammā-kammanto sammā-ājīvo sammā-vāyāmo sammā - sati sammā-samādhi.

² Katamā ca bhikkhave sammā-diṭṭhi ?

Yaṃ kho bhikkhave dukkhe ñāṇaṃ dukkha-samudaye ñāṇaṃ dukkha-nirodhe ñāṇaṃ dukkha-nirodha-gāminiyā³ paṭipadāya ñāṇaṃ, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-diṭṭhi. Katamo ca bhikkhave sammā-saṃkappo?

Nekkhamma-saṃkappo avayāpāda⁴-saṃkappo avihimsā-saṃkappo, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-saṃkappo.

Katamāca bhikkhave sammā-vācā ?

Musā-vadā veramaṇī, pisuṇāya vācāya⁵ veramaṇī,

-
1. S^c -mo corrected to mā ; S^d -mañ; S^t -ma; Col B^m K M. iii. 251 -mañ.
 2. See M. iii. 251; S. v. 8.
 3. So S^c K Col M. and S.; S^d-gāmini-; S^t B^m gāmini-.
 4. K M. abyāpāda.
 5. K M. and S. pisuṇāya vācāya; Col pisuṇā-vācā ; S^c pisuṇāya vācāya corrected to pisunnā vācā; S^{dt} pisuṇāya vācāya; B^m pisuṇā-vācā ;

pharusāya vācāya¹ veramaṇī, piṣuṇī, amphappalāpā veramaṇī, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-vācā.

Katamo ca bhikkhave sammā-kammanto ?

Pāṇātipātā veramaṇī, adinnādānā veramaṇī, kāmesu micchācārā veramaṇī, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-kammanto.

Katamo ca bhikkhave sammā-ānīvo ?

Idha bhikkhave ariya-sāvako micchā-ājīvaṃ pahāya sammā-ājīvena jīvikam kappeti, ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-ājīvo.

Katamo ca bhikkhave sammā-vāyāmo?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu anuppannānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ anuppādāya chandaṃ janeti vāyamati, viriyaṃ ārabhati, cittaṃ paggaṇhāti padahati.² Uppannānaṃ pāpakānaṃ akusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ pahānāya chandaṃ janeti vāyamati, viriyaṃ ārabhati, cittaṃ paggaṇhāti padahati. Anuppannānaṃ kusalānaṃ dhammānaṃ uppādāya chandaṃ janeti vāyamati, viriyaṃ ārabhati, cittaṃ paggaṇhāti padahati, Uppannānaṃ kusalanāṃ dhammānaṃ ṭhitiyā asammosāya bhiyyo-bhāvāya³ vepullāya bhāvanāya pāripūriyā chandaṃ janeti vāyamati, viriyaṃ ārabhati, cittaṃ paggaṇhāti padahati. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-vāyāmo.

Katamā ca bhikkhave sammā-sati ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati ātāpī⁴ sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhiijjhā-domanas-saṃ, vedanāsu . . . pe⁵ . . . citte . . . pe . . . dhammosu dhammānupassī viharati ātāpī sampajāno satimā vineyya loke abhiijjhā-domanassaṃ. Ayaṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-sati.

S^t B^m have ṇ. See D. i. 4, 63; M. i. 179; K.V. 619; K.V. 619, and below pp. 320, 323, 325.

1. So K M. and S.; SS B^m Col pharusā-vācā.

2. S^c here paj^o, corrected to pad^o afterwards pad^o; S^{dt} paj (thrice). See S. v. 8.

3. So B^m K M. and S. S^t Col bhiyyo-; S^t bhiyo-.

4. SS -pi.

5. B^m Col in full.

Katamo ca bhikkhave sammā-samādhī ?

Idha bhikkhave bhikkhu vivicc' eva kāmehi vivicca akusalehi dhammehi savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekajaṃ pīti-sukhaṃ paṭhamajjhānaṃ¹ upasampajja viharati. Vitakka-viārānaṃ vūpasamā ajjhataṃ sampasādanaṃ cetaso ekodidhāvaṃ avitakkaṃ avicāraṃ samādhijaṃ pīti-sukhaṃ dutiyajjhānaṃ² upasampajja viharati. Pītiyā ca virāgā³ upekhako⁴ viharati sato ca sampajāno, sukhañ ca kāyena patisaṃvedeti yaṃ taṃ ariyā ācikkhanti: 'upekhako satimā sukha-vihārī ti' tatiya⁵-jjhānaṃ upasampajja viharati. Sukhassa ca pahānā⁶ dukkhassa ca pahānā pubb' eva somanassa-domanassānaṃ attha-gamā⁷ adukkhaṃ asukhaṃ upekhā-sati-pārisuddhiṃ catutthajjhānaṃ⁸ upasampajja viharati. Ayuṃ vuccati bhikkhave sammā-samādhī.

Idaṃ vuccati bhikkhave dukkha-nirodha-gāminī-
paṭipadā ariya-saccaṃ.⁹

Iti ajjhataṃ vā dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati, bahiddhā va dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati, ajjhata-bahiddhā va dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati. Samudaya - dhammānupassī vā dhammesu viharati, vāyadhammānupassī vā dhammesu viharati, samudaya-vāyadhammānupassī vā dhammesu viharati. "Atthi dhammā ti" vā pan' assa sati pacuppaṭṭhitā hoti yāvad eva nāṇa-mattāya patissati-mattāya. Anissito ca viharati na ca kiñci loke upādiyati. Evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu dhammesu dhammānupassī viharati catusu¹⁰ ariya-saccesu¹¹.

1. B^m K paṭhamajjhānaṃ.
2. B^m K dutiyaṃ jhānaṃ; K adds pa, and continues tatiyaṃ jhānaṃ.
3. SS omit ca ; B^m ca erased.
4. B^m K upekkhako ca.
5. B^m -yaṃ.
6. S^{cd} Cal pahāṇā (twice).
7. B^m K atthaṅgamā.
8. B^m K -aṃ jhānaṃ.
9. Col adds Magga-sacca-niddesaṃ.
10. B^m K catūsu.
11. K adds Saccapabbaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ. Dhammānupassanā niṭṭhita. Col adds Dhammānupassanā-satiṭṭhānaṃ.

21. And what, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth concerning the Way that leads to the Cessation of Ill ?

This is that Aryan Eightfold Path, to wit, right view, right aspiration, right speech, right doing, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, right rapture.

And what, bhikkhus, is right view ?

Knowledge, bhikkhus, about Ill, knowledge about the coming to be of Ill, knowledge about the cessation of Ill, knowledge about the Way that leads to the cessation of Ill. This is what is called right view.

And what, bhikkhus, is right aspiration ?

The aspiration towards renunciation¹, the aspiration towards benevolence, the aspiration towards kindness. This is what is called right aspiration.

And what, bhikkhus, is right speech ?

Abstaining from lying, slander, abuse and idle talk. This is what is called right speech.

And what, bhikkhus, is right doing ?

Abstaining from taking life, from taking what is not given, from carnal indulgence. This is what is called right doing.

And what, bhikkhus, is right livelihood ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, the Aryan disciple having put away

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1. Nekkhamma. Burnouf ('Lotus,' 334) derives this word from nis + karma; Oldenberg ('Vinaya Texts,' I, 104) from nis + kāma, and Childers (*sub voce*) from nis + kramya. These three derivations would give the meaning respectively as having no Karma, being devoid of lust, and going forth from home. Daramitipola explains it here as meaning either the second or the third. No doubt Oldenberg is right as to the derivation. But Daramitipola is also right if we take his note as exegetical, not philological. The fact is that the derivation had been, from very early times, forgotten or confused; and the connotation of the word was renunciation generally, with special reference to these two kinds. It never had anything to do with Karma.

The three aspirations of our paragraph here recur at Samyutta II, 153, and on p. 151 nekkhamma is replaced by kāma. See also It. no. 72, and M. I, 114.

wrong livelihood, supports himself by right livelihood.

And what, bhikkhus, is right effort ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother makes effort in bringing forth will that evil and bad states that have not arisen within him may not arise, to that end he stirs up energy, he grips and forces his mind. That he may put away evil and bad states that have arisen within him he puts forth will, he makes effort, he stirs up energy, he grips and forces his mind. That good states which have not arisen may arise he puts forth will, he makes effort, he stirs up energy, he grips and forces his mind. That good states which have arisen may persist, may not grow blurred, may multiply, grow abundant, develop and come to perfection, he puts forth will, he makes effort, he stirs up energy, he grips and forces his mind. This is what is called right effort.

And what, bhikkhus, is right mindfulness ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, as to the body, continues so to look upon the body, that he remains ardent, self-possessed and mindful, having overcome both the hankering and the dejection common in the world. And in the same way as to feelings, thoughts and ideas, he so looks upon each, that he remains ardent, self-possessed and mindful, having overcome the hankering and the dejection that is common in the world. This is what is called right mindfulness.

And what, bhikkhus, is right rapture ?

Herein, O bhikkhus, a brother, aloof from sensuous appetites, aloof from evil ideas, enters into and abides in the First Jhāna, wherein there is cogitation and deliberation, which is born of solitude and is full of joy and ease. Suppressing cogitation and deliberation, he enters into and abides in the Second Jhāna, which is self-evoked, born of concentration, full of joy and ease, in that, set free from cogitation and deliberation, the mind grows calm and sure, dwelling on high. And further, disenchanted with joy, he abides calmly contemplative while, mindful and self-possessed, he feels in his body that ease whereof Aryans declare 'He that is calmly contemplative and aware, he dwelleth at ease.' So does he enter into and abide in the Third Jhāna. And further, by put-

ting aside ease and by putting aside mal-aise, by the passing away of the happiness and of the melancholy he used to feel, he enters into and abides in the Fourth Jhāna, rapture of utter purity of mindfulness and equanimity, wherein neither ease is felt nor any ill. This is what is called right rapture.

This, bhikkhus, is the Aryan Truth concerning the Way leading to the cessation of Ill.

So does he, with respect to ideas continue to consider ideas, both internally, or externally,' or internally and externally together. He ever considers how ideas are something that comes to be, again he ever considers how they are something that passes away, or again he ever considers their coming to be with their passing away ; or again with the consciousness 'There are ideas,' mindfulness thereof is thereby established, far enough for purposes of knowledge and of, self-possession. And he abides independent, grasping after nothing in the world whatever. Thus, bhikkhus, does a brother, with respect to ideas, continue to consider ideas with respect to the Four Aryan Truths.

22. ¹Yo hi koci bhikkhave ime cattāro satipaṭṭhāne evaṃ bhāveyya satta-vassāni, tassa dvinnam phalānam aññataram phalam pātikaṅkham, diṭṭhe va dhamme aññā sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā. Tiṭṭhantu bhikkhave satta-vassāni, yo hi koci bhikkhave ime cattāro satipaṭṭhāne evaṃ bhāveyya cha vassāni . . . pe² . . . pañca-vassāni . . . cattāri vassāni . . . tīni vassāni . . . dve vassāni . . . ekaṃ³ vassam,⁴ tassa⁵ dvinnam phalānam aññataram phalam pātikaṅkham, diṭṭhe va dhamme aññā sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā⁶. Tiṭṭhatu bhikkhave ekaṃ vassam, yo hi koci bhikkhave ime cattāro satipaṭṭhāne evaṃ bhāveyya satta-māsāni, tassa dvinnam phalānam aññataram phalam pātikaṅkham diṭṭhe

1. § 22 = M. 1. 62.

2. Col repeats the whole clause with each number.

3. B^m eka.

4. B^m omits down to anāgāmitā.

5. K pa down to tiṭṭhatu.

6. M^t omits from tassa dviham . . . anāgāmitā.

vadhamme aññā sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā. Tiṭṭhantu bhikkhave satta-māsāni, yo hi koci bhikkhu ime cattāro satipaṭṭhāne evaṃ bhāveyya cha-māsā ni . . . pe¹ . . . pañca-māsāni . . . cattāri māsāni . . . tīṇi māsāni . . . dve māsāni . . . ekaṃ māsam . . . aḍḍha-māsam.² tassa³ dvinnam phalānam aññataram phalam pāṭikaṅkham, diṭṭhe va dhamme aññā sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā. Tiṭṭhatu bhikkhae aḍḍha-māso, yo hi koci bhikkhave ime cattāro satipaṭṭhāne evaṃ bhāveyya sattāham, tassa dvinnam phalānam aññataram phalam pāṭikaṅkham, diṭṭhe va dhamme aññā sati vā upādisese anāgāmitā⁴. 'Ekāyano ayaṃ bhikkhave maggo sattānam visuddhiyā soka-pariddavānam⁵ samatikkamāya dukkha-domanassānam atthagamāya ñāyassa adhigamāya⁶ nibbānassa sacchi-kiriyāya yad idam cattāro satipaṭṭhānā ti'⁷ iti yan taṃ yuttam,⁸ idam etaṃ paṭicca vuttan ti.

Idam avoca Bhagavā. Attamanā te bhikkhū Bhagavato bhāsitam abhinandun ti.

22. Bhikkhus! whoso shall thus practise these Four Applications of Mindfulness for seven years, in him one or two kinds of fruition may be looked for:— either in this present life The Knowledge⁹, or, if there be yet residuum for rebirth, the state of him who returns no¹ more. Or, not to speak of seven years, bhikkhus, whoso shall thus practise these Four for six years, for five only, for four only, for three only, for two only, for one year only, in him one or two kinds of fruition may be looked for :

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1. Cal. *repeats the whole clause with each number.*
 2. K pa, *down to tiṭṭhatu.*
 3. B^m *omits as before.*
 4. B^m *adds ti.*
 5. B^m K *paridevānam.*
 6. B^m *ñāyassādhig^o.*
 7. Col *omits ti.*
 8. *Above § 2.*
 9. Aññā; one of the many epithets of Arahantship.

either in this present life The Knowledge, or, if there be yet residuum for rebirth, the state of him who returns no more. Or not to speak of one year, bhikkhus, whoso shall thus practise these Four for six months, or for five months, for four only, or three, or two, or one month only, [sis] or half a month only, in him one or two kinds of fruition may be looked for : either in this present life The Knowledge, or, if there be yet residuum for rebirth, the state of him who returns no more. Or not to speak of half a month, bhikkhus, whoso shall thus practise these Four for seven days, in him one of two kinds of fruition may be looked for : either in this present life The Knowledge, or if there be yet residuum for rebirth, the state of him who returns no more. It was on account of this that that was said which was said (at the beginning) 'The one and only path, bhikkhus, leading to the purification of beings, to passing far beyond grief and lamentation, to the dying out of ill and misery, to the attainment of right method, to the realization of Nirvana, is that of the Four-fold Setting-up of Starting.

Thus spake the Exalted One. Pleased were the brethren, delighting in that which was spoken by the Exalted One.

Mahā-satipaṭṭhāna-Suttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ.¹

Here the end of the Mahāpaṭṭhāna Sutta.

1. K -suttaṃ niṭṭhitaṃ navamaṃ.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

Pāyāsi Sutta

The Pāyāsi Sutta is twenty third Sutta of the Dīgha Nikāya. Pāyāsi was a chieftain of setavya, a city of the kosalans. He entertained doubt as to the existence of another world, of beings reborn otherwise than from parents, and of results of good and bad deeds. Touching these questions, Pāyāsi had a long discussion with kumāra kassapa had recourse to similies and advanced childish arguments to establish his doubt depending on analogy, the most dangerous of all snares, put forward counter arguments to prove the futility of Pāyāsi's arguments and at length succeeded in dispelling his doubt altogether. Pāyāsi become kassapa's disciple. The second part of the dialogue which is a sequel to the first is similarly a dialogue between Pāyāsi and his disciple, Uttara, in which the latter succeeds in persuading the former to set up gift in faith. The dialogue closes with a reference to the heaven where the teacher and the Pupil were reborn after death. The third part which is a sequel to the second is also a dialogue between the venerable Gavampati and the god Pāyāsi's in the Serissaka Mansion. "The story of Pāyāsi's conversion and pious gifts with their heavenly reward, seems to have been invented in order just to allay the fear caused in theological circles by atheistical propaganda of the powerful chieftain and philosopher, Pāyāsi" (Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, Appendix. P XVI). It is interesting to note that Pāyāsi who thought on the line of Ajita kesakambali stated his predecessor's thesis in clear and unequivocal terms. In the language of the sthānaṅga such a doc-

trine is aptly designated "na Santi poralokavāda." Mahāvīra and Buddha were right to suppose Ajita's doctrine of non-action because Ajita destroyed the ultimate ground of moral distinctions by denying the possibility of personal continuity and thus derived life of its zest. The Pāyāsi Sutta deals with moon god and Sun god, message from the dead, escape of the Soul, search for the soul, and right and wrong sacrifices.

This Sutta has a Jaina counterpart in the Rāya Paseni which is but a somewhat later and magnified legend of the chieftain Pāyāsi. Comparing the two versions of the legend it appears that kumāra kassapa of the Buddhist tradition was the same personality as kesī, the Jaina and that Paesi (Pradeshi), and not Pāyāsi, was the designation of the chieftain.

xxiii. Pāyāsi Sutta

Rebirth and Karma

1. Evam me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ¹ ayaśmā Kumāra-kassapo Kosalesu cārikaṃ caramāno mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ panca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi yena Setavyā² nāma Kosa-lānaṃ nagaraṃ tad avasari. Tatra sudaṃ āyaśmā Kumāra-kassapo Setavyāyaṃ³ viharati uttarena Setavyā⁴ Siṃsapā-⁵vane. Tena kho pana samayena Pāyāsi rājañño Setavyaṃ ajjhāvasati sattussadaṃ satipaṇṇāsaṃ⁶ sadhaññaṃ⁶ rāja-bhoggaṃ rañña Pasenadi-Kosalena⁷ dinnam rāja-dāyaṃ brahma-deyyaṃ deyyaṃ.

1. Thus have I heard. The venerable Kumara Kassapa⁸ was once walking on tour in Kosala together with a great company of bhikkhus, to the number of about five hundred, and

1. According to Dhammapā la (V.V.A. 297) *this was just after the Buddha's death.*
2. S^t -yaṃ ; B^m K Setabyā, *and below.*
3. S^{ct} -vyayaṃ.
4. S^c -vya, *corrected to -vyayaṃ ; S^d -vyā ; S^t - vyā, corrected to -vya, and below ; B^m K -byaṃ.*
5. B^m Sisapā ; K sīs^o. *See A. i. 136 ; V. V. A. 279.*
6. K *adds* vā.
7. B^m K *here* Passenadinā, *but at D. i. 87, Pasenadi- (see below, p. 342; and compare Divy. p. 620).*
8. The touching story of his birth is told in the Introductory Story to the twelfth Jātaka, translated in Rhys Davids's 'Buddhist Birth Stories,' pp. 199 ff. He was declared by the Buddha to be the best of the preachers in the Order (A. I, 24). Kumāra was a nickname, 'The Boy' (because he was ordained so young), which distinguished

coming to the Kosalese city named Setavyā, he there abode. And there the venerable Kumāra Kassapa dwelt to the north of Setavyā, in the Simsapā-tree Grove. Now at that time the chieftain Pāyāsi was residing at Setavyā, a spot teeming with life, with much grass-land and wood-land, with water and corn, on a royal domain granted him by King Pasenadi of Kosala, as a royal gift, with power over it as if he were the king¹.

2. Tena kho pana samayena Pāyāsi-rājaññassa² eva-rūpaṃ³ papakaṃ dīṭṭhi-gataṃ uppannaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko⁴, n'atthi sattā opapā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Assosum kho Setavyakā brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā: 'Samaṇo khalu bho Kumāra-kassapo samaṇassa Goatmassa Sāvako Kosalesu cārikaṃ mahatābhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi Setavyaṃ anuppatto Setavyāyaṃ⁵ viharati uttarena Setavyā⁶ Simsapā-vane. Taṃ kho pana bhavantaṃ⁷ Kumāra-kassapaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato : "Paṇḍito vyatto⁸ Medhāvibhussuto citta-kalyāṇa-paṭibhāno vuḍḍho⁹ c'eva arahā ca. Sādhū kho pana tathārūpānaṃ arahataṃ dassaṇaṃ hotīti." 'Atha kho Setavyakā brahmaṇa-gaha-patikā Setavyāya¹⁰ nikkhamitvā saṃghā¹¹ saṃghī gaṇī-

him from the other Kassapas in the Order, and clung to him even in advanced years. It was the more appropriate, as kumāra means a boy of good family, a young gentleman, a master; and Kassapa, the son of a clansman, had been brought up at Pasenadi's court.

1. See Vol. I, p. 108, note 1.
2. K Pāyāsissa rājaññassa (*so SS in § 3, and B^m in § 23*).
3. S^c rūpakaṃ.
4. *So SS. B^m K paro loko, and below. See above vol. i. pp. 27, 58 and M. i. 402, iii 71.*
5. *So S^t, S^c -vyayaṃ ; S^d -vyam ; B^m K -byāyaṃ.*
6. *S^c -yaṃ ; S^d - yaṃ, corrected to -ya ; S^t -vyā.*
7. *S^{cd} bhagav^o ; S^t vabhantaṃ ; B^m K -byaṃ.*
8. *B^m K byatto, and below.*
9. *B^m buddho (sic) and so in § 3.*
10. *S^c - vyā ; S^d -vya.*
11. *B^m K saṃgha- ; K (Sī) saṃghā^o. (See vol. i. pp. 112, 128.)*

bhūtā uttarena-mukhā gacchanti yena Sīṃsapā-vanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamanti.¹

2. Now at that time there came over Pāyāsi an evil view of things to this effect :— 'Neither is there any-other world, nor are there beings reborn otherwise than from parents, nor is there fruit or result of deeds well done or ill done.'

Now the brahmins and householders of Setavyā heard the news :— 'They say that the wanderer Master Kassapa, disciple of the wanderer Gotama, walking on tour with a great company of bhikkhus, to the number of about five hundred, has arrived at Setavyā and is staying there to the north of the town, in the Sīṃsapā-tree Grove. Now regarding that Master Kassapa, such is the excellent reputation that has Keen raised abroad :— 'Wise and expert is he, abounding in knowledge and learning, eloquent and excellent in discourse, venerable too and an Arahant. And good is it to interview Arahants like him.' Then the brahmins and householders of Setavyā, coming out from the town in companies and bands from each district so that they could be counted², went by the north gate, to the Sīṃsapā-tree Grove.

3. Tena kho pana samayena Pāyāsi rājañño³ upari-pāsāde divā⁴-seyyaṃ upagato hoti. Addasā kho Pāyāsi rājañño Setavyake brāhmaṇa-gahapatike Setavyāya⁵ nikkhamitvā saṃghe saṃghī-bhūte uttarena-mukhe⁶ gacchante⁷ yena Sīṃsapā-vanaṃ ten' upasaṃkamante.⁷ Disvā khattaṃ āmantesi:

'Kim nu kho bho khatte Setavyakā⁸ brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā Setavyāya nikkhamitvā saṃghā saṃghī gaṇī-bhūtā uttarena-mukhā gacchanti yena Sīṃsapā-vanaṃ ti' ?

1. B^m K omit tenupasaṃkamanti ; K (note) ito paraṃ Sīhaḷa-poṭṭhake 'tenupasaṃkamantīti' dissati.
2. The expression is somewhat ambiguous. See the note on I, 145.
3. SS rañño.
4. S^{cd} divya-. See D. i. 112, 128.
5. S^c - vyayaṃ; S^d -vyāyaṃ; -vyāyā.
6. SS mukho.
7. K omits; K (note) ito paraṃ Sīhaḷa-poṭṭhake 'tenu-pasaṃkamanteti' dissati.
8. K Setavyā.

‘Atthi kho bho samaṇo Kumāra-kassapo samaṇassa Gotamassa sāvako Kosalesu cārikaṃ caramāno mahatā bhikkhu-saṃghena saddhiṃ pañca-mattehi bhikkhu-satehi Setavyaṃ anuppatto Setavyāya¹ viharati uttarena Setavyā² Siṃsapā-vane. Taṃ kho pana bhavantaṃ³ Kumāra-kassapaṃ evaṃ kalyāṇo kittisaddo abbhuggato : “Paṇḍito vyatto medhāvī bahussuto citta-kathī kalyāṇa-paṭibhāno vuḍḍho c’eva arahā cāti.”⁴ Tam enaṃ⁵ bhavantaṃ Kumāra-kassapaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkaman-tīti.’⁶

‘Tena hi bho khatte yena Setavyakā brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā ten’ upasaṃkama, upasaṃkamitvā Setavyake brāhmaṇa-gahapatike evaṃ vadehi : “Pāyāsi bho rājañño evaṃ āha. Āgamentu⁷ kira bhavanto, Pāyāsi⁸ rājañño samaṇaṃ Kumāra-kassapaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissa-tīti.” Purā samaṇo Kumāra-kassapo Setavyake brāhmaṇa-gahapatike bāle avyatte⁹ saññāpeti:¹⁰ “Iti pi atthi paraloko,¹¹ atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.” N’atthi hi bho khatte paraloko, n’atthi sattā opapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

‘Evaṃ bho ti’ kho so khattā Pāyāsissa rājaññassa paṭissutvā yena Setavyakā brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā Setavyake brāhmaṇa-gahapatike etad avoca: ‘Pāyāsi bho rājañño evaṃ āha : “Āgamentu kira bhavanto, Pāyāsi rājañño samaṇaṃ Kumāra-kassapaṃ dassanāya upasaṃkamissāti.” ’

1. SS Setavyāva.

2. SS °vyam ; B^m K °byam.

3. S^{cd} bhagav°.

4. K ca.

5. S^c tamono; S^{dt} tameno; - B^m adds te; (K tam ete).

6. K upasaṃkamissantīti.

7. S^t āgamiṃtu.

8. B^m adds pi.

9. S^t B^m K bāle avyatte (B^m aby°).

10. SS -petīti.

11. B^m K paro loko, and below.

3. Now at that time Pāyāsi, the chieftain, had gone apart to the upper terrace of his house for siesta. And seeing the people thus go by he said to his doorkeeper:— ‘Why are the people of Setavyā going forth like this towards the Simsapā-tree Grove ?’ Then the doorkeeper told him the news. And he said :— ‘Then, good doorkeeper, go to the brahmins and householders of Setavyā and say to them :— “Payāsi, sirs, bids you wait ; he will come himself to see the Wanderer Master Kassapa.” That Boy Kassapa will be winning over at the outset those foolish and inexpert brahmins and householders of Setavyā to think :— “There is both another world and there are beings who are born not of parents, and there is fruit, and result of deeds well done and ill done.” But, my good doorkeeper, these three things do not exist.’

‘Even so, sir,’ said the doorkeeper, and carried out his master’s bidding.

4. *Atha kho Pāyāsi rājañño. Setavyakehi brāhmaṇa-gahapatikehi parivuto yena simsapā-vanaṃ yen’ āyasmā Kumāra-kassapo ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā āyasmatā Kumāra-kassapena saddhiṃ sammodi sammod-anīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Setayakā pi kho brāhmaṇa-gahapatikā app’ ekacce āyasmantaṃ Kumāra-kassapaṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ nisidiṃsu, app’ ekacce āyasmatā Kumāra-kassapena saddhiṃ sammodiṃsu, sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekamantaṃ nisidiṃsu, app’ ekacce yen’ āyasmā Kumāra-kassapo ten’ añjalim paṇāmetvā ekamantaṃ nisidiṃsu, app’ ekacce nama-gottaṃ sāvetvā ekamantaṃ nisidiṃsu, app’ ekacce tuṇhī-bhūtā ekamantaṃ nisidiṃsu.*

4. So Pāyāsi, the chieftain, surrounded by the brahmins and householders of Setavyā, came to the Simsapā-tree Grove, and finding the venerable Kassapa, exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy, and took his seat on one side. And as to the brahmins and householders of Setavyā, some of them bowed before the venerable Kassapa and took their seats on one side ; some of them exchanged with him the greetings and compliments of politeness and courtesy and

then took their seats on one side ; some of them saluted him with joined hands and took their seats on one side ; some of them called out their name and family and did likewise, some of them took their seats on one side in silence.

5. Ekamantaṃ nisinnokho Pāyāsi rājañño āyasmantaṃ Kumāra-kassapaṃ etad avoca:

‘Ahaṃ hi bho Kassapa evaṃ-vādī evaṃ-diṭṭhī : Iti pi n’ atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattāopapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa-dukkatāṇaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

‘Nāhaṃ¹ Rājañña evaṃ-vādiṃ evaṃ-diṭṭhiṃ² addasaṃ vā assosiṃ vā. Kathaṃ hi nāma evaṃ vadeyya: Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattā opapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa-dukkatāṇaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipako ti. Tena hi Rājañña taṃ yev’ ettha paṭṭapucchissāmi, yathā te kameyya tathā naṃ vyākareyyāsi. Taṃ kiṃ maññasi rājañña, ime candima-suriyā³ imasmiṃ⁴ loke parasmīṃ vā, devā⁵ te manussā vā ti ?’

‘Ime bho Kassapa candima-suriyā parasmīṃ loke na imasmiṃ, devā te na manussā ti.’

‘Iminā⁶ kho te Rājañña pariyāyena evant hotu: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi satrā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatāṇaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

5. And when he was seated Pāyāsi spoke thus to the venerable Master Kassapa :—

‘I, Master Kassapa, am of this opinion, of these views :— Neither is there another world, nor are there beings reborn not of parents, nor is there fruit or result of deeds well done or ill done.’

‘I, Prince, have neither seen or heard of any one holding such a view, such an opinion. How then can you declare, as you do that “there neither is another world, nor rebirth as inheritor of

1. SS^m nāhaṃ ; K sohaṃ.

2. So B^m SS -vādi, -diṭṭhi.

3. B^m -suriyā, and below.

4. K addsa vā.

5. B^m add vā ; So also K, omitting te.

6. B^m adds pi.

the highest heavens, nor fruit or result of deeds well-done or ill-done" ? Wherefore, Prince, I will cross-question you herein, and do you reply in what way you may approve. What think you, yon moon and sun, are they in this world or in another world, are they divine or human ?

'This moon and sun, Master Kassapa, are in another world, not in this, they are gods, not human.'

'Then, Prince, let this be taken as evidence that there is both another world, and rebirth as inheritor of the highest heavens, and fruit and result of deeds done well or ill.'

6. 'Kiñcāpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evaṃ āha, atha kho evaṃ me ettha hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Atthi pana Rājāñña pariyāyo yena te pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti ?'

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Yathā kathaṃ viya¹ Rājāññāti ?'

'Idha me bho Kassapa mittāmaccā ñāti-sālohitā pāṇātipātī adinnādāvī kāmesu micchācārī musā-vādī piṣuṇā-vācā pharusā-vācā² samphappalāpī abhijjhālū³ vyāpanna⁴ cittā micchā-diṭṭhī. Te aparena samayena ābādhikā honti dukkhitā bālha-gilānā. Yadā 'haṃ jānāmi : "Na dān' ime imamhā abādhā vuṭṭhahissantīti" tyāhaṃ upas-amkamitvā evaṃ vādāmi: "Santi kho bho oke samaṇa-brāhmaṇā evaṃ-vādino evaṃ-diṭṭhino:— Ye te pāṇātipātī adinnādāyī kāmesu micchācārī musā-vādī piṣuṇā-vācā pharusā-vācā samphappalāpī abhijjhālū vyāpanna-cittā micchā-diṭṭhī, te kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātāṃ

1. S^c kathañcidvaya; S^d katañcidvaya.

2. SS piṣuṇā-, pharusā, *twice* ; B^m piṣuṇa-, pharusa-, *twice*; K piṣuṇā- but pharusa-, *chice*. See D. ii. 312.

3. SS B^m jhālū (*apparently*), and *below*.

4. K byā^o.

nirayaṃ uppajjantīti.¹ Bhavanto kho pāṇātipātī adinnādāyī kāmesu michācarī musā-vādī piṣuṇā-vācā pharusā-vācā samphappalāpī abhijjālū vyā-panna-cittā micchā-diṭṭhī. Sace tesam bhavataṃ² samaṇa-brāhmaṇānaṃ saccaṃ vacanaṃ, bhavanto kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ uppajjissanti. Sace bho kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātaṃ nirayaṃ uppajjeyyātha, yena me āgantvā āroceyyātha: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Bhavanto kho pana³ me saddhāyikā paccayikā, yaṃ bhavantehi diṭṭhaṃ⁴ yathā sāmāṃ⁴ diṭṭhaṃ, evaṃ etaṃ bhavissatīti.” Te me “Sādhūti paṭissutvā n’eva āgantvā ārocenti, na pana dūtaṃ pahīṇ-anti.⁵ Ayam pi kho bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattā opapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

6. ‘Even though Master Kassapa says thus, it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.’

‘Have you, Prince, any proof to establish that they do not exist ?’

‘I have, Master Kassapa.’

‘As how ?’

‘Here it is, Master Kassapa. I have had friends, companions, relatives, men of the same blood as myself, who have taken life, committed thefts, or fornication, have uttered lying, slanderous, abusive, gossiping speech, have been covetous, of malign thoughts, of evil opinions. They anon have fallen ill of mortal suffering and disease. When I had understood that they would not recover from that illness, I have gone to them and said :— “According to the views and opinion held., sirs, by certain wanderers and brahmins, they who break the precepts of morality, when the body breaks

1. K byā°.

2. B^m upapajjissantīti; K upapajjantīti; B^m K upap° throughout.

3. K bhavati.

4. S^c yathāssamaṃ ; yathāssassamaṃ.

5. K Pahinanti.

up after death, are reborn into the Waste, the Woeful Way, the Fallen Place, the Pit. Now you, sirs, have broken those precepts. If what those reverent wanderers and brahmins say is true, this, sirs, will be your fate. If these things should befall you, sirs, come to me and tell me, saying :— ‘There is another world, there is rebirth not of parents, there is fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done.’ You, sirs, are for me trustworthy and reliable, and what you say you have seen, will be even so, just as if I myself had seen it.” They have consented to do this, saying, “Very good,” but they have neither come themselves, nor dispatched a messenger. Now this, Master Kassapa, is evidence for me that there is neither another world, nor rebirth not by human parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well done and ill.’

7. ‘Tena hi Rajañña taṃ yev’ ettha paṭipucchissāmi, yathā te khameyya tathā naṃ vyākareyyāsi. Taṃ kiṃ maññasi Rājāñña ? Idha te purisā coraṃ āgu-cāriṃ gahetvā dasseyyum: “Ayan te bhante coro āgu-cārī, imassa yaṃ icchasi taṃ daṇḍaṃ paṇehīti.¹” Te tvam² evaṃ vadeyyāsi: “Tena hi bho imaṃ purisaṃ dalhāya rajjuyāpachā-pacchā-bāhaṃ gālha-bandhanaṃ bandhitvā, khura-muṇḍaṃ karitvā,³ kharassarena paṇavena rathiyāya rathiyaṃ siṅghāṭakena siṅghāṭakaṃ parinetvā,⁴ dakkhiṇena dvārena nikkhamitvā,⁵ dakkhiṇato nagaassa⁶ āghātane⁷ sīsaṃ chindathāti.” Te “Sādhuti” paṭisu-ṇitvā,⁸ taṃ purisaṃ dalhāya rajjuyā pacchā-bāhaṃ gālha-bandhanaṃ bandhitvā, khura-muṇḍaṃ⁹ karitvā, kharasa-arena paṇavena rathiyāya rathiyaṃ siṅghāṭakena siṅghāṭakaṃ parinetvā, dakkhiṇena dvārena nikkhāitvā,

1. K vadehīti ; K (Sī) paṇehīti. See pp. 332, 339.

2. S^c netam; S^{dt} tetam; B^m K te tvam.

3. B^m K kāretvā, and below ; K (Sī) karitvā. See D. i. 98

4. Here S^t paṭitvā ; S^{cd} here Priggahetva; SS below parinetvā.

5. S^{cd} B^m K-khamitvā twice; S^t - khāmetvā. So Jāt. i. 326.

6. S^t naṅg^o, and below.

7. All MSS. āghātena (twice).

8. S^d paṭiss^o; B^m K paṭissutvā (and onwards).

9. S^c - akam.

dakkhiṇato nagarassa āghātane nisīdāpeyyum. Labheyya nu kho so¹ coro cora-ghātesu : “Āgamentu tāva bhavanto cora-ghātā, amukasmim² me gāme vā nigame vā mittā maccā nāti-sālohitā, yāvāhaṃ tesam uddassetvā³ āgacchāmīti ?” Udāhu vippalapantass’ eva cora-ghātā sīsam chindeyyun ti ?

‘Na hi so bho Kassapa coro labheyya cora-ghātesu : “Āgamentu tāva bhavanto cora-ghātā, amukasmim me gāme vā nigame vā mittāmaccā nāti-sālohitā, yāvāhaṃ tesam uddassetvā āgacchāmīti.” Atha kho naṃ vippalantass’ eva cora-ghātā sīsam chindeyyun ti.’

‘So hi nāma Rājañña coro manusso manussa-bhūtesu cora-ghātesu na labhissati : “Āgamentu tāva bhavanto cora-ghātā, amukasmim me gāme vā nigame vā mittāmaccā nāti-sālohitā, yāvāhaṃ tesam uddassetvā āgacchāmīti.” Kim pana te mittāmaccā nāti-sālohitā pañātipātī adinnādāyī kāmesu micchācārī musā-vādī pisunā-vācā pharusā-vācā samphappalāpī abhijjhālū⁴ vyāpanna-cittā micchā-diṭṭhi⁵ kāyassa bheda param maraṇā apāyaṃ duggatiṃ vinipātāṃ nirayaṃ uppannā labhissanti niraya-pālesu : “Āgamentu tāva bhavanto niraya-pālā yāva mayaṃ Pāyāsissa rājaññassa gantvā ārocema : Iti pi atthi paraloke, atthi sattāopapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti” ? Iminā pi kho te Rājañña pariyāyena evaṃ hotu : Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

7. ‘Well then, prince, I will yet ask you this, and do you answer even, as you think fit. What think you ? Take the case of men who have taken a felon red-handed and bring him up saying:— “My lord, this felon was caught in the act ; inflict what penalty you wish.” He replies :— “Well then, sirs, bind this man securely, his arms behind him, with a strong cord ; shave his

1. K bho.

2. SS (*here only*) asukasmim (*twice afterwards* m).

3. SS dassetvā (*thrice*) ; B^m K uddisitvā (*thrice*) ; Suta uddassetvā.

4. S^{dt} -jhā.

5. B^{dt} adds te.

head ; lead him around, to the sound of a sharp drum, from street to street, from cross-road to cross-road, and out at the southern gate ; there, south of the town in the place of execution, cut off his head.” They, assenting with “Very good,” proceed to carry out these orders, and, in the place of execution, make him sit down. Now would the felon gain permission of this sort from his executioners: “Let my masters, the executioners, wait till I have visited my friends and advisers, my kinsmen by blood, in this or that village or town, and come back” ? Or would the executioners cut off the head of this vain talker ?

‘They would not grant the permission, Master Kassapa ; they would cut off his head.’

‘But this felon, prince, is human and cannot get leave from human executioners. How much less then would your friends and relatives, after death, in the Pit, gain permission from the keepers of the Pit, saying:— “Let my masters, the Pit-keepers, wait till we have gone and told the chieftain Pāyāsi, that there is both another world and rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill ?” Be this exposition a proof to you, Prince, that these things exist.’

8. **‘Kiñcāpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evaṃ āha, atha kho evaṃ me ettha hoti : Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattāopapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’**

Atthi pana Rājāñña pariyāyo yena te pariyāyena evaṃ hoti: Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattāopapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti ?’

‘Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattā opapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

‘Yathā kathaṃ viya Rājāññāti ?’

‘Idha me bho Kassapa mittāmaccā ñā ti-sālohitā paṇātipātā paṭiviratā adinnādānā paṭiviratā kāmesu micchā-cārā paṭiviratā musā-vādā paṭiviratā piṣuṇaya vācāyā paṭiviratā pharusāya vācāya¹ paṭiviratā amphappalāpā paṭiviratā

1. SS piṣuṇā-vācā and pharusā-vacā; B^m piṣuṇāya vācāya and pharusāya vācāya; K piṣuṇā-vācā and pharusavācā.

anabhijjhālū avyāpanna-cittā sammā-diṭṭhī. Te aparena samayena ābādhikā honti dukkhitā bālha-gilānā. Yadāhaṃ jānāmi : “Na dān’ ime imamhā ābādhā vuṭṭha hissantūti,” tyāti,” tydhaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṃ vadāmi : “Santi kho bho eke samaṇa-brāhmaṇā evaṃ vādino evaṃ diṭṭhino—Ye te pāṇātipātā paṭiviratā adinnādānā paṭiviratā kāmesu micchācārā paṭiviratā musā-vādā paṭiviratā pisuṇāya vācāya¹ pāpaṭiviratā pharusāya vācāya² paṭiviratā samphappalāpā paṭiviratā anabhijjhālū avyāpanna-cittā sammā-diṭṭhī, te kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjantīti. Bhavanto kho pāṇātipātā paṭiviratā adinnādānā paṭiviratā kāmesu micchācārā paṭiviratā musā-vādā paṭiviratā pisuṇāya vācāya paṭiviratā pharusāya vācāya³ paṭiviratā samphappalāpā paṭiviratā anabhijjhālū avyāpanna-cittā sammā-diṭṭhī. Sace tesam bhavataṃ samaṇa-brāhmaṇānaṃ saccaṃ vacanaṃ, bhavanto kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjissanti. Sace bho kāyassa bhedā param maraṇā sugatiṃ saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjeyyātha, yena me āgantva āroceyyātha : Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Bhavanto kho pana me saddhāyikā, yaṃ bhavantehi diṭṭham, yathā sāmaṃ diṭṭham, evaṃ etaṃ bhavissatiti.” Te me “Sādhuti” paṭisunītvā n’eva āgantvā ārocenti na pana dūtaṃ pahiṇanti. Ayam pi kho bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattā opapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ vipāko ti.’

8. ‘Even though Master Kassapa says thus, it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.’

‘Have you, prince, any further proof to establish that they do not exist ?’

‘I have, Master Kassapa.’

1. S^c pisunā-vācāya : S^{dt} K pisuṇā-vācā ; B^m pisuṇāya vācāya.

2. S^d pharusā-vācā ; S^c pharusā-vācāya, ; S^t B^m pharu-sāya yācāyā ; E pharusavācā (and so onwards).

3. S^c B^m pharusāya vācāya ; S^d pharusā-vācā.

‘As how ?’

‘Here it is, Master Kassapa. I have had friends and companions, kinsmen, men of the same blood as myself, who have abstained from taking life, from committing thefts, or fornication, from lying, slandering, rude, or frivolous speech, who have not coveted, or had malign thoughts or evil opinions. They anon have fallen ill of mortal suffering and disease. When I had understood that they would not recover from that illness, I have gone to them and said: “According, sirs, to the views and opinions held by some Wanderers and Brahmins, they who keep the precepts of morality, when the body breaks up, are after death reborn into the bright and happy world. Now you, sirs, have kept those precepts. If what those reverend samāas and brahmins say is true, this, sirs, will be your fate. If these things should befall you, sirs, when you have been there reborn, come to me and let me know that there is both another world, rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done. You, sirs, are for me trustworthy and reliable, and what you say you have seen, will be even so, just as if I myself had seen it.” They have consented to do this, saying “Very good”; but they have not come and let me know, nor have they dispatched a messenger. Now this again, Master Kassapa, is evidence to me that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parentage, nor fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done.’

9. ‘Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya¹ pi idh’ ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānanti.² seyyathā pi Rājañña puriso gūtha-kupe sasīsako³ nimuggo assa. Atha tvaṃ purise āṇāpeyyāsi : “Tena hi bho taṃ purisaṃ tamhā gūtha-kūpāuddharathāti.” Te⁴ “Sādhūti” paṭissuṇitvā taṃ purisaṃ tamhā gūtha-gūtha-kūpā uddhareyyuṃ. Te tvaṃ evaṃ evaṃ vadeyyāsi : “Tena hi bho tassa purisassa kāyā

1. B upamāyamidhekacce ; K upamāyapidhekacce (and so both throughout).

2. SS usually ājānanti.

3. S¹ sisako; B^m sasisakaṃ.

4. K te te, and below.

velu-pesikāhi gūtham sunimmajjitam nimmajjeyyum. Te tvaṃ evaṃ vadeyyāsi : “Tena hi bho tassa purisassa kāyaṃ paṇḍumattikāya¹ tikkhattum subbaṭṭitam² ub-bṭṭethāti.”³ Te⁴ tassa purisassa kāyaṃ paṇḍumattikāya⁵ tikkhattum subbaṭṭitam⁶ ubbaṭṭeyyum.⁷ Te tvaṃ evaṃ vadeyyāsi : “Tena hi bho taṃ purisaṃ telena abbhañjitvā⁸ sukhumena cuṇṇena tikkhattum suppadhotam karoṭhāti.” Te taṃ purisaṃ telena abbhañjitvā sukhumena cuṇṇena tikkhattum suppadhotam kareyyum. Te tvaṃ evaṃ vadeyyāsi : “Tena hi bho tassa purisassa kesa-massum kappethāti.” Te tassa purisassa kesa-massum kappeyyum. Te tvaṃ evaṃ vadeyyāsi : “Tena hi bho⁹ tassa purisassa mahagghañ ca mālaṃ mahagghañ ca vilepanaṃ mahagghāni ca vatthāni upaharathāti.” Te tassa purisassa mahagghañ ca mālaṃ mahagghañ ca vilepanaṃ mahagghāni ca vatthāni upaareyyum. Te tvaṃ vadeyyāsi : “Tena hi bho taṃ purisaṃ pāsādaṃ āropetvā, pañca kāmaguṇāni upaṭṭhapethāti.”¹⁰ Te taṃ purisaṃ pāsādaṃ āropetvā pañca kāmaguṇāni upaṭṭhapeyyum. Taṃ kim maññasi Rājañña ? Api nu tassa purisassa sunahātassa¹¹ suvilittassa kappita¹²-kesa-massussa āmutta-mālābharaṇassa¹³ odāta-vattha-vasa-nassa upari-pāsāda-vara-gatassa pañcahi kāmaguṇehi samappitassa samaṅgibhūtaṃ paricāriyamā-

1. S^d pañcupattikāya ; S^t paccumattikāya.

2. S^c sabbaṭṭitam ; S^d sabbaṭṭitam ; S^t subaṭṭitam; B^m supp^o; K ubbaṭṭitam (*and below*).

3. B^m uppaṭṭ^o *and so* B^d at Jāt. v. 89 ; K ubbaṭṭethāti. *See* Jāt. i. 238.

4. K *adds* te te sādhuṭi paṭi^o.

5. S^t paccumattikāya ; S^c paṇḍumattikā.

6. S^t subaṭṭ^o; B^m supp^o.

7. B^m upp^o; K ubbaṭṭeyyum.

8. *See* pug. P. p. 56.

9. K *omits*.

10. B^m -ṭhāp^o, *twice*.

11. S^d B^m K sunhātassa; K (*note*) sunahātassa.

12. B^m sukappita-.

13. K maṇikaraṇassa.

nassa¹ punad eva² tasmiṃ gūtaḥa-kūpe nimmuḃḃitukāmatā³ assāti ?’

‘No h’idaṃ bho Kassapa.’

‘Taṃ kissa hetu ?’

‘Asuci bho Kassapa gūtha-kūpo, asuci c’eva⁴ asuci-saṃkhāto ca duggandho ca duggandha-saṃkhāto ca jeguccho ca jeguccha-saṃkhāto ca paṭikkūlo⁵ ca paṭikkūlasaṃkhāto cāti.

‘Evam eva kho Rājāñña manussā devānam asuci c’eva asuci-saṃkhātā ca duggandhā ca duggandha-saṃkhātā ca jegucchāca jeguccha-saṃkhātā ca paṭikkūlā ca paṭikkūlasaṃkhātāca. Yojana-sataṃ kho Rājāñña manussa-gaṇḍho deve ubbāhati.⁶ Kim pana te mittāmaccā nāti-sālohitā pāṇātipātā paṭiviratā adinnādātā kāmesu micchācārā paṭiviratā musāvādā paṭiviratā piṣuṇāya vācāya paṭiviratā pharusāya vācāya⁷ paṭiviratā saṃphappalāpā paṭiviratā anabhijjhālū avyāpanna-cittā sammā-diṭṭhī kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā sugatim saggaṃ lokaṃ uppannā⁸ āgantvā ārocessanti : “Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ vipāko ti ?” Iminā pi kho te Rājāñña pariyāyena evaṃ hotu: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

9. ‘Well then, Prince, I will make you a simile, for by a simile some intelligent persons will recognize the meaning of what is said. Just as if a man were plunged head-under in a pit of mire. And you were to order men saying :— “Well now,

1. B^m K paricāraya^o.

2. SS *add* tassa.

3. B^m -kamyatā; K-kāmyatā.

4. S^{cd} asucimeva (*twice*).

5. K paṭikūl^o (*four times*).

6. B^m ubbādhati. *See* p. 347.

7. S^d K piṣuṇāvācā . . . pharusāvācā.

8. B^m K upapannā te (*cp.* § 7, p. 13, where B^m *adds* te, though in a different place). K *puts full stop* at upapannā.

masters, pull the man out of that pit." They, saying "Very good," were to comply and pull him out. You were then to say to them:—"Well now, masters, brush the mire smearing him from off his body with split bamboo ¹." And they were to obey you. And you were to say to them :—"Well now, masters, shampoo this man's body a treble massage with yellow shampoo powder." And they were to do so. And you were to say to them :—"Now, masters, rub him with oil, and bathe him three times using fine chunam." And they were to do so. And you were to say to them:—"Well, masters, now dress his hair." And they were to do so. And you were to say to them :—"Now, masters, deck him with a costly garland and costly unguent and costly garments." And they were to do so. And you were to say to them :—"Well, masters, take him up on to the palace and amuse him with the pleasures of the five senses." And they were to do so. Now what think you, O chieftain? Would this man, well bathed, well anointed, shaved and combed, dressed, wreathed and adorned, clad in clean raiment, taken to the upper palace, and indulging in, surrounded by, treated to, the five pleasures of sense, be desirous of being plunged once more into that pit of mire ? 'No indeed, Master Kassapa.'

'And why?'

'Foul, Master Kassapa, is a pit of mire, foul and counted as such, stinking, disgusting, repulsive, and counted as such.'

'Even so, Prince, are human beings in the eyes of the gods, foul and counted as such, stinking, disgusting, repulsive, and counted as such. The smell of man offends the gods a hundred leagues away. What then ? Shall your friends and companions, your kinsmen and connexions who, having kept the precepts, are reborn into the bright and happy place, come and bring you word that there is another world, that there is rebirth other than by parentage, that there is fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done ? Let this exposition, chieftain, be evidence to you that these things exist.'

1. No doubt a sort of brush made of split bamboo.

10. 'Kiñcāpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evaṃ āha, atha kho evaṃ me ettha hoti: Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Atthi pana Rājāṇṇa pariyāyo . . . pe . . .'

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo . . . pe . . .'

'Yathā kathaṃ viya Rājāṇṇāti ?'

'Idha me bho Kassapa mittāmaccā ñāti-sālohitā pāṇātipātā paṭiviratā adinnādāna paṭiviratā kāmesu micchā-cārā paṭiviratā musā-vādā paṭiviratā surā-meraya-majja-pamādatṭhānā paṭiviratā. Te aparena samayena ābādhikā honti dukkhitā bālha-gilāna. Yadāhaṃ jānāmi : "Na idān' ime imamahā ābādhā vuṭṭhahissanti," tyāhaṃ upasaṃkamitvā evaṃkamitvā evaṃ adami: "Santi kho bho ake samaṇa-brāhmaṇā evaṃ vādino evaṃ ditthino—Ye te pānātipātā paṭiviratā adinnādānā paṭiviratā kāmesu micchācārā paṭiviratā musā-vādā paṭiviratā surā-meraya-majja-pamādatṭhānā paṭiviratā, te kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā sugatim saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjanti devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ saṃvāyatan ti. Bhavanto kho pāṇātipātā paṭiviratā adinnādānā paṭiviratā kāmesu micchātipātā paṭiviratā susā-vādā paṭiviratā surā-meraya-majja-pamādatṭhānā paṭiviratā. Sace tesam bhavataṃ¹ samaṇa-brāhmaṇānaṃ saccam vacanaṃ, bhavanto kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā sugatim saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjissanti devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ saṃvāyatan. Sace² bho kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā sugatim saggaṃ lokaṃ uppajjeyyātha devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ saṃvāyatan, yena me āgantvā āroceyyātha—Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Bhavanto kho pana me saddhāyikā paccayikā, yaṃ bhavantehi ditṭhaṃ, yathā sāmaṃ ditṭhaṃ, evaṃ etaṃ bhavissati." Te me "Sādhūti" paṭisunītvā n'eva āgantvā ārocenti na pana dūtaṃ paṇinanti. Ayam pi kho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena

1. S^{ct} bhavantānaṃ ; K bhavati.

2. K incerts kho.

evam hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko n'atthi sattāopapātikā n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

10. 'Even though Master Kassapa says so, it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.'

'Have you any further evidence, prince ?' . . .

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'As how ?'

'Here it is, Master Kassapa. I have had friends, companions, kinsmen, men of the same blood as myself, who kept the precepts, abstaining from taking life; from taking what was not given, from in chastity, lying speech and strong intoxicating liquors. They anon have fallen mortally ill; and I, having told them how some samattas and brahmins say that, after such a life, one would be reborn in the communion of the Three-and-Thirty Gods, have asked them, if they were so reborn, to come and let me know that there was another world, birth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done. They have promised to do so, but they have neither come and told me, nor sent a messenger. This, Master Kassapa, is evidence to me that not one of those things exists.

11. 'Tena hi Rājañña taṃ yev' ettha paṭipucchissāmi, yathā te khomeyya tathā naṃ vyākareyyāsi. Yaṃ kho¹ Rājañña mānusakaṃ vassa-sataṃ, devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsā-naṃ eso eko rattindivo.² Tāya rattiyā tiṃsa rattio māsom, tena māsenā dvādasā-māsiyo³ saṃvaccharo, tena saṃvaccharena dīpaṃ vassa-sahassaṃ devānaṃ Tāvā-tiṃsānaṃ āyuppa-mānaṃ. Ye te mittāmacca nāti-sālohitā pāṇātipātā paṭiviratā adinnādānā paṭiviratā kāmesu-micchācārā paṭiviratā musāvādā paṭiviratā surā-meraya-majja-pamādaṭṭhānā paṭiviratā, te⁴ kāyassa bhedaṃ parama maraṇā sugatiṃ saggāṃ lokāṃ uppannā deānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ saṃvayataṃ. Sace pana tesāṃ

1. K kho pana.

2. B^m rattidivo (*twice*).

3. So SS B^m K. (*Compare māsiṃ at Th. 1.283 and D. 1. 166 = M. i. 238, 342; P.P. p. 55.*)

4. So B^m. SS K omit.

evaṃ bhavissati : “Yāva mayam dve vā tīni vā rattindivāni dibbehi pañca-kāma-guṇehi¹ samappitā samaṅgibhūtā paricārema, atha mayam Pāyāsissa Rājaññassa gantvā ārocessāma²: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti,” api nu te³ āgantvā āroceyyum⁴ : Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti ?”

‘No h’idaṃ⁵ bho Kassapa. Api hi mayam bho Kassapa ciraṃ kālakatā pi bhavēyyāma. Ko pan’ etaṃ bhoto Kassapassa āroceti : “Atthi devā Tāvatiṃsā” ti vā, “Evaṃ dīghāyukā devā Tāvatiṃsā” ti vā. Na mayam bhoto Kassapassa saddahāma “Atthi devā Tāvatiṃsā” ti vā “Evaṃ dīghāyukā devāvatīṃsā” ti vā.⁶

‘Seyyathā pi Rājañña jaccandho puriso yo⁷ na passeyya kaṇha-sukkāni rūpāni, na passeyya nīlakāni rūpāni, na pasacyya pītakāni rūpāni, na passeyya lohitaṇṇāni rūpāni, na passeyya mañjītṭhikāni⁸ rūpāni, na passeyya sama-visamaṃ, na passeyya tāraṇa-rupāni⁹ na passeyya candima-suriye.¹⁰ So evaṃ vadeyya : “N’atthi¹¹ kaṇha-sukkāni rūpāni, n’atthi kaṇha-sukkānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, n’atthi nīlakāni rūpāni, n’atthi nīlakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, n’atthi pītakāni rūpāni, n’atthi pītakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, n’atthi lohitaṇṇāni rūpāni, n’atthi lohitaṇṇānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, n’atthi mañjītṭhikāni rūpāni, n’atthi mañjītṭhikānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, n’atthi

1. K pañcahi k^o.

2. So SS; B^m K āroceyyāma.

3. SS api te ; B^m api na te ; K nu te.

4. SS B^m ārocesum.

5. B^m etaṃ ; K hi taṃ.

6. SS B^m K all omit ti; cp. p. 329.

7. S^c ye; S^d B^m K omit.

8. K mañjētṭhakāni (and below). See M. 1. 35, 529, and vimāna Vatthu xxxix. 1.

9. All MSS. tāraṇa-rupāni thrice; K tārakāni rupāni thrice.

10. B^m -suriye.

11. S^{cd} tattha.

sama-visamaṃ, n'atthi sama-visamassa dassāvī, n'atthi tāraka-rupāni, n'atthi tāraka-rūpānaṃ dassāvī, n'atthi candima-suriyā,¹ n'atthi candima-suriyānaṃ dassāvī.² Aham etaṃ na jānāmi, aham etaṃ na passāmi, tasmā taṃ n'atthīti." Sammā nu kho so Rājañña vadamāno vadeyyāti ?

'No h' idam bho Kassapa. Atthi³ kaṇha-sukkāni rūpāni, atthi kaṇha-sukkānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, atthi nīlakāni rūpāni, atthi nīlakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī,⁴ atthi pītakāni rūpāni, atthi pītakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, atthi lohita-kāni rūpāni, atthi lohitakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, atthi mañjitthakāni rūpāni, atthi mañjitthakānaṃ rūpānaṃ dassāvī, atthi sama-visamaṃ, atthi sama-visamassa dassāvī, atthi tāraka-rupāni, atthi tāraka-rūpānaṃ dassāvī, atthi candima-suriyā, atthi candima-suriyānaṃ dassāvī.⁵ "Aham etaṃ na jānāmi, aham etaṃ na passāmi, tasmā taṃ n'atthīti," na hi so bho Kassapa sammā vadamāno vadeyyāti.'

'Evam eva kho tvaṃ Rājañña jaccandhūpamo maññe paṭibhāsi, yaṃ⁶ maṃ tvaṃ evaṃ vadesi⁷ : "Ko pan' etaṃ⁸ bhoto Kassapassa āroceti: 'Atthi devā Tāvatiṃsā' ti vā, 'Evam dīghâyukā devā Tāvatiṃsā' ti vā. Na mayaṃ bhoto Kassapassa saddahāma : 'Atthi devā Tāvatiṃsā' ti vā 'Evam dīghâyukā devā Tāvatiṃsā' ti vā."

'Na kho Rājañña evaṃ paraloko⁹ daṭṭhabbo yathā tvaṃ maññasi iminā maṃsa-cakkunā. Ye kho te Rājañña samana - brāhmaṇā araññe¹⁰ vanapatthāni¹¹ pantāni senāsanāni

1. SS^o - yānaṃ rūpāni.

2. SS *insert* n'atthi.

3. SS *tattha*.

4. B^m pa; K *pe, down to* atthi sama-visamaṃ.

5. SS *add* atthi.

6. S^t *omits*; K *yaṃ etaṃ evaṃ vadesi*.

7. S^{cd} *vadeyya*.

8. B^m *pana me taṃ*.

9. K *paro loko, and below*.

10. B^m K *arañña-*.

11. B^m *vanapattāni*.

paṭisevanti ¹appa-saddāni appa-nigghosāni,¹ te tattha appamattā ātāpino pahitattā² viharantā³ dibbaṃ⁴ cakkhum visodhenti, te dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkamanta-mānusakena imam eva⁵ lokaṃ passanti⁶ param eva,⁶ satte ca⁷ opapātike. Evaṃ⁸ kho Rājañña para-loko daṭṭhabbo,⁹ na tveva⁹ yathā tvaṃ¹⁰ maññasi iminā maṃsa-cakkhunā. Iminā pi kho to Rājañña pariyāyena evaṃ hotu: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattāopapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kam-mānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

11. ‘Well then, Prince, I will reply by asking you something, and do you answer as you think fit. That which, humanly speaking, is a century, this to the Three-and-Thirty Gods is one night and day. Of such a night thirty nights are the month—of such a month twelve months are the year—of such a year the celestial thousand years are the life-span of the Three-and-Thirty Gods. Those of whom you now speak will have attained rebirth into the communion of these Gods. If it should occur to them thus :— “Let us for two or three days indulge ourselves, surrounded by and steeped in the five pleasures of sense, and thereafter let us go and tell the chieftain Pāyāsi that there is another world, rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done”—would they then have come to you, and told you so ?’

‘Certainly not, Master Kassapa ; for we should have been dead long before. But who lets Master Kassapa know all these things :—that there are Three-and-Thirty Gods, or that the Three-

1-1. B^m K *omit*. K (ī) ito paraṃ ‘appasaddāni appanigghosānīti’ dissati.

2. S^c pahīn^o ; S^d pahīt^o.

3. S^c -taṃ.

4. K dibba-.

5. B^m K imañ c’eva.

6-6. S^t purima; B^m K parañ ca.

7. All MSS. *omit* ca.

8. B^m *adds* ca.

9-9. S^c nattheva; S^t na tvevaṃ.

10. SS *omit* tvaṃ.

and-Thirty Gods live so many years ? We do not believe him when he says these things.'

'That, Prince, is just as if there were a man born blind who could not see objects as dark or bright, as blue, yellow, red or brown ; who could not see things as smooth or rough, nor the stars, nor moon, nor sun. And he were to say :— "There are none of these things, nor any one capable of seeing them. I don't know them, I don't see them ; therefore they don't exist." Would one so speaking, speak rightly, Prince ?'

'Not so, Master Kassapa. The visual objects of which you speak do exist, and so does the faculty of seeing them, To say "I don't know them, I don't see them ; therefore they don't exist" : that would not be speaking rightly.'

'But even so, methinks, do you, Prince, talk like the blind man in my parable when you say :— "But who lets Master Kassapa know that there are Three-and-Thirty Gods, or that the Three-and-Thirty Gods live so many years ? We do not believe him when he says these things." For, Prince, the other world is not, as you imagine, to be regarded with this fleshly eye.

Those Wanderers and Brahmins who haunt the lonely and remote recesses of the forest, where noise, where sound there hardly is, they there abiding strenuous, ardent, aloof, purify the eye divine ; they by that purified eye divine, passing the vision of men, see both this world and that other world, and beings reborn not of parents. In this way, Prince, is the other world to be seen; and not, even as you imagine, by this fleshly eye. Let this be a proof to you that there is another world, that there are beings reborn not of parents, that there is fruit and result of deeds well-done and ill-done.'

12. 'Kiñcāpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evaṃ āha, atha kho evma me ettha hoti: Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatāṇaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Atthi pana Rājāñña pariyāyo . . . pe [322] . . . ?

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo . . . pe . . .

'Yathā kathaṃ viya Rājāññāti ?'

‘Idhâhaṃ bho Kassapa passāmi samaṇa-brāhmaṇe sīlavante kalyāṇa-dhamme jīvitū-kāme amaritū-kāme sukha-kāme dukkha-paṭikkūle.¹ Tassa mayhaṃ bho Kassapa evaṃ hoti: Sace kho ime bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇa-dhammā evaṃ jāneyyūṃ : “Iti no matānaṃ seyyo bhavissatīti,” idān’ ime bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇa-dhammā viṣaṃ vā khādeyyūṃ, satthaṃ vā āhareyyūṃ, ubbandhitvā² vā kālṃ kareyyūṃ, papāte vā papateyyūṃ. Yasmā ca kho ime bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇa-dhammā na evaṃ jānanti : “Iti no matānaṃ seyyo bhavissatīti,” tasmā ime bhonto samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇa-dhammā jīvitū-kāmā amaritū-kāmā sukha-kāmā dukkha-paṭikkūlā.³ Ayam pi⁴ bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti: Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattā opapātikā, n’atthi sukata-dukka-ṭṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

12. ‘Even though Master Kassapa says so, yet it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.’

‘Have you any further evidence, Prince ?’

‘I have, Master Kassapa.’

‘As how ?’

‘Here it is, Master Kassapa. I see Wanderers and Brahmins moral and of virtuous dispositions, fond of life, averse from dying, fond of happiness, shrinking from sorrow. Then I think, Master Kassapa :— “If these good Wanderers and Brahmins were to know this— ‘When once we are dead we shall be better off’ —then these good men would take poison, or stab themselves, or put an end to themselves by hanging, or throw themselves from precipices. And it is because they do not know that, once dead, they will be better off, that they are fond of life, averse from dying, fond of happiness, disinclined for sorrow. This, Master Kassapa, is for me evidence that there is no other

1. K paṭikkūle (and so below).

2. See Therī Gāthā 80; Jāt. i. 111, 345, 504.

3. B^m adds attānaṃ na mārenti.

4. K adds kho.

world, no beings reborn otherwise than of parents, no fruit and no result of deeds well and ill-done.'

13. 'Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsītassa atthaṃ ājānanti. Bhūtapubbam Rājañña aññatarassa brāhmaṇassa dve pajāpatiyo ahesuṃ. Ekissā putto ahosi dasavassuddesiko vā dvādasavassuddesiko vā, ekā gabbhinī upavijañña, atha kho so brāhmaṇo kālam akāsi. Atha kho so māṇavako mātu-sapattim¹ etad avoca: "Yam idaṃ bhoti dhanam vā dhaññaṃ vā rajataṃ vā jātārūpaṃ vā sabban taṃ mayham. N'atthi tumh' ettha kiñci, pitu me bhoti² dāyajjam nīyyātehīti." Āgamehī tāva tāta yāva vijāyāmi. Sace kumārako bhavissati, tassa pi eka-deso bhavissati ; sace kumārikā bhavissati, sā pi to opabhoggā³ bhavissatīti."

'Dutiyam pi kho māṇavako mātu-sapattim etad avoca: "Yam⁴ idaṃ bhoti dhanam vā dhaññaṃ vā rajataṃ vā jātārūpaṃ vā sabban taṃ mayham. N'atthi tumh'ettha kiñci, pitu me⁵ bhoti dāyajjam nīyyātehīti." Dutiyam pi kho sā brāhmaṇī taṃ māṇavakaṃ etad avoca: "Āgamehi tāva tāta yāva vijāyāmi. Sace kumārako bhavissati tassa pi eka-deso bhavissati; sace kumārikā bhavissati, sā⁶ pi te opabhoggā bhavissatīti."

'Tatiyam pi kho so māṇavako mātu-sapattim etad avoca: "Yam idaṃ bhoti dhanam vā dhaññaṃ vā rajataṃ vā jātārūpaṃ vā sabban taṃ mayham. N'atthi tumh'ettha kiñci, pitu me bhoti dāyajjam nīyyātehīti." Atha kho sā brāhmaṇī

1. K mātusapatim. (Note) mātusapattinti vā pātho.

2. B^m pitu me hoti; SS tumhetta kiñci pi tañ ca hoti dāyajjam, *first time and second; but* kiñci pitu me hoti (or bhoti) dāyajjam *the third time*; K tuyhettha kiñci pitu me santako bhoti dāyajjam *with a note that santako is not found in Ceylon MSS.*

3. K upa^o.

4. B^m K yam ; SS yad.

5. S^t pime.

6. B^m K sā; SS sabbā.

satthaṃ gahetvā ovarakaṃ pavisitvā¹ udaraṃ opādesi² : “Yāva jānāmi³ yadi vā kumārako yadi vā kumārikā ti.” Sā attānañ c’eva⁴ jīvitam gabbhaṃ sāpateyyaṃ ca [vināsesi]⁴ yāthā⁵ taṃ bālā avyattā anaya-vyasanam āpannā, ayoniso dāyajjam gavessanti. Evam eva kho tvam Rājañña bālo avyatto anaya-vyasanam āpajjissasi ayoniso paralokaṃ gavesanto, seyyathā pi sā⁶ brāhmaṇī bālā avyattā anaya-vyasanam āpannā ayoniso dāyajjam gavesanti.⁷ Na kho Rājañña samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇa-dhammā apakkaṃ paripācenti,⁸ api ca paripākam⁹ āgamenti paṇḍitā.¹⁰ Attho hi¹¹ Rājañña samaṇa-brāhmaṇānaṃ sīlavantānaṃ kalyāṇa-dhammānaṃ jīvitena. Yathā yathā kho¹² Rājañña samaṇa-brāhmaṇā sīlavanto kalyāṇa-dhammā ciraṃ dīgham addhānaṃ tiṭṭhanti,¹³ tathā tathā¹⁴ bahuṃ puññaṃ pasavanti, bahujana-hitāya ca paṭipajjanti bahujana-sukhāya lokānukampakāya¹⁵ atthāya hitāya sukhāya deva-manussānaṃ. Iminā pi kho te¹⁶ Rājañña pariyāyena evaṃ hotu : Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

1. B^m pavisitvā.

2. K uppādesi.

3. So SS; B^m vijāyāmi; K vijānāmi.

4-4. SS K omit vināsesi ; B^m jīvitāñ ca sabbañ ca sāpateyyaṃ ca vināsesi; K jīvitāñ ca gabbhañ ca sāpateyyaṃ ca.

5. S^t nā; S^{cd} ; S^{cd} omit.

6. K omits pi sā.

7. SS-ti.

8. SS pācenti.

9. S^t B^m K paripākam ; S^{cd} -kā.

10. S^t pāsita; B^m paṇḍitānaṃ (after āgamenti, so that paṇḍitānaṃ is thrown into the next sentence).

11. K aññehi.

12. K omits yathā kho.

13. S^{cd} tiṭṭhanti.

14. K omits one tathā.

15. So SS. B^m K-pāya

16. K omits.

13. 'Well then, Prince, I will make you a simile, for by way of a simile some wise men discern the meaning of what is spoken. Once upon a time, Prince, there was a brahmin who had two wives. By one he had a son, ten or twelve years of age ; the other was pregnant and near her time. Then the brahmin died. Now the boy said to his mother's co-wife:— "Whatever treasure there is, lady, or grain, or silver, or gold, all that is mine. There is nothing here for you whatever ; make over to me, lady, the heritage of my father ! " Then the brahminee made answer to him:— "Wait, my lad, till my child is born. If'twill be a boy, one portion shall be his; if a girl, she shall wait on you."

'But the boy reiterated his claim again and yet again. Then the brahminee, taking a sword, entered an inner room and ripped up her belly, saying:— "If I can only find out whether 'tis a boy or a girl." Thus did she destroy both her own life and her unborn infant, and her wealth also, through the foolish and thoughtless way in which, seeking a heritage, she met with ruin and disaster. Even so you, Prince, foolish and thoughtless that you are, will meet with ruin and disaster by seeking without wisdom for another world. Moral and virtuous Wanderers and Brahmins do not force maturity on that which is unripe; they, being wise, wait for that maturity. The virtuous have need of their life. In proportion to the length of time such men abide here, is the abundant merit that they produce and accomplish for the welfare of many, for the happiness of many, out of compassion for the world, for the advantage, the welfare, the happiness of gods and men. Let this then be a proof to you, Prince, that there is another world, that there is rebirth other than of parentage, that there is fruit and result of deeds well and ill-done.'

14. 'Kiñcāpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evaṃ āha, atha kho evaṃ me ettha¹ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Atthi pana Rājāñña pariyāyo . . . pe . . . ?

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo . . . pe . . .

1. B^m ettha me.

‘Kathaṃ viya Rājaññāti ?’

‘Idha me bho¹ Kassapa purisā coraṃ āgu-cāriṃ gahetvā dassenti : “Ayaṃ te bhante coro āgu cārī, imassa yaṃ icchasi taṃ daṇḍaṃ paṇehīti.”² Tyāhaṃ evaṃ vadāmi : “Tena hi bho imaṃ purisaṃ jīvaṃtaṃ yeva kumbhiyā pakkipitvā mukhaṃ pidahitvā allena cammena onandhitvā allāya mattikāya bahalāvalepanaṃ³ karitvā⁴ uddhanaṃ āropetvā aggim dethāti.” Te me “sadhūti” paṭisunītvā⁵ taṃ purisaṃ jīvaṃtaṃ yeva kumbhiyā pakkipitvā mukhaṃ pidahitvā allena cammena onandhitvā allāya mattikāya bahalāvalepanaṃ karitvā⁶ uddhanaṃ āropetvā aggim denti. Yadā mayaṃ jānāma : “Kālakato⁷ so puriso ti,” atha naṃ⁸ kumbhiṃ oropetvā ubbhinditva⁹ mukhaṃ vivaritvā saṇikaṃ¹⁰ nillokema¹¹ : “App eva nāṃ’ assa jīvaṃ nikkhamantaṃ passāma. Ayaṃ pi kho bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti: Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattā opapātika, n’atthi sukaṭa dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

14. ‘Even though Master Kassapa says so, it still appears to me that not one of these things exists.’

‘Have you further evidence, Prince ?’

‘I have, Master Kassapa.’

‘As how, Prince ?’

‘Here it is, Master Kassapa. Take the case of men who having taken a felon red-handed bring him up, saying :— “This

1. S^{cd} Ime kho ; S^t Idha me so.

2. K vadehīti; in next § dehīti. See p. 321.

3. B^m K bahalavil^o (twice); K (Sī) bahalāv^o.

4. B^m kāretvā.

5. K paṭissutvā.

6. So B^m here.

7. B^m kālañkato.

8. S^{cd} B^m naṃ; S^t K taṃ.

9. B^m ubbandhitvā.

10. S^{cd} sunikaṃ ; S^t sanikaṃ.

11. K vilokema.

felon, my lord, was caught in the act Inflict on him what penalty you wish.” And I should say :— “Well then, my masters, throw this man alive into a jar; close the mouth of it and cover it over with wet leather, put over that a thick cement of moist clay, put it on to a furnace and kindle a fire.” They saying “Very good” would obey me and . . . kindle a fire. When we knew that the man was dead, we should take down the jar, unbind and open the mouth, and quickly observe it, with the idea:— “Perhaps we may see the soul of him coming out! “We don’t see the soul of him coming out! This, master Kassapa, is for me evidence that there neither is another world, nor rebirth other than by parentage, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done.’

15. ‘Tena hi Rājañña taṃ yev’ ettha paṭipucchissāmi, yathā te khomeyya tathā naṃ vyākareyyāsi. Abhiñāsi no tvaṃ Rājañña divā-seyyaṃ upagato supinakaṃ passitvā ārāma-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ vana-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ bhūmirāma-ṇeyyakaṃ pokkharāṇī-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ ti ?’¹

‘Abhiñānāṃ’ ahaṃ bho Kassapa divā-seyyaṃ upagato supinakaṃ passitvā ārāma-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ vana-rāma-ṇeyyakaṃ ti.’

‘Rakkhanti taṃ tamhi samaye khujjā pi vāmanikā² pi velāmikā³ pi komārikā pīti ?’

‘Evam pi⁴ bho Kassapa rakkhanti maṃ⁵ tamhi samaye khujjā pi vāmanikā pi velāmikā⁶ pi komārikā pīti.’

‘Api nu tā tumhaṃ⁷ jīvaṃ passanti pavisaṃtaṃ⁸ vā nikkhamantaṃ vā ti ?’

1. Compare J.R.A.S. 1899, p. 77.

2. B^m K vāmanakā, and below. See M. 1. 178.

3. S^c velomikā ; S^d celovikā ; S^t velāvika; B^m velāsikā ; K celāvikā (and below).

4. K omits.

5. S^d B^m omit.

6. So S^c, S^d velāmi (and omits pi); S^t velācakā (omits komārikā pi); B^m velāsikā. See above, p. 198.

7. S^t tuyha; B^m K tuyhaṃ.

8. B^m pavīs^o.

‘No h’ idam¹ bho Kassapa.’

‘Tā hi nāma Rājañña tumham² jīvantassa jivantiyo jīvaṃ na passissantī pavisantaṃ vā nikkhamantaṃ vā. Kim pana tvaṃ³ kālakatassa⁴ jīvaṃ passissantī pavi-santaṃ vā nikkhamantaṃ vā ? Iminā pi kho te Rājañña pariyāyena evaṃ hotu : Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatāṇaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

15. ‘Well then, Prince, I will in reply ask you something, and do you answer as you may please. Do you not admit, Prince, that, when you are taking siesta, you see dreams of enjoyment in garden, grove, country, or lake side ?’

‘I do admit it, Master Kassapa.’

‘Are you at that time watched over by attendant women—hunchbacks and dwarfs, and maidens⁵ and girls ?’

‘That is so, Master Kassapa.’

‘Do they see your soul entering or leaving you ?’

‘Not so, Master Kassapa.’

‘So they who are living do not see the soul of you who are living entering or leaving you (when you dream). How then will you see the soul of a dead person entering or leaving him? Let this be a proof to you, Prince, that those things do exist.’

16. ‘Kiñcāpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evaṃ āha, atha kho evaṃ me⁶ ettha hoti : Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattā opapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa-dukkatāṇaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti ?’

‘Atthi pana Rājañña pariyāyo . . . pe . . . ?’

‘Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo . . . pe . . .’

‘Yathā kathaṃ viya Rājaññāti ?’

‘Idha me bho Kassapa purisā coraṃ āgu-cāriṃ gahetvā dassenti : “Ayan te bhante coro āgu-cārī, imassa yaṃ icchasi

1. B^m K etaṃ.

2. S^t B^m K tuyhaṃ.

3. So SS B^m.

4. B^m kālañk^o.

5. Velāmikā, ‘very young and childish,’ says Buddhaghosa here. Above, p. 231, it seems to be a clan name, but used in a similar connexion.

6. S^d eva; B^m ettha me.

taṃ daṇḍaṃ paṇehîti.”¹ Tyâhaṃ evaṃ vadāmi : “Tena hi bho imaṃ bho imaṃ purisaṃ jīvaṃtaṃ yeva tulāya tuletva jiyāya anassāsakaṃ māretvā punad eva tulāya tulethâti.” Te me “Sādhûti” paṭisunivā² purisaṃ jīvaṃtaṃ yeva tulāya tuletva jiyāya anassāsakaṃ māretvā punad eva tulāya tulenti.³ Yadā so jīvati,⁴ tadā lahutaro ca hoti mudutaro ca kammaññataro ca. Yadā pana so kālakato hoti, tadā garutaro ca hoti patthīnataro⁵ ca akammaññataro ca. Ayam pi kho bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti: Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattā opapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.”

16. ‘Even though Master Kassapa says so, it still appears to me that not one of those things exists.’

‘Have you any further evidence, Prince ?’

‘I have, Master Kassapa.’

‘As how ?’

‘Take the case, Master Kassapa, of men taking a felon red-handed, and bringing him up saying:— “My lord, we caught this felon in the act. Inflict what penalty you wish.” And I say:— “Well then, my masters, take this man and weigh him alive; then strangle him with a bowstring and weigh him again.” And they do so. While he lives, he is more buoyant, supple, wieldy. When he is dead, he is weightier, stiffer, unwieldier. This, Master Kassapa, is evidence for me that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than by human parentage, nor fruit nor result of deeds well-done or ill-done.’

17. ‘Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya pi idh’ ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitaṃ atthaṃ ājānanti. Seyyathā pi Rājañña puriso divasa⁶-santattaṃ ayo-guiṃ

1. K dehîti.

2. K paṭissutvā.

3. B^m tulanti.

4. S^{cd} jīvi.

5. S^{cd} patthinatthiro; B^m pattinnataro; K patthinnataro (and so all below). See ‘Vinaya Texts,’ p. ii. 206. and Asl. 307.

6. B^m-saṃ; K divasantattaṃ.

ādittam sampajjalitam sajotibhūtam¹ tulāya toleyya,² tam enaṃ aparena samayena sītam nibbutam tulāya toleyya. Kadā nu kho so ayo-guḷo lahutaro vā³ hoti mudutaro vā kammaññatato vā ? Yadā vā āditto sampajjalito sajotibhūto, yadā vā sīto nibbuto ti ?

‘Yadā so bho Kassapa ayo-gulo tejo-sahagato ca hoti vāyo-sahagato āditte sampajjalito sajoti-bhūto, tadā lahutaro ca hoti mudutaro ca kammaññataro ca. Yadā pana so ayo-guḷo n’eva tejo-sahagato hoti na vāyosahagato sīto nibbuto, tadā garutaro ca hoti patthīnataro ca akammaññataro cāti.’

‘Evam eva kho Rājañña yadā ‘yaṃ⁴ kāyo āyu-sahagato ca hoti usmā-sahagato ca viññāṇa-sahagato ca, tadā lahutaro ca hoti mudutaro ca kammaññataro ca.’⁵ Yadā panāyaṃ kāyo n’eva āyu-sahagato ca hoti na usmā-sahagato⁶ na viññāṇa-sahagato,⁷ tadā garutaro ca hoti patthīnataro ca akammaññataro ca. Iminā pi kho te Rājañña pariyāyena evvaṃ hoti: Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

17. ‘Well now, Prince, I will give you a simile, for by way of a simile some wise men discern the meaning of what is said. It is just as if, Prince, a man were to weigh in a balance a ball of iron that had been heated all day, and was burning and glowing with heat; and were to weigh it later on in a balance when it was cool and quenched. When would that ball of iron be lighter, softer and more plastic ? When it was burning and glowing with heat, or when it was cool and quenched ?’

‘When, Master Kassapa, that ball of iron, with its lambent and gaseous concomitants, is burning and glowing with heat, then it is lighter, softer, more plastic, but when, without those

1. K sañjoti (*twice*).

2. So S^{dt}, S^c to leyyaṃ; B^m K tuleyya (*and below*).

3. S^c cā *corrected to* ca.

4. K ayaṃ.

5. See M. i. 295 ; Chānd. Up. vi. 8, 6; Tait. Br. ii., 2, 9, 1.

6. K *adds* ca.

7. K *adds* ca.

lambent and gaseous concomitants, it is cool and quenched, it is then heavier, more rigid, less plastic.'

'Even so, Prince, when this body has its concomitants of life, heat and intelligence, then it is lighter, softer and more plastic. But when it lacks those three concomitants, then it is heavier, more rigid, less plastic.'

'Let this, Prince, be a proof to you that there is both another world, rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well and ill-done.'

18. 'Kiñcāpi bhavaṃ Kassapa evaṃ āha, atha kho evaṃ me ettha¹ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.'

'Atthi pana Rājāñña pariyāyo . . . pe . . . ?'

'Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo . . . pe . . . '

'Yathā kethaṃ viya Rājāññāti ?'

'Idha me bho Kassapa purisā coraṃ āgu-cāriṃ gahetvā dassenti : "Ayan te bhante coro āgu-cārī, imassa yaṃ icchasi taṃ daṇḍaṃ pañehīti."² Tyāhaṃ vadāmi : "Tena hi bho imaṃ purisaṃ anupahacca chaviṇ ca cammaṇ ca maṃsaṇ ca nahāruṇ³ ca aṭṭhiṇ ca aṭṭhi-miñjaṇ ca jīvītā voropethāti."⁴ Te me "Sādhūti" paṭisunītvā taṃ purisaṃ anupahacca⁵ chaviṇ ca⁶ cammaṇ ca maṃsaṇ ca nahāruṇ ca aṭṭhiṇ ca aṭṭhi-miñjaṇ ca jīvītā voropenti. Yadā so addhamato⁷ hoti, tyāhaṃ evaṃ vadāmi : "Tena hi bho imaṃ purisaṃ uttānaṃ nipātetha, app eva nāma assa jīvaṃ nikkha-mantaṃ passeyyāmāti." Te taṃ purisaṃ uttānaṃ nipātenti, n'eva assa mayaṃ jīvaṃ nikkhamantaṃ passāma. Tyāhaṃ evaṃ vadāmi : "Tena hi

1. S^c evaṃ me 'v' ettha ; S^{dt} evameettha.

2. K vadehīti.

3. B^m nhāruṇ.

4. B^m K voropetha, app eva nāma assa jīvaṃ nikkha-mantaṃ passeyyāmāti.

5. S^d anap.

6. B^m pa, down to -miñjaṇ ca.

7. SS amato; B^m āmato.

bho imaṃ purisaṃ avakujjaṃ¹ nipāteha . . . pe . . . passena nipātetha . . . dutiyena passena nipātetha . . . uddhaṃ ṭhapetha . . . omuddhakaṃ ṭhapetha . . . pāṇinā ākoṭetha . . . leḍḍunā² ākoṭetha . . . daḍḍena ākoṭetha . . . satthena ākoṭetha . . . odunātha . . . sandhunātha . . . niddhunātha,³ app eva nām' assa jīvaṃ nikkha-mantaṃ passeyyāmāti." Te taṃ purisaṃ odhunanti⁴ sandhunanti⁵ niddhnanti,⁶ n'eva assa mayaṃ jīvaṃ nikkhamantaṃ passāma.⁷ Tassa ca⁸ tad eva cakkhuṃ⁹ hoti te¹⁰ rūpā tañ ca' āyatanam nappaṭisaṃvedeti, tad eva sotam hoti te saddā tañ c'āyatanam nappaṭisaṃvedeti, ted eva ghānam hoti te gandhā tañ c'āyatanam nappaṭi-saṃvedeti, sā yeva¹¹ jīvnā hoti te rasā tañ c'āyatanam nappaṭisaṃvedeti, so yeva¹² kāyo hoti te phoṭṭhabbā tañ c'āyatanam nappaṭisaṃvedeti. Ayam pi kho bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānam kammānam phalaṃ vipāko ti."

18. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, it still appears to me that not one of those things exists.'

'Have you any further evidence, Prince ?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'What might that be like ?'

'Take the case, Master Kassapa, of the men taking a felon red-handed and bringing him up, saying :— "My lord, this felon

1. SS, B^m K avakujja, *but see below*, p. 337, *note*¹¹, and J.P.T.S., 1886, p. 148; M.i. 80; S v. 89; Jāt. vi. 40.

2. K leḍḍunā; (*note*) leḍḍunātipi pāṭho.

3. S^{cd} nibbunātha: *see below*.

4. S^{cd} omunanti.

5. S^c samun^c ; B^m samdhūn^o.

6. S^c nibbun^o; B^m niddhūn^o (*but not above*).

7. K passeyyāma.

8. B^m K omīti.

9. B^m cakkhu; K cakkham.

10. S^t omits.

11. SS *omit* yeva; B^m ca.

12. K so va.

was caught in the act. Inflict on him what penalty you wish.” And I say:— “Well, my masters, kill this man by stripping off cuticle and skin and flesh and sinews and bones and marrow.” They do so. And when he is half dead, I say :— “Lay him on his back, and perhaps we may see the soul of him pass out.” And they do so, but we see the passing of no soul. Then I say:— “Well then, lay him bent over . . . on his side . . . on the other side . . . stand him up . . . stand him on his head . . . smite him with your hand . . . with clods . . . on this side . . . on that side . . . all over; perhaps we may see the soul of him pass out.” And they do so, but we see the passing of no soul. He has sight and there are forms, but the organ does not perceive them ; he has hearing and there are sounds, but the organ does not perceive them ; he has smell and there are odours, but the organ does not perceive them, he has a tongue and there are tastes, but the organ does not perceive them ; he has a body and there are tangibles, but the organ does not perceive them. This, Master. Kassapa, is for me evidence that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done.’

19. ‘Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya p’ idh’ ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa attham ājānanti. Bhutapubbaṃ Rājañña aññataro saṅkha-dhamo saṅkham ādāya paccantimaṃ janapadaṃ agamāsi. So yen aññataro gāmo ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā majjhe gāmassa thito tikkhattuṃ saṅkham upalāsitvā¹ saṅkham bhūmiyaṃ nikkhipitvā ekamantaṃ nisīdi. Atha kho Rājañña tesam paccantajānaṃ² manussā-naṃ etad ahoṣi: “Kissa³ nu kho eso saddo evaṃ rajanīyo evaṃ kamanīyo⁴ evaṃ madanīyo

1. SS upalāsitvā; B^m upalāpetvā; K upalāsetvā. See Mil. p. 21 (*last line*), Trenckner, ‘Pali Miscellany,’ p. 83.
2. S^{cd} paccantarājānaṃ; B^m K paccanta-janapada-; K (Sī) paccantajānaṃ.
3. SS ambho kissa; B^m K ambho kassa.
4. So SS; B^m khamanīyo; and so onwards; K kammaniyo. B^m and K throughout °niyo.

evaṃ madanīyo evaṃ bandhanīyo evaṃ mucchanīti¹ ti ?” Sannipatitvā taṃ saṅkha-dhammaṃ etad avocaṃ : “Ambho kissa² nu kho eso saddo evaṃ rajanīyo evaṃ kamanīyo evaṃ madanīyo evaṃ bandhanīyo evaṃ mucchanīyo ti ?” “Eso kho bho³ saṅkho nāma yass’ eso⁴ saddo evaṃ rajanīyo evaṃ kamanīyo evaṃ madanīyo evaṃ bandhanīyo evaṃ mucchanīyo ti.” Te taṃ saṅkhaṃ uttaevaṃ : “Vadehi bho saṅkha, vadehi bho saṅkhāti.” N’eva so saṅkho saddam akāsi. Te taṃ saṅkhaṃ avakujjaṃ⁵ nipātesuṃ . . . passena nipātesuṃ . . . dutiyena passena nipātesuṃ . . . uddhaṃ ṭhapesuṃ . . . omuddhakaṃ ṭhapesuṃ . . . pāṇinā ākoṭesuṃ . . . leḍḍunā ākoṭesuṃ . . . odhunimsu . . . sandhunimsu . . . niddhunimsu : “Vadehi bho saṅkha, vadehi bho saṅkhāti.” N’eva so saṅkho saddam akāsi. Atha kho Rājāṇṇa tassa saṅkha-bhamassā etad ahosi : “Yāva⁶ bālā ime paccantajā⁷ manussā! Kathaṃ hi nāma ayoniso saṅkha-saddaṃ gavesissantīti!” Tesaṃ pekkhamānānaṃ saṅkhaṃ gahetvā tikkhattuṃ saṅkhaṃ upalāsitvā⁸ saṅkhaṃ ādāya pakkāmi.⁹ Atha kho Rājāṇṇa tesaṃ paccantajānaṃ¹⁰ manussānaṃ etad ahosi : “Yadā kira bho ayaṃ saṅkho nāma purisa-sahagato ca hoti vāyāma-sahagato ca vāyo-sajagatp¹¹ ca, tadāyaṃ saṅkho saddaṃ karoti. Yadā panāyaṃ saṅkho n’eva purisa-sahagato hoti na vāyāma-sahagato na vāyo-sahagato, nāyaṃ saṅkho saddaṃ karotīti.” Evaṃ eva kho Rājāṇṇa yadāyaṃ kāyo āyu-sahagato ca hoti usmā-sahagato ca viññāṇa-sahagato ca, tadā abhikkamati pi¹² paṭikkamati

1. K muñcaniyo (*three times.*)

2. B^m kassa.

3. B^m omits.

4. K yassa os.

5. So *all* Mss. and K.

6. B^m K *add* kho.

7. B^m paccanta-janapada-; K -padā.

8. SS upalāsitvā; B^m upalāpetvā; K upalasetvā.

9. B^m pakkami.

10. B^m K-janapadānaṃ.

11. B^m vāyu-, and below.

12. S^{cd} omit.

pi tiṭṭhi nisīdati pi seyyam pi kappeti, cakkhunā pi rūpaṃ passati, sotena pi saddaṃ suṇāti, ghānena pi gandhaṃ ghāyati, jivhāya pi rasaṃ sāyati, kāyena pi gandhaṃ ghāyati, jivhāya pi rasaṃ sāyati, kāyena pi phoṭṭhabbam phusati, manasā pi dhammaṃ vijānāti. Yādā panāyaṃ kāyo n'eva āyu-sahagato ca hoti, na usmā-sahagato ca, na viññāṇa-sahagato, tadā n'eva abhikkamati na paṭikkamati na tiṭṭhati na nisīdati na seyyaṃ kappeti, cakkhunā pi rūpaṃ na passati, sotena pi saddaṃ na suṇāti, ghānena pi gandhaṃ na ghāyati, jivhāya pi rasaṃ na sāyati, kāyena pi phoṭṭhabbam na phusati, manasā pi dhammaṃ na vijānāti. Iminā pi kho te Rājañña pariyāyena evaṃ hotu : Iti pi atthi paraloko, atthi sattā opapātikā, atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.¹

19. 'Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile, for by way of a simile some wise men discern the meaning of what is said. Once upon a time, Prince, a certain trumpeter, taking his trumpet of chank-shell, travelled to the folk on the border. When he came to a certain village, he stood in- its midst and blew thrice on his trumpet, then laying it on the ground sat down beside it. Now, Prince, those border folk thought:— "Whose is this sound so charming, so lovely, so sweet, so constraining, so enervating ?" Coming together they asked the trumpeter. "This, my masters, is what men call a trumpet, the sound whereof is so charming, so lovely, so sweet, so constraining, so enervating." They laid the trumpet on its back and said :— "Speak, master trumpet! speak, master trumpet! "No sound did the trumpet make. They laid the trumpet curving downward, on this side, on that side, they stood it upright, they stood it topsy turvy, they struck it with their hands, with a clod, with a stick, with a sword, on one side, on the other, on every side, saying:— "Speak, master trumpet ! speak, master trumpet!" Then, Prince, the trumpeter thought:— "How silly are these border born men ! Why will they seek so senselessly for the trumpet's sound ?" And while they looked on, he took his trumpet, blew thrice upon it and, taking

1. K adds Paṭhama-bhāṇavāraṃ.

it with him, went away. Then, Prince, those border born men thought thus :— “When forsooth there was with that trumpet a man, and an effort, and air, that same trumpet made sounds. But when there was with it neither man, nor effort, nor air, that same trumpet made no sounds.” Even so, Prince, when this body has its concomitants of life, heat and intelligence, then it goes about and comes back, it stands and sits and lies down, it sees forms with the eye, hears sounds with the ear, smells odours with the smell, tastes tastes with the tongue, touches the tangible with the body, cognizes things with the mind. But when it lacks those three concomitants, it can do none of these things. Let this, Prince, be to you a proof that- there both is another world, rebirth other than of parents, and fruit and result of deeds well and ill-done.’

20. ‘Kiñcāpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evaṃ āha, atha kho evaṃ me ettha hoti : Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattā opapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

‘Atthi pana Rājāñña pariyāyo . . . pe . . . ?’

‘Atthi bho Kassapa pariyāyo . . . pe . . .

‘Yathā kathaṃ viya Rājāññāti ?’

‘Idha me bho Kassapa purisā coraṃ āgu-cāriṃ gahetvā dessenti : “Ayaṃ te bhante coro āgu-cārī, imassa yaṃ icchasi taṃ daṇḍaṃ paṇehīti.”¹ Tyāhaṃ evaṃ vadāmi : “Tena hi bho imassa purisassa chaviṃ chindatha, app eva nāṃ’ assa jīvaṃ passeyyāmāti.” Te tassa purisassa chaviṃ chindanti, n’ev’ assa mayaṃ jīvaṃ passāma. Tyāhaṃ evaṃ vadāmi : “Tena hi bho imassa purisassa cammaṃ chindatha . . . maṃsaṃ chindatha . . . nahāruṃ chindatha . . . atṭhiṃ chinda-tha . . . atṭhi-miñjaṃ chindatha, app eva nāṃ assa jīvaṃ passeyyāmāti.” Te tassa purisassa atṭhi-miñjaṃ chindanti, n’ev’ assa mayaṃ jīvaṃ passāma. Ayaṃ pi kho bho Kassapa pariyāyo yena me pariyāyena evaṃ hoti : Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattā opapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa-dukkaṭānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.’

20. ‘Even though Master Kassapa says this, it still appears to me that there is neither another world, nor rebirth

1. K vadehīti. See p. 321

other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done.'

'Have you any further evidence, Prince ?'

'I have, Master Kassapa.'

'What may that be like ?'

'Take the case, Master Kassapa, of men who have taken a felon red-handed and bring him up, saying:— "My lord, we caught this felon in the act; inflict on him what penalty you wish." And I say :— "Well, my masters, flay this man alive, perchance we may see the soul of him passing out." They do so, but no passing of the soul of him do we see. And in cutting out his integument, and his flesh, and his nerves, and breaking his bones and extracting the marrow thereof, still no soul of him do we see. This, Master Kassapa, is for me evidence that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done.'

21. 'Tona hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya pi idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsītassa atthaṃ ājānanti. Bhūtapubbaṃ Rājañña¹ aggiko jaṭilo araññāyatane paṇṇa-kuṭiyā² vasati.³ Atha kho Rājañña aññataro janapada-padeso⁴ vuṭṭhāsi. Atha kho so sattho⁵ tassa aggikassa jaṭilassa assamassa sāmanta eka-rattiṃ vasitvā pakkāmi.⁶ Atha kho Rājañña tassa aggikassa jaṭilassa etad ahoṣi : "Yan nūnāhaṃ yena so sattha-vāso⁷ ten upasaṃkameyyaṃ, app eva nāma ettha kiñci upakaraṇaṃ⁸ adhigaccheyyaṃ ti." Atha kho so aggiko jaṭiko jaṭilo kālass' eva vuṭṭhāya yena so sattha-vāso ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā addasa tasmaṃ satthavāse daharaṃ kumāraṃ maṇḍaṃ⁹ uttāna-seyyakaṃ chaḍḍotaṃ.

1. B^m K insert aññataro.

2. S^t paṭiyā.

3. B^m samati ; K sammati; (Sī) vasati.

4. So SS K (Sī); B^m janapadesattho; K janapado satthavāso.

5. So S^t B^m; S^c satto; S^d tatta; K satthavāso.

6. B^m pakkami.

7. S^t here only, and S^c here and below āvāso. SS in §17 (pp. 344, 345) sattha-vāso.

8. S^{cd} -kannaṃ

9. K maṇḍaṃ.

Disvān' assa¹ etad ahosi: "Na kho me taṃ paṭirūpaṃ yam me pekkhamānassa manussa-bhūto kālaṃ kareyya. Yan nūnāhaṃ imaṃ dāraḥ² assamaṃ netvā³ āpādeyyaṃ poseyyaṃ vaḍḍheyyan ti." Atha kho so aggiko jaṭilo taṃ dāraḥ² assamaṃ ānetvā⁴ āpādesi posesi vaḍḍhesi. Yādā so dārako dasavassuddesiko vā hoti dvādasavass-uddesiko vā, ath' assa⁵ aggikassa jaṭilassa janapade kiñcid eva karaṇīyaṃ uppajji.⁶ Atha kho so aggiko jaṭilo taṃ dāraḥ² etad avoca: "Icchāmaṃ ahaṃ tāta janapadaṃ⁷ gantaṃ, aggim⁸ paricareyyāsi, mā ca te aggī nibbāyi. Sace va te aggī nibbāyeyya, ayaṃ vāsī, imāni kaṭṭhāni, idaṃ araṇi⁹-sahitaṃ, aggim nibbattetvā aggim paricareyyāsīti." Atha kho so aggiko jatto taṃ dāraḥ² evam anusāsivā janapadaṃ agamāsi. Tassa khiddā-pasutassa aggī nibbāyi. Atha kho tassa dārakassa etad ahosi: "Pitā kho maṃ evaṃ avaca: 'Aggim tāta paricareyyāsi, mā ca te aggī nibbāyi. Sace va te aggī nibbāyeyya ayaṃ vāsī imāni kaṭṭhāni idaṃ araṇi-sahitaṃ, aggim nibbattetvā aggim paricareyyāsīti.' Yan nūnāhaṃ aggim nibbattetvā aggim paricareyyan ti.:" Atha kho so dārako araṇi-sahitaṃ vāsiyā¹⁰ tacchi: "App eva nāma aggim adhigaccheyyan ti." N'eva so aggim adhigacchi. Araṇi-sahitaṃ dvidhā phālesi,¹¹ tidhā phālesi, catudhā phālesi, pañcadhā phālesi, dasadhā phālesi, satadhā¹² phālesi, sakalikaṃ

1. SS *decidedly* disvā tassa See p. 347

2. S^t idaṃ daharakaṃ.

3. S^c assaṃ mānetvā; S^{dt} B^m K assamaṃ netvā.

4. So SS B^m K netvā *as before*.

5. S^t atha tassa; B^m K atha kho tassa.

6. K kiñci deva-karaṇīyaṃ upapajji.

7. B^m nagaraṃ.

8. B^m K *and* tāta.

9. SS *very between* i and ī; K *always* oṇi; B^m *always* oṇī.

10. S^{cd} *insert* taṃ vāsiyā.

11. S^{cd} phālesi; B^m phālesi *almost always*. S^t 1 and ḷ; K *always* ḷ.

12. K visatidhā; K (Sī) satadhā.

sakalikaṃ akāsi, sakalikaṃ sakalikaṃ karitvā¹ udukkhale koṭṭhesi,² udukkhale koṭṭhetvā mahā-vāte opuni.³ “App eva nāma⁴ aggim̐ adhigaccheyyan ti.” N’eva so aggim̐ adhigacchi. Atha kho so aggiko jaṭilo janapade taṃ karaṇiyaṃ tīretvā, yena sako assamo ten’ upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamitvā taṃ dāraakaṃ etad avoca: “Kacci te tāta aggī⁵ nibbuta ti?” “Idha me tāta khiddā-pasutassa aggī nibbāyi. Tassa me etad ahosi: Pitā kho maṃ evaṃ avaca: ‘Aggim̐ tāta paricareyyāsi, mā ca te⁶ aggī nibbāyi. Sace va te aggī nibbāyeyya ayaṃ vāsī imāni kaṭṭhāni idaṃ araṇi-sahitaṃ, aggim̐ nibbattetvā aggim̐ paricareyyāsīti.’ Yan nūnāhaṃ aggim̐ nibbattetvā aggim̐ paricareyyan ti. Atha kho ahaṃ tāta araṇi-sahitaṃ vāsiyā tacchiṃ: ‘App eva nāma aggim̐ adhigaccheyyan ti.’ N’evāhaṃ aggim̐ adhigacchiṃ. Araṇi-sahitaṃ dvidhā phālesim̐, tidhā phālesim̐, catudhā phālesim̐, pañcadhā phālesim̐, dasadhā phālesim̐, satadhā phālesim̐, sakalikaṃ sakalikaṃ akāsim̐, sakalikaṃ saka-likam̐ karitvā udukkhale koṭṭhesim̐, udukkhale koṭṭhetvā mahā-vāte opuniṃ: ‘App eva nāma aggim̐ adhigaccheyyam ti.’ N’evāhaṃ aggim̐ adhigacchin ti.” Atha kho tassa aggikassa jaṭilassa etad ahosi: “Yāva bālo ayaṃ dāraako avyatto. Kathaṃ hi nāma ayoniso aggim̐ gavesissatīti?” Tassa pekkhamānassa araṇi-sahitaṃ gahetvā aggim̐ nibbattetvā taṃ dāraakaṃ etad avoca: “Evaṃ kho tāta aggī nibbattetabbo, na tv eva yathā tvaṃ⁷ bālo avyatto ayoniso aggim̐ gavesissasīti.”⁸ Evaṃ eva kho tvaṃ Rājañña bālo avyatto ayoniso paralokaṃ gavesasi.⁹ Paṭinissajj’ etaṃ Rājañña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Paṭinissajj’ etaṃ Rājañña

1. B^m karetvā.

2. B^m koṭṭesi *and* koṭṭetvā *as* B^d *at* Jāt. iv. 37 (*comp.* ii. 424) ; K koṭesi *and* koṭetva.

3. K ophuni, *and below*.

4. SS *omit*.

5. B^m *adds* na.

6. B^m K *add* tāta

7. S^{cd} taṃ.

8. B^m gavesīti.

9. B^m K gavesissasi.

pāpakam diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Mā te ahosi dīgha-rattaṃ ahitāya dukkhāyāti.'

21. 'Well now, Prince, I will give you a simile, for it is by way of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what is spoken. Once upon a time, Prince, a fire-worshipping Jatila was dwelling in a leaf-hut in a woodland spot. Now the people of a certain country-side migrated. And their leader, after spending one night near the Jatila's hermitage, went away. Then the Jatila thought:— "If I were to go to that leader's camp, I might perhaps get something useful." And rising up betimes he came to the leader's camp, and there he saw, abandoned and lying on its back a little baby. And when he saw it he thought:— "It is not fit that I should let a human being die while I look on. What if I were to carry this baby to my hermitage, and foster, tend, and rear it ?" So he carried the baby to his hermitage, and fostered, tended, and reared it. When the boy had attained the age of ten or twelve years, it happened that the Jatila had something or other to do in the country-side. So he said to the boy:— "I want to go to the country-side, my lad ; keep up the fire ; do not let it go out. If it should go out, here is a hatchet, here are sticks, here is the fire drill, so that if you do let the fire out, you can rekindle it again." And having thus instructed the boy, the Jatila went off to the country-side. Intent upon his play, the boy let the fire out. Then he thought:— "Father told me, 'Tend the fire, my lad; let it not go out. If it should go out, here is a hatchet, here are sticks, here is the fire drill, so that if you do let the fire out, you can rekindle it again.' What if I were now to do so ?" Then the boy chopped the fire drill with the hatchet, thinking :— "Perhaps that's how I shall get fire." No fire got he. He split the fire drill in twain, in three, four, five, ten, a hundred pieces, he made it into piecemeal, he then pounded it in a mortar, and winnowed it in the wind, thinking that so he might perhaps get fire. No fire got he. Then the Jatila, having accomplished his business, came back to his own hermitage and said to the boy :— "Why, child, you have let the fire out!" "Father, the fire went out because I was busy at my game. Then I thought of what you had told me, and I set about rekindling it. And I chopped the fire drill

with the hatchet to get fire, but no fire came. And I went on till I had smashed the fire drill into atoms, pounded it in a mortar and winnowed it in the wind, but I never got any fire ! “Then the Jatila thought :— “How silly, how unintelligent is the lad ! Why will he be seeking fire in this senseless manner ? “And while the boy looked on, he took a fire drill, and making fire said to him:— “This is how to make fire, my lad. One doesn’t try to get it as you, so silly and unintelligent, were trying.” Even so, Prince, have you, silly and unintelligent, sought after another world. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions. Let them not involve you for long in bale and sorrow !’

22. ‘Kiñcā bhavaṃ Kassapo evaṃ āha, atla kho n’evāhaṃ sayhāmi¹ idaṃ pāpakam diṭṭhi-gataṃ paṭinissajjituṃ. Rājā pi maṃ Pasenadi²-kosalo jānāti tiro-rājāno pi : “Pāyāsi rājañño evaṃ-vādī evaṃ-diṭṭhī: Iti pi n’atthi paraloko, n’atthi sattā opapātikā, n’atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammā-naṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti.” ‘Sacāhaṃ bho Kassapa imaṃ³ pāpakam diṭṭhi-gataṃ paṭinissajjis sāmi, bhavissanti me vattāro : “Yāva bālo Pāyāsi rājañño avyatto duggahīta⁴-gāhī ti.” Kopena pi naṃ harissāmi, makkhena pi naṃ harissāmi, paḷāsenā⁵ pi naṃ harissāmīti.’

22. ‘Even though Master Kassapa says this, I still cannot bring myself to renounce this evil set of opinions. King Pasenadi the Kosalan knows me, and so do foreign kings, as holding to the creed and the opinion that there is neither another world nor rebirth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well and ill-done. If I, Master Kassapa, renounce these opinions, people will say of me :— “How silly is Prince Pāyāsi, how unintelligent, how badly he grasps anything !” In wrath thereat will I keep to it. In guile will I keep to it. In self-respect will I keep to it!’

1. B^m K sakkomi. See p. 346.

2. B^m passenadī; K Passenadi, and so at § 18. See p. 316.

3. K idaṃ (as above).

4. S^d B^m -gahita, and so B^m in § 18.

5. S^{cd} phalāsena; S^t B^m K paḷāsenā. See M. i. 15, 527; A. i. 79 (last line) ; P. P. ii. 2; Mil. 289. Cf. M. ii, 242.

23. 'Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya¹ p' idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitaṣṣa atthaṃ ājānanti. Bhūtapubbaṃ Rājañña mahā sakāṭa-sattho sakāṭa-sahassaṃ puratthimā janapadā pacchimaṃ janapadaṃ agamāsi. So yena yena gacchati² khippam eva pariyādiyati tiṇa-kaṭṭhodakaṃ³ haritaka-vaṇṇam.⁴ Tasmim kho pana satthe⁵ dve satthavāhā ahesuṃ, eko pañcannaṃ sakāṭa-satānaṃ eko pañcannaṃ sakāṭa-satānaṃ. Atha kho tesam satthavāhānaṃ etad ahoṣi:

' "Ayaṃ kho pana⁶ mahā sakāṭa-sattho sakāṭa-sahassaṃ. Te mayam yena yena gacchāma khippam eva⁷ pariyā diyati⁸ tiṇa-kaṭṭhodakaṃ haritaka-vaṇṇam. Yan nūna mayam imaṃ satthaṃ dvidhā vibhajeyyāma ekato pañca sakata-satāni."

'Te taṃ satthaṃ dvidhā vibhajimsu⁹ ekato pañca sakāṭa-satāni ekato pañca sakāṭa satāni. Eko¹⁰ tāva¹¹ satthavāho bahuṃ¹² tiṇaṃ ca kaṭṭhaṃ ca udakaṃ ca āropetvā satthaṃ pāyāpesi.¹³ Dvīha-tīha-pāyāto¹⁴ kho pana so sattho addasa purisaṃ kāḷaṃ lohitakkhiṃ¹⁵ apanaddha-kālāpaṃ¹⁶ kumudamāliṃ all-vatthaṃ allakesaṃ kaddama-makkhitehi cakkhehi

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1. B^m upamāyam.
 2. S^{dt} So yena yena gacchasīti; S^c So na gacchasiti B^m So yena gacchi; K so yeva gacchati.
 3. S^{cd} tina-; K tiṇaṃ.
 4. K -paṇṇam; K (Sī) -vantaṃ. See Sum in loc.
 5. B^m Satte, but then satthavāhā.
 6. B^m K omit.
 7. SS khippam yeva, as B^m K above.
 8. S^d -tī.
 9. SS vibhajimsu; B^m vibhajjesuṃ (sic).
 10. S^c ekato ; S^t eke.
 11. B^m omits.
 12. SS very between bahu and bahuṃ; B^m K always bahuṃ.
 13. SS almost always pā^o.
 14. B^m here dviha-tiṇaṃ payāto; B^m K always Pā.
 15. S^t kālālohitakkham; S^{cd} kālālohitakam. B^m kāḷaṃ lohitakkham; comp. Jāt. i. 102 rattanetto. See p. 344.
 16. B^m asannaddhakālāpaṃ; K āsanu^o and below.

gadrabha-rathena¹ paṭipatham āgacchantam. Disvā etad avoca: “Kuto bho āgacchasīti ?”

‘ “Amukamhā janapadā ti.”

‘ “Kuhim gamissasīti ?”

‘ “Amukam nāma janapadan ti.”

‘ “Kacci bho purato kantāre mahā-megho abhippavatto ti ?”²

‘ “Evam kho³ bho purato kantāre mahā-megho abhippavatto, āsittodakāni vaṭumāni, bahum tiṇaṇ ca kaṭṭhaṇ ca udakaṇ ca, chaḍḍetha bho purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni, lahu-bhārehi sakatehi sīgham sīgham⁴ gacchatha, mā yoggāni kilamethāti.”⁵

‘Atha kho so satthavāho satthike āmantesi : “Ayaṃ bo puriso evam āha : Purato kantāre mahā-megho abhi-pavatto, āsittodakani vaṭumāni, bahum⁶ tiṇaṇ ca kaṭṭhaṇ ca udakaṇ ca, chaḍḍetha bho purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni, lahu-bhārehi sakatehi sīgham gacchatha, mā yoggāni kilamethāto—chaḍḍetha bho purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni, lahu-bhārehi sakatehi sattham pāyā-pethāti.”⁷

“Evam bho ti” kho te satthikā tassa satthavāhassa paṭissutvā, chaḍḍetvā purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni lahu-bhārehi sakatehi sattham pāyāpesum.⁸ Te paṭhame pi sattha-vāse na addasaṃsu tiṇam vā kaṭṭham vā udakam vā, dutiye pi sattha-vāse . . . tatiye pi satthavvāse . . . catutthe pi sattha-vāse . . . pañcame pi sattha-vāse . . . chaṭṭhe pi sattha-vāse . . . sattame pi sattha-vāse na addasaṃsu tiṇam cā kaṭṭham

1. S^d gaduha-; S^{ct} gadūha- (SS below gadubha-); B^m bhaddena rathena; K bhadrena rathena. See Jāt. i. 100.

2. K abhippavuttho; B^m abhippavuttho as B^d at Jāt. 5, 206. See M. ii. 117.

3. B^m omits.

4. B^m siṅgham siṅgham, and below. SS have sīgha- sīgham the last time, and so S^{cd} the time before. See Jāt. i. 103.

5. S^d kilamatthāti; B^m K kilamithāti (and below).

6. See p. 343, note⁷.

7. S^{cd} pāyethāti; S^t pāyāp^o.

8. SS pay^o.

vā udakaṃ vā, sabbe va anaya-vyasanam āpajjimsu. Ye ca¹ tasmiṃ satthe ahesuṃ manussā vā pasū² vā sabbe³ so yakkho amanusso bhakkhesi, aṭṭhikān' eva sesesi.⁴

'Yadā aññāsi dutiyo satthavāho: "Bahu-nikkhanto⁵ kho dāni so sattho ti," bahuṃ tiṇaṃ ca kaṭṭhaṃ ca udakaṃ ca āropetvā sattham pāyāpesi. Dvīha-tīha-pāyāto kho pan' eso sattho addasa purisaṃ kāḷaṃ lohitakkhiṃ⁶ apanaddha-kalāpaṃ⁷ kumuda-māliṃ⁸ alla-vattham alla-kesaṃ kaddama-makkhitehi cakkehi gadrabha-rathena⁹ paṭipatham āgacchantam. Disvā etad avoca: "Kuto bho āgacchasīti?"

' "Amukamhā janapadā ti."

' "Kuhiṃ gamissasīti?"

' "Amukaṃ nāma janapadan ti."

' "Kacci bho purato kantāre mahā-megho abhippavaṭṭo¹⁰ ti?"

' "Evam bho purato kantāre mahā-megho abhippavaṭṭo, āsittodakāni vaṭumāni, bahuṃ¹¹ tiṇaṃ ca kaṭṭhaṃ ca udakaṃ ca, chaḍḍetha bho purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni, lahu-bhārehi sakaṭehi sīghaṃ sīghaṃ sīghaṃ gacchatha, mā yoggānt kilamethāti."¹²

'Atha kho so satthavāho satthike āmantesi: "Ayaṃ bho puriso evam āha—Purato kantāre mahā-megho abhippavaṭṭo, āsittodakāni vaṭumāni bahuṃ tiṇaṃ ca kaṭṭhaṃ

1. S^c va; so K yeva (at end of previous sentence). See p. 346.

2. S^c phasu; S^{dt} B^m pasu.

3. K adds va.

4. B^m K sesāni; K (Sī) sesesi.

5. K bahunikkhantaro.

6. S^c kāḷa-lohitakkham corrected to -lohitam; S^{dt} kāḷa-lohitakkham; B^m kāḷaṃ lohitakkham. See p. 343, note¹⁰.

7. B^m asannaddha-.

8. K mālaṃ.

9. SS gadubha-rathehi; B^m bhaddena rathena; K bhadrena rathena.

10. S^t here and in next line -yaddho; B^m -vuṭṭho, and below; K-vuṭṭho.

11. See p. 343, note⁷.

12. B^m K kilamithāti, and below.

ca udakañ ca, chaḍḍetha bhe purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni, lahu-bhārehi sakatehi sīgham sīgham gacchatha, mā yoggāni kilamethāti. Ayam kho¹ bho puriso n'ev' amhākaṃ mitto na pi² nāti-sālohito, katham mayam imassa saddhāya³ gamissāma ? Na kho⁴ chaḍḍe-tabbāni purāṇāni tiṇāni kaṭṭhāni udakāni, yathā-katena⁵ bhaṇḍena sattham pāyāpetha, na vo⁶ purāṇam chaḍḍes-sāmāti."

“Evam bho” ti kho te satthikā tassa satthavāhassa paṭissutvā yathā-katena⁷ bhaṇḍena sattham pāyāpesum Te paṭhame pi sattha-vāse na addasaṃsu tiṇam vā kaṭṭham vā udakaṃ vā, dutiye pi satthavāse⁸ . . . tatiye pi satthavāse . . . catutthe pi satthavāse . . . pañcame pi satthavāse . . . chaṭṭhe pi satthavāse . . . sattame pi satthavāse na addasaṃsu⁹ anaya-vyasanam āpannam. Ye va¹⁰ tasmiṃ satthe ahesum manussā vā pasū vā, tesañ ca aṭṭhikān' eva addasaṃsu tena yakkhena amanussena bhakkhitānam.¹¹

‘Atha kho so satthavāho satthike āmantesi: “Ayam kho bho¹² so sattho anaya-vyasanam āpanno yathā tam tena bālena satthavāhena pariṇāyakena. Tena hi bho yān' asmākaṃ¹³ satthe appa-sārāni paṇiyāni, tāni chaḍḍetvā, yāni imasmiṃ satthe mahā-sārāni paṇiyāni tāni ādiya-thāti.” “Evam bho ti” kho te satthikā tassa sattha-vāhassa paṭissutvā yāni sakasmiṃ satthe appa-sārāni paṇiyāni tāni chaḍḍetvā, yāni tasmiṃ satthe mahā-sārāni paṇiyāni tāni ādiyitvā,

1. B^m K omit.

2. B^m K omit.

3. B^m saddāya.

4. B^m ti; K vo.

5. S^{cd} kathena.

6. K no.

7. S^{ct} P -kathena; S^d -kaṭena.

8. Not in SS.

9. S^d -siṃsu.

10. So SS; B^m ca; K ye va at end of preceding sentence.

11. K bhakkhitā.

12. S^{cd} omit.

13. B^m K amhākaṃ.

sotthinā taṃ kantāraṃ nitthariṃsu yathā taṃ paṇḍitena satthavāhena pariṇāyakena. Evam eva kho tvaṃ Rājāñña bālo avyatto anaya-vyasanam āpajjissasi ayoniso paralokaṃ gavesanto, seyyathāpi so puriso¹ satthavāho. Ye pi tava sotabbaṃ saddahātabbaṃ maññissantī, te pi anaya-vyasanam āpajjis-santi, seyyathā pi te satthikā. Paṭinissajj' etaṃ Rājāñña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Patinissajj' etaṃ Rājāñña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Mā te ahosi dīgha-rattaṃ ahitāya dukkhāyāti.'

23. 'Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile ; for it is by way of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what has been said. Once upon a time, Prince, a great caravan of a thousand carts was going from the East country into the West country. Wherever it went, it consumed swiftly straw, wood, water and verdure. Now in that caravan were two caravan leaders, each commanding one half of the carts. And this occurred to them :—

' "This is a great caravan, one of a thousand carts. Wherever we go, we consume everything. What if we were to divide this caravan into two, five hundred carts in each."

'So they divided that caravan into two equal portions. Then one of the leaders collected large quantities of straw, wood and water, and started [his carts]. On the second or third march the leader saw a swarthy red-eyed man coming from the opposite direction, armed with a quiver, wearing a lotus wreath, his garments and hair wet, and driving a chariot drawn by asses, its wheel splashed with mud. When he saw this man he said :—
"Whence come you, Sir ?"

' "From such and such a district"

' "Whither go you ?"

' "To such and such a district,"

' "Has there, Sir, been any great fall of rain recently in the jungle ?"

' "Yes indeed, Sir, there has been a great rain in the jungle just in front, the roads are well watered, there is much grass and

1. So SS : B^m purimo.

wood and water. Throw away the grass and wood and water, Sir, you have already got ; with light-laden carts you will go quite quickly ; do not tire your teams."

"Then the leader told his carters what the man had said, and bade them throw away their provender and wood, that the caravan might travel more quickly.

" "So be it, sir," the carters replied, and did so. But at their first camp they saw no grass or wood or water, nor at the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth or seventh camp. So they all met with ruin and disaster. And then that fiend, the yakkha, devoured all the men and the cattle in that caravan, leaving only the bones behind.

"When the second caravan leader knew that the other caravan had got well on its way, he took in large supplies of grass and wood and water and set out. And he too met a swarthy red-eyed man, and exchanged with him the same remarks, and was also bidden to throw away his provender.

"Then that leader said to his carters : "This man, sirs, says that there has recently been much rain in the jungle, that the roads are watered, and there is plenty of grass and wood and water. And he advises us to throw away our provender, so that, with lightened carts we may travel quicker and not weary our teams. But this man, sirs, is not a friend of ours, nor a kinsman, nor of our blood. Why should we act as if we trusted him ? Our stock of provender is not to be thrown away; let the caravan proceed with the goods we brought; let us not part with what we have."

" "So be it, sir," agreed the carters, and went on with the stock they had loaded. And at seven successive camping places they saw no grass or wood or water ; but they saw the other caravan that had come to grief. And they saw the skeletons of the men and cattle devoured by that yakkha fiend.

"Then the caravan leader said to the carters : "That caravan, my masters, met with ruin and disaster, through having that silly caravan leader for its guide. Well then, let us leave here such of our wares as are of little value, and take from that cara-

van such wares as are of great value. "So be it, master," replied the carters, and made the transfer, and passed safely through the jungle, through having this wise caravan leader for their guide.¹

'Even so you, Prince, silly and unintelligent, will meet with ruin and disaster in that you seek so senselessly after another world, even like that former caravan leader. They who fancy that they can believe whatever they hear, will meet with ruin and disaster, even like those carters. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions ; renounce them, I say ! Let them not involve you long in bale and sorrow !'

24. 'Kmcāpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evaṃ āha, atha kho n'evāhaṃ sayhāmi² idaṃ pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ paṇinissajjitum. Rājā pi maṃ Pasenadi-kosalo jānātīti tiro-rājāno pi: "Pāyāsi Rājāñño evaṃ-vādī evaṃ-diṭṭhī : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti." Sacāhaṃ bho Kassapa idaṃ³ pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ paṇinissajjissāmi, bhavissanti me vattāro: "Yāva bālo Pāyāsi Rājāñño avyatto duggahīta-gāhī ti," kopena pi naṃ harissāmi, makkhena pi naṃ harissāmi, paḷāseṇa pi naṃ harissāmīti.'

24. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, I still cannot bring myself to renounce this evil set of opinions. King Pasenadi the Kosalan knows me, and so do foreign kings, as holding to the creed and the opinion that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents by human parentage, nor fruit or result of deeds well and ill-done. If I, master Kassapa, renounce these opinions people will say of me : "How silly is prince Pāyāsi, how unintelligent, how badly he grasps anything ! 'In wrath thereat will I keep to it. In guile will I keep to it. In self-respect will I keep to it!'

1. This story has been turned into a Jātaka by identifying the hero as the Buddha in a previous birth, and has been made the first story in the collection afterwards put together as the Jātaka Book. This one of twelve stories in that book found in the older texts. See 'Buddhist India,' p. 195.

2. B^m K sakkomi (as above, p. 342).

3. K imaṃ.

25. ‘Tena hi Rājāñña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya p’ idh’ ekacce viññū bhāsītassa atthaṃ ājānanti. Bhūta-pubbaṃ Rājāñña aññataro sūkara-posako puriso sakambhā gāmā aññaṃ gāmaṃ agamāsi. Tatth’ addasa pahūtaṃ sukkha-gūthaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ.¹ Disvān’ assa etad ahosi : “Ayaṃ me² bahuko³ sukkha-gūtho⁴ chaḍḍito⁵ mamañ ca sūkara-bhattaṃ.⁶ Yan nūnāhaṃ ito sukkha-gūthaṃ hareyyan ti.” So uttarā-saṅgaṃ pattharivā pahūtaṃ sukkha-gūthaṃ āharitvā⁷ bhaṇḍikaṃ⁸ bandhitvā sīse ubbāhetvā⁹ agamāsi. Tassa antarāmagge mahā akāla-megho pāvassi. So uggharantaṃ paggharantaṃ yāva agga-nakhā gūthena makkhito gūtha-bhāraṃ ādāya agamāsi. Tam enaṃ manussā disvā evam āhaṃsu: “Kacci no tvaṃ bhaṇe ummatto, kacci veceto ?¹⁰ kathaṃ hi nāma uggharantaṃ paggharantaṃ yāva agganakhā gūthena makkhito gūtha-bhāraṃ harissasīti ?”¹¹ “Tumha khvattha¹² bhaṇe ummatā tumhe vecetā¹³ tathā hi pana me sūkara-bhattaṃ¹⁴ ti.” Evam eva kho tvaṃ Rājāñña gūtha-hārikūpamo¹⁵ maññe paṭibhāsi. Paṭinissajj’ etaṃ Rājāñña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Paṭinissajj’ etaṃ Rājāñña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Mā te ahosi dīgha-rattaṃ ahitāyā dukkhāyāti.’

1. B^m chaṭṭi^o.

2. B^m K kho.

3. SS bahuno ; K pahūto; B^m pahuko (*sic*).

4. S^{cd} sukka-

5. B^m chaṭṭito.

6. S^t mama ca da sukara-ābhataṃ; S^d mamañ ca sūka-rabhataṃ. K mama sūkaraṇaṃ bhakko ; K (Sī) mamañ ca sūkara-bhatta.

7. B^m ākiritvā.

8. S^c khaṇḍikaṃ; S^d khaṇḍikaṃ tam; S^t Caṇḍi^o.

9. B^m uccāropetvā ; Kuccoropetvā. *See* p. 325.

10. B^m viceto; K nu viceto.

11. K hariyassatīti ; (*note*) harissasitīti pāṭhena bhavitabbaṃ.

12. B^m K khvettha.

13. B^m K vicetā.

14. SS sukarābhataṃ.

15. K -bhārikūpamo.

25. 'Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile, for it is byway of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what has been said. Once upon a time, Prince, a certain swineherd was going from his own village to another village. There he saw a heap of dry dung thrown away. Seeing it he thought:— "That's a lot of dry dung thrown away which will feed my pigs. What if I were to carry it away ?" So he spread out his cloak and collecting the dry dung tied it into a bundle and lifting it on to his head went on. In the after-part of his journey there fell a heavy shower of rain out of season. He, splashed with muck to his nail-tips, bearing his oozing, dripping dung-burden, went on his way. And men seeing him said :— "Gramercy, you must be mad, you must be out of your senses! How can you tote along that oozing, dripping load of dung, splashed with muck to your nail-tips ?" "It's you that are mad, you that are out of your senses ; by this my pigs will get food." Even so, methinks, Prince, do you talk, like this dung-carrying simile. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions, renounce them, I say! Let them not be long a cause of bale and sorrow to you.'

26. Kiñcāpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evaṃ āha, atha kho n'evāhaṃ sayhāmi idaṃ pāpakam ditṭhi-gataṃ paṭinissajjitum. Rājā pi maṃ Pasenadi-kosalo jānātīti tiro-rajanō pi : 'Payāsi Rājañño evaṃ-vādī evaṃ ditṭhī : Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā opapātikā, n atthi sukaṭa-dukkā-tānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Sacāhaṃ bho Kassapa idaṃ pāpakam ditṭhi-gataṃ patinissajjissāmi, bhavissanti me vattāro: "Yāva bālo Pāyāsi Rājañño avyatto duggahīta-gāhī ti." Kopena pi naṃ harissāmi, makkhena pi naṃ harissāmi, paḷasena pi naṃ haris sāmīti.'

26. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, I cannot bring myself to renounce this evil set of opinions. King Pasenadi the Kosalan knows me, and so do foreign kings, as holding to the creed and the opinion that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents by human parentage, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill done. If I, Master Kassapa, renounce these opinions, people will say of me:— "How silly is Prince

Pāyāsi, how unintelligent, how bad is his grasp of things ! “ In a,nger thereat will I keep to it. In guile will I keep to it. In self-respect will I keep to it!”

27. ‘Tena hi Rājañña upaman te karissāmi. Upamāya p’ idh’ ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitassa atthaṃ ājānanti. Bhūtapubbaṃ Rājañña dve akkhadhuttā akkheni dibbiṃsu. Eko akkhadhutto āgatāgataṃ kalim gilati.¹ Addasā kho dutiyo akkhadhutto taṃ akkhadhuttaṃ āgatāgataṃ kalim gilantaṃ. Disvā² akkhadhuttaṃ etad avoca: “Tvam kho samma ekantikena jināsi, dehi³ samma akkhe, pajohissāmiti.”⁴ “Evaṃ sammāti” kho so akkhadhutto tassa akkhadhuttassa akkhe pādāsi.⁵ Atha kho so akkha-dutto akkhe visena paribhāvetvā taṃ akkhadhuttaṃ etad avoca: “Ehi kho samma akkhehi dibbissāmāti.” “Evaṃ sammāti” kho so akkhadhutto tassa akkhadhuttassa paccassosi. Dutiyam pi kho te akkhadhuttā akkhehi dibbiṃsu, dutiyam pi kho so akkhadhutto āgatāgataṃ kalim gilati. Addasā kho dutiyo⁶ akkhadhutto taṃ akkhadhuttaṃ dutiyam pi āgatāgataṃ kalim gilantaṃ. Disvā taṃ akkhadhuttaṃ etad avoca:—

“Littaṃ paramena tejasā
gilam akkhaṃ puriso na bujjhati⁷
gila re gila pāpa-dhuttaka
pacchāte kaṭukaṃ⁸ bhavissatīti.”⁹

1. B^m gīlati.

2. K adds taṃ.

3. B^m K add me.

4. S^c pajohiss^o; S^t pañjohiss^o; B^m pajohissāmi; K pajoharissāmi and says that Sum. has the same, but the reading should be pajohissāmi. Our MSS. of Sum. have pajohissāmi, and so has S^d here.

5. S^{cd} padāsi.

6. SS omit.

7. S^c bujjhita; S^d bhujjhita; S^t bujjhitam; B^m bujjhyati.

8. B^m Gili re papa-dh^o p. te kaṭukaṃ; K Gilare pāpadhuttā kapaṇā te kaṭukaṃ.

9. Jāt. 380.

‘Evam eva kho tvam Rājāñña akkhadhuttūpamo¹ maññe paṭibhāsi. Paṭinissajj etaṃ Rājāñña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ, paṭinissajj’ etaṃ Rājāñña pāpakaṃ diṭṭhi-gataṃ. Mā te ahosi dīgha-rattaṃ ahitāya dukkhāyāti.’

27. ‘Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile, for it is by way of a sknile that some intelligent men discern the meaning of what is said. Once upon a time, Prince, two gamesters were playing with dice. One gamester swallowed as it came each adverse die. The other gamester saw him do this and said:— “Look here, friend, you’ve won outright; give me the dice; I will make a votive offering of them.” “Good, friend,” said the other, and handed over the dice. Then the second gamester smeared over the dice with poison, and proposed to the former:— “Come along, friend, let’s play.” “Good, friend,” replied the other. Again, therefore, they played, and again that gamester swallowed each adverse die. The second gamester saw him doing so and said :—

The man knows not the swallowed die

With sharpest burning is smeared o’er.

Swallow, you false cheat, swallow now!

Bitter the hour at hand for you !²

‘Even like the simile of the gamester, Prince, methinks is what you say. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions, renounce them, I say ! Let them not be long a source of bale and sorrow to you!’

1. K-dhuttākūpamo.

2. This story is also in the Jātaka Book, I, 380. The *modus operandi* of the cheat is rendered obscure by our ignorance of the game played. Luders in his ‘Würfelspiel der alten Inder’ has shown that the dice were seeds of a tree called the Vibhātaka, and that the usual game was probably to throw a number of seeds on a board, having previously fixed on a certain number. The seeds fell some upright, some on their sides. Only the upright ones counted. If they were less than the agreed number it was a draw; if equal the thrower won and threw again; if more he lost, and lost the throw. An extra seed was called the kali, ‘the unlucky die.’ This the cheat seems to have managed to pick up, and swallow

28. 'Kiñcāpi bhavaṃ Kassapo evaṃ āha, atha kho n'evāhaṃ sayhāmi idaṃ pāpakam ditthi-gataṃ paṭinissajjitum Rājā pi maṃ Pasenadi-kosalo jānāti, tiro-rājāno pi: 'Pāyāsi Rājāñño evaṃ-vādī evaṃ-ditthī: Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Sacāhaṃ bho Kassapa idaṃ pāpakam ditthi-gataṃ paṭinissajjissāmi, bhavissanti me vattāro: "Yāva bālo Pāyāsi Rājāñño avyatto duggahīta-gāhī ti." Kopena pi naṃ harissāmi, makkhena pi naṃ harissāmi, paḷāsena pi naṃ harissāmīti.'

28. 'Even though Master Kassapa says this, I still cannot bring myself to renounce this evil set of opinions. King Pasenadi the Kosalan knows me, and so do foreign kings, as holding to the creed and the opinion that there is neither another world, nor rebirth other than of parents, nor fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done. If I, Master Kassapa, renounce these opinions, people will say : "How silly is Prince Pāyāsi, how unintelligent, how bad is his grasp of things ! "In wrath thereat will I keep to it. In guile will I keep to it. In self-respect will I keep to it.'

29. 'Tena hi Rājāñña, upamaṇaṃ te karissāmi. Upamāya pi idh' ekacce viññū purisā bhāsitaṃ atthaṃ ājānanti. Bhaṭṭapubbam Rājāñña aññataro janapado vuṭṭhāsi. Atha kho saḥāyako saḥāyakam āmantesi: "Āyāma samma, yena so janapado ten' upasaṃkamissāma, app eva nāma'ettha kiñci dhanam adhigaccheyyāmāti." "Evaṃ sammāti" kho saḥāyako saḥāyakassa paccassosi. Te yāna so janapado yena aññataram gāma-paddhanam¹ ten' upasaṃkamissu. Tatth' addasaṃsu pahūtam sāṇam chaḍḍitam². Disvā saḥāyako saḥāyakam āmantesi: "Idam kho samma pahūtam sāṇam chaḍḍitam, tena hi samma tvaṃ ca sāṇa-bhāram bandha,³ ahaṃ ca sāṇa bhāram bandhissāmi,⁴ ubho sāṇa-bhāram ādāya gamis-

1. S^d paṇḍanam ; S^t paccanam; B^m paṭṭam; K pajjam.

2. B^m chaṭṭo throughout.

3. S^c bandhanam; S^d bandham; K bandhi.

4. S^d adds ti; S^{ct} -mīti.

sāmāti.” “Evaṃ sammāti” kho sahāyako sahāyakassa paṭissutvā sāṇa-bhāraṃ bandhi.¹

‘Te ubho sāṇa-bhāraṃ ādāya yen’ aññataraṃ gāma-paddhanaṃ² ten’ upasaṃkamim̐su. Tatth’ addasaṃsu pahūtaṃ sāṇa-suttaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā sahāyako sahāyakaṃ āmantesī: “Yassa kho samma atthāya iccheyyāma sāṇaṃ idaṃ pahūtaṃ sāṇa-suttaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Tena hi samma tvañ ca sāṇa-bhāraṃ chaḍḍehi, ahañ ca sāṇabhāraṃ chaḍḍessāmi, ubho sāṇa-sutta-bhāraṃ ādāya gamissāmāti.” “Ayaṃ kho me samma sāṇa-bhāro durā-bhato³ ca susannaddho ca, alam me, tvaṃ⁴ pajānāhīti.” Atha kho so sahāyako sāṇa-bhāraṃ chaḍḍetvā sāṇa-sutta-bhāraṃ ādiyi.

‘Te yen’ aññataraṃ gāma-paddhanaṃ⁵ ten’ upasaṃkamim̐su. Tatth’⁶ addasaṃsu pahūtā sāṇiyo chaḍḍitā. Disvā sahāyako sahāyakaṃ āmantesi: “Yassa kho samma atthāya iccheyyāma sāṇaṃ vā sāṇa-suttaṃ vā, imā pahūtā sāṇiyo chaḍḍehi, ahañ ca sāṇa-sutta-bhāraṃ chaḍḍessāmi, ubho sāṇi-bhāraṃ ādāya gamissāmāti.” “Ayaṃ kho me samma sāṇa-bhāro durābhato ca susannaddho ca, alam me, tvaṃ pajānāhīti.” Atha kho so sahāyako sāṇa-sutta-bhāraṃ chaḍḍetvā sāṇi-bhāraṃ⁷ ādiyi.

Te yen’ aññataraṃ gāma-paddhanaṃ⁸ ten’ upaka-mim̐su. Tatth’ addasaṃsu pahūtaṃ khomaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ khoma-suttaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ khoma-dussaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ kappāsāṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ kappāsika-suttaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. disvā . . . pahūtaṃ ayaṃ⁹ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ

1. B^m bandhitvā.

2. S^c pabbataṃ; S^d (gām) aṇḍanaṃ; S^t paddhanāṃ; B^m paṭṭaṃ; K pajjaṃ; (? originally paṭṭanaṃ).

3. S^t dūr^o and below ; K durāgato (*thrice*); B^m durāhato.

4. SS alametaṃ.

5. So SS; B^m paṭṭaṃ; K pajjaṃ, and below.

6. For pe; B^m read tatth’ addasaṃsu, q.l.

7. B^m sāṇa-.

8. S^c pabbataṃ ; S^d paccataṃ.

9. B^m K ayaṃ, and below.

loham chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . ¹ pahūtaṃ tipuṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ sīsaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ sajjhum² chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā . . . pahūtaṃ suvaṇṇaṃ chaḍḍitaṃ. Disvā sahāyako sahāyakaṃ āmantesi ; “Yassa kho samma atthāya idccheyyāma sāṇaṃ vā sāṇasuttaṃ vā sāṇiyo vā khomaṃ vā khoma-suttaṃ vā khoma-dussaṃ vā kappāsaṃ vā kappāsika-suttaṃ vā kappāsika-dussaṃ vā ayaṃ³ vā lohaṃ vā tipuṃ vā sīsaṃ vā sajjhuṃ vā, idaṃ pahūtaṃ suvaṇṇaṃ chaḍḍehi, ahañ ca sajjhu-bhāraṃ⁴ chaḍḍessāmi, ubho suvaṇṇa-bhāraṃ ādāya gamissāmāti.” “Ayaṃ kho me samma sāṇa-bhāro durābhato a susannaddho ca, alaṃ me, tvaṃ⁵ pajānāhīti.” Atha kho sahāyako sajjhu-bhāraṃ⁶ chaḍḍetvā suvaṇṇa-bhāraṃ ādiyi.

‘Te yena sako gāmo ten’ upasaṃkamimsu. Tattha yo so sahāyoko sāṇa-bbaram ādāya agamāsi, tass n’eva mātā-pitaro abhinandimsu, na putta-dārā abhinandimsu, na mittāmaccā abhinandimsu, na ca tato-nidānaṃ sukhaṃ somanassaṃ adhigacchi. Yo papa so sahāyako suvaṇṇa-bhāraṃ ādāya agamāsi, tassa mātā-pitaro abhinandimsu, putta-dārā pi abhinandimsu, [mittāmaccā pi abhinandimsu],⁷ tato-nidānaṃ ca sukhaṃ⁸ somanassaṃ adhigacchatī.

‘Evam eva kho tvaṃ Rājañña sāṇabhārakūpamo maññe paṭibhāsi. Paṭinissaji’ etaṃ Rājañña pāpakaṃ dīṭṭhi-gataṃ, paṭinissaji’ etaṃ Rājañña pāpakaṃ dīṭṭhi-gataṃ. Mā te ahosi dīgha-rattaṃ ahitāya dukkhāyāti.’

29. ‘Well then, Prince, I will give you a simile, for it is by way of a simile that some intelligent men discern the meaning

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1. S^c inserts pahūtaṃ lohaṃ tipuṃ chaḍḍitaṃ disvā; S^d inserts pahūtaṃ lohanti tipuṃ chaḍḍitaṃ disvā.
 2. B^m sajjhyam, and below ; K sajjham.
 3. B^m K ayasaṃ.
 4. S^t sajjhā-.
 5. S^c alamebhavaṃ; S^d alamebhaṭaṃ; S^t alam me bhavaṃ.
 6. SS here sajjhā ; B^m sajjhya as before ; K sajjhu.
 7. SS omit ; B^m K insert.
 8. SS omit.

of what is said. Once upon a time, Prince, a certain country-side migrated. And one man said to his crony:— "Let's go friend, to that country-side ; perhaps we may come upon some treasure." "Good, friend," assented the other. And they came to where, in that country-side, there was a certain village street. There they saw a heap of hemp thrown away. Then one said to the other: "Here's a heap of hemp: do you make some into a bundle, I'll do the same and we'll carry it away." The other consented, and they did so.

'Bearing this burden they went on to another village street. There they saw a heap of hempen thread thrown away, and one said to the other :— "This heap of hempen thread thrown away is just the thing we want hemp for. Well then, friend, you throw away your load of hemp, I'll throw away mine, and we'll take away each a load of hempen thread." "I've brought this load of hemp a long way, friend, and it's well tied up—that's enough for me; you choose for yourself." So the former changed his load for one of hempen thread.

'Then they came to another village street. There they saw a heap of hempen cloths. And the one said to the other:— "This heap of hempen cloths is just the thing we want hemp for, or hempen thread for. Well then, friend, do you throw away your load of hemp, I'll throw away my load of hempen thread, and we'll each take a load of hempen cloth." "I've brought this load of hemp a long way, friend, and it's well tied up—that's enough for me ; you choose for yourself." So the former changed his load for one of hempen cloth.

'Then they came to another village street. There they saw a heap of flax ; and to another where they saw linen thread ; and to another where they saw linen cloth. And at each place the one crony made a change for the better, the other retained his hemp. Further they saw cotton-down, cotton thread and calico ; and the same thing happened. Further they saw iron, copper, tin, lead, silver, gold. So that in the end the one crony had a load of gold, the other of hemp.

'So they came to their own village. There the crony who

brought a load of hemp pleased neither his parents, nor his own family, nor his friends, and won neither pleasure or happiness. But the other with his load of gold both gave and won pleasure.

‘Even like the simile of the load of hemp, methinks Prince, is what you say. Renounce, Prince, this evil set of opinions, renounce them, I say! Let them not be long a source of bale and sorrow to you.’

30. ‘Purimen’ evâhaṃ¹ opammena bhoto Kassapassa attamano abhiraddho, api câhaṃ imāni vicitrāni pañha-paṭibhānāni² sotu-kāmo, evâhaṃ bhavantam Kassapam paccanikātabbam³ amaññisaṃ.⁴ Abhikkantam bho Kassapa, abhikkantam bho Kassapa ! Seyyathā pi bho Kassapa nikkujjitam vā ukkujjeyya, paṭicchannam vā vivareyya, mūlhasa vā maggam ācikkheyya, andha-kāre vā tela-pajjotam dhāreyya: “cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkhinti”⁵—evam eva bhotā Kassapena aneka-pari-yāyena dhammo pakāsito. Esâhaṃ bho Kassapa tam⁶ bhagavantam Gotamam saraṇam gacchāmi dhammañ ca bhikkhu-saṃghaṃ ca. Upāsakam maṃ bhavam Kassapo dhāretu, ajjatagge paṇupetaṃ saraṇam gataṃ. Icchāmi câhaṃ bho Kassapa mahā-yaññaṃ yajitum. Anusāsatu maṃ bhavam Kassapo yaṃ mamaṃ⁷ assa dīgha-rattam hitāya sukhāyât.’

30. ‘With Master Kassapa’s first simile I was pleased, I was charmed ; moreover I wanted to hear his ready wit in questions, for I regarded Master Kassapa as one who was to be opposed. It is wonderful, Master Kassapa, it is marvellous! just as if one were to set up what has been upset, or were to reveal that

1. K purimena câhaṃ.

2. SS-paṭibhāgāni; B^m -paṭibhānāni ; K pañhāpaṭibhā-ṇāni. See M. i. 378.

3. S^t paccaninikāt^o; K paccanikam kāt.

4. SS amaññissa; B^m amaññissanti.

5. B^m dakkhantīti; K dakkhanti.

6. K omits.

7. B^m mam; K mama. See D.i. 136.

which has been hidden away, or were to point out the road to the bewildered, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness, so that they that have eyes may see—even so has the truth been declared in many a figure by Master Kassapa. And I, even I, betake myself for refuge to Gotama the Exalted One, to the Doctrine and to the Brotherhood. May Master Kassapa accept me as a disciple, as one who from this day forth as long as life endures, has taken him as his guide. And I should like, Master Kassapa, to offer a great sacrifice. Let Master Kassapa instruct me herein that it may bring me long welfare and happiness.’

31. ‘Yathārūpe kho Rājāñña yaññe gāvo vā haññanti, ajeḷakā vā haññanti, kukkuṭa-sūkarā vā haññanti, vividhā vā pāṇā saṃghātaṃ¹ āpajjani, paṭiggāhakā ca honti micchā-diṭṭhī micchā-saṃkappā micchā-vācā micchā-kam-mantā micchā-ājīvā micchā-vāyāmā micchā-satī micchā-samādhī, evarūpo kho Rājāñña yañño nāma na mahap-phalo hoti na mahānisamso na mahā-jutiko na mahā-vipphāro. Seyyathā pi Rājāñña kassako bīja-naṅgalaṃ ādāya vanaṃ paviseyya. So tattha dukhette dub-bhūme² avihata-khānuke³ bījāni patitṭhāpeyya khaṇḍāni pūtīni vātātanahatāni⁴ asāradāni asukha-sayitāni,⁵ devo ca na kālena kālaṃ sammā-dhāraṃ anuppavecceyya.⁶ Api nu tāni bījāni vuddhiṃ virūhiṃ vepullaṃ āpajjeyyūṃ, kassako vā vipula⁷-phalaṃ adhigaccheyyāti?’

‘No h’ idaṃ⁸ bho Kassapa.’

‘Evam eva kho Rājāñña yathārūpe yaññe gāvo vā haññanti ajeḷakā vā haññanti kukkuṭa-sūkarā vā haññanti

1. S^c panasamkhātāṃ; S^d pāṇasamkhātāṃ. See D. i. 141.

2. S^t dumabbhūme; B^m K dubbhumme; K (note) dubbhūme ti vā pāṭbo.

3. B^m K -khānukandake.

4. S^{cd} hātāni; B^m vātātavapahātāni.

5. SS asukasasitāni. See S. iii. 54; v. 379.

6. B^m anupavacch^o.

7. B^m K vipulaṃ.

8. B^m na evāṃ.

vividhā vā pāṇā saṃghātaṃ¹ āpajjanti, paṭiggāhakā ca honti micchā-diṭṭhī micchā-saṃkappā micchā-vācā micchā-kammantā micchā micchā-ājīvā micchā-vāyāmāmicchā-satī micchā-samādhī, evarūpo kho Rājañña yañño na mahapphalo hoti na mahānisaṃso na mahā-jutiko na mahā-vipphāro. Yathārūpe ca kho Rājañña n'eva gāvo haññanti na ajeḷakā haññanti na kukkuṭa-sūkarā haññanti na vividhā pāṇā saṃghātaṃ² āpajjanti, paṭiggāhakā ca honti sammā-diṭṭhī sammā-saṃkappā sammā-vācā sammā-kam-mantā sammā-ājīvā sammā-vāyāmā sammā-satī sammā-samādhī, evarūpo kho Rājañña yañño mahapphalo hoti mahānisaṃso mahā-jutiko mahā-vipphāro. Seyyathā pi Rājañña kassako bījanāṅgalaṃ ādāya vanaṃ paviseyya. So tattha sukhette³ subhūme⁴ suvihata-khānūke⁵ bījāni paṭiṭṭhāpeyya akkhaṇḍāni apūṭiṇi avātātapa-hatāni⁶ sārādāni sukha-sayitāni,⁷ devo ca kālena kālaṃ sammā-dhāraṃ anuppavecceyya.⁸ Api nu tāni bījāni vuddhiṃ virūḷhiṃ vepullaṃ āpajjeyyūṃ, kassako vā vipula-⁹phalaṃ adhigaccheyyāti ?

‘Evaṃ bho Kassapa.’

‘Evaṃ eva kho Rājañña yathārūpe yañña n'eva gāvo haññanti na ajeḷakā haññanti na kukkuṭa-sūkarāhaññanti na vividhā pāṇā saṃghātaṃ āpajjanti,¹⁰ paṭiggāhakā ca honti sammā-diṭṭhī sammā-saṃkappā¹¹ sammā-vācā sammā-kammantā sammā-ājīvā sammā-vāyāmā sammā-satī sammā-samādhī, evarūpo kho Rājañña yañño mahapphalo hoti mahānisaṃso mahā-jutiko mahā-vipphāro ti.’

1. S^c panasamkhānaṃ.
2. S^c pana-samkhātaṃ, and below ; S^d pāna-samkhātaṃ, and below.
3. S^t sukkh^o.
4. B^m K subhumme.
5. B^m K khāṇukaṇḍake.
6. S^c hātāni.
7. S^c sukaṇḍāyitāni corrected to sukhasay^o; K S^{dt} sukhaṇḍāyitāni; S.v. 380 has - sahītāni.
8. B^m anuppavacch^o.
9. B^m K vipulaṃ.
10. S^c āpajjeyyanti; S^t āpajjenti.
11. S^d omits this and several others ; S^t -saṃkappo.

31. 'At the sort of sacrifice, Prince, where oxen are slain, or goats, or fowls and pigs, or divers creatures are put an end to; [368] and those that take part in the sacrifice have wrong views, wrong intention, wrong speech, wrong action, wrong livelihood, wrong endeavour, wrong mindfulness, wrong rapture, such a sacrifice, Prince, is neither of great fruitfulness nor of great profit, nor of great renown, nor of widespread effect¹. It is just as if a farmer, Prince, were to enter a wood taking with him plough and seed, and were there, in an untilled tract, in unfavourable soil, among unuprooted stumps, to plant seeds that were broken, rotten, spoilt by wind and heat, out of season, not in good condition, and the god were not to give good rain in due season. Would those seeds attain to growth, increase and expansion, or would the farmer get abundant returns ?'

'No indeed, Master Kassapa.'

'So is it, Prince, with that sort of sacrifice. But where, Prince, neither oxen are slain, nor goats, nor fowls and pigs, nor are divers creatures put an end to, and those that partake of the sacrifice have right views, right intention, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right endeavour, right mindfulness, right rapture, such a sacrifice is of great fruitfulness, of great profit, of great renown, of widespread effect. It is just as if a farmer, Prince, were to enter a wood, taking with him plough and seed, and were there, in a well-tilled tract, in favourable soil well cleared of stumps, to plant seed that was unbroken, free from mildew, unspoilt by wind or heat, in season and in good condition, and the god were to give good rain in due season. Would those seeds grow, increase, expand, and would the farmer get abundant returns ?'

'He would indeed, Master Kassapa.'

'So is it, Prince, with that sort of sacrifice, where . . . no creatures are put to death, and those that take part therein are of high character. Such a sacrifice is of great fruitfulness, profit, renown and widespread effect.'

1. So of the sacrifice **intended** by the Very Reverend Sir Gold-stick Sharp-tooth in the *Kūṭadanta*. See especially above, I, 163.

32. Atha kho Pāyāsi rājañño dānaṃ paṭṭhapesi samaṇa-brāhmaṇa-kapaṇiddhika-vaṇibbaka-yācakānaṃ.¹ Tasmim kho pana dāne dāne evarūpaṃ bhojanaṃ diyyati² kaṇājakam³ bilaṅga-dutiyam therakāni⁴ ca vatthāni guḷa-vālakāni.⁵ Tasmim kho pana dāne Uttaro nāma māṇavo vyāvaṭo⁶ ahosi. So dānaṃ datvā evam anuddisati: 'Iminā⁷ dānena Pāyāsi-rājaññaṃ⁸ eva imasmim loke samāgañchim⁹ mā parasmin ti.' Assosi kho Pāyāsi rājañño : 'Uttaro kira māṇavo dānaṃ datvā evam anuddisati: Iminā dānena Pāyāsi-Rājaññaṃ eva imasmim loke samāgañchim mā parasmin ti.' Atha kho Pāyāsi-rājañño Uttaraṃ māṇavaṃ āmantāpetvā etad avoca: "Saccam¹⁰ kira tvaṃ tāta Uttara dānaṃ datvā evam anuddisasi: Iminā dānena Pāyāsi-rājaññaṃ eva imasmim loke sama-gañchim mā parasmin ti' ?"

'Evam bho ti.'¹¹

'Kissa pana¹² tvaṃ tāta Uttara dānaṃ datvā evam anuddisasi— "Iminā dānena Pāyāsi-rājaññaṃ¹³ eva imasmim loke samāgañchim mā parasmin ti"? Na nu mayaṃ tāta Uttara puññatthikā danass' eva phalaṃ¹⁴ paṭīkamkhino ti' ?"

'Bhoto kho pana¹⁵ dāne evarūpaṃ bhojanaṃ diyyati¹⁶:

1. B^m K -kapaṇaddhika. See D. i. 137 ; Jāt. iv. 15.

2. S^{cd} diyyati; B^m diyati; K diyyati, and below.

3. K kaṇājikam and below; (note) kaṇājakanti vā pāṭho. See S. i. 90; Vin. ii. 77; Jāt. i. 228.

4. S^{cd} thevakāni; B^m dhorakāni; K corakāni.

5. B^m guḷagālakāni.

6. B^m K vāvaṭo and below; K (Sī) vyāvaṭo. See D. ii. 141 (quoted Mil. 177); D. ii. 270; Jāt. i. 89.

7. B^m adds 'ham (three times)

8. B^m Pāyāsim.

9. B^m K -gacch^o and below.

10. K sabbam.

11. S^{ct} hoti; S^d bho; B^m bho kassapa; K bho.

12. SS kissapana; B^m kassapana; K kasmā pana.

13. B^m here Pāyāsi.

14. SS dānaṃ devaphalaṃ.

15. B^m K omit.

16. S^c diyyati; S^d diyyāti; B^m diyati; K diyyati.

kaṇṇajakam¹ bilaṅga-dutiyam yam² bhavam pādā pi na iccheyya chupitum³, kuto bhuñjitum; therakāni⁴ ca vatthāni guḷa-vālakāni yāni⁵ bhavam pādā pi na iccheyya samphusitum, kuto paridahitum. Bhavam kho pan' asmākam⁶ piyo manāpo, katham mayam piyam⁷ manāpam amanāpena samyojemāti?

'Tena hi tvam tāta Uttara yādisāham bhojanam bhuñjāmi tādisam bhojanam paṭṭhapehi, yādisāni cāham vatthāni paridahāmi tādisāni ca vatthāni paṭṭhapehīti'

'Evaṃ bho ti' kho Uttaro māṇavo Pāyāsi-rājañña⁸ paṭissutvā paṭissutvā yādisam bhojanam Pāyāsi-rājañño bhuñjati tādisam bhojanam paṭṭhapesi, yādisāni ca vatthāni Pāyāsi rājañño paridahati tādisāni ca vatthāni paṭṭhapesi.

Atha kho Pāyāsi rājañño asakkaccam dānam datvā asahatthā⁹ dānam datvā acittikataṃ¹⁰ dānam datvā apa viddham¹¹ dānam dānam datvā kāyassa bedā param maraṇā Cātummahārājikānaṃ¹² devānaṃ saavyataṃ¹³ uppajji¹⁴ suññaṃ Serisakam¹⁵ vimānaṃ. Yo pana tassa dāne vyāvaṭo ahosi Uttaro nāma māṇavo so sakkaccam dānam datvā sahatthā dānam datvā citti-katvā dānam datvā anapaviddham dānam datvā kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā sugatim saggaṃ

1. S^c kaṇṇajakam; S^d kanakajam; B^m kaṇṇaj^o.

2. B^m K omit.

3. K samphusitum.

4. B^m dhorakāni; K corakāni.

5. K omits.

6. K amhākam

7. B^m omits.

8. B^m Pāyāsissa.

9. B^m -hatthena.

10. SS acitti-katvā *here and below*.

11. K apaviṭṭham *and below*; K (Sī) apaviddham.

12. B^m cātumahā^o; K vatummahā^o.

13. B^m K sahabya^o, *and below*.

14. B^m K upapajji.

15. S^l suññaṃ Serissakam; S^{cd} *here* suñña-Serissakam, *but* suññaṃ *below*; B^m suññaṃ-, *and below*. See V.V.A. 331; Āṭṭhānāṭiya Sutta, *at the end*; and Divyāvadāna, 399.

lokaṃ uppajji¹ devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ saṃvayataṃ.

32. Then Prince Pāyāsi instituted a gift to Wan derers and Brahmins, the poor, wayfarers, beggars and petitioners. In that gift such food was given as gruel and scraps of food, and coarse robes with ball-fringes². And at that gift a young brahmin named Uttara was passed over³. When the largesse had been distributed he mocked, saying : 'By this largesse I have met Prince Pāyāsi in this world, but how about the next?'⁴ Pāyāsi heard of this, and sent word to Uttara asking him if it was true that he was saying this ?

'Yes, sir,' replied Uttara.

'But why have you been saying this, my dear Uttara ? Do not we who are seeking merit look for result from giving ?'

'In your gift, sir, such food as gruel and broken meats are given which you, sir, would not touch with your foot, much less eat; also coarse ball-fringed robes which you, sir, would not deign to use as carpets, much less to wear. You, sir, are pleasant and dear to us; how are we to associate what is pleasant and dear with what is unpleasant?'

'Welt then, my dear Uttara, do you arrange that such food shall be given as I eat, and such garments be given as I wear.'

'Very good, sir,' replied Uttara, and did so⁵.

1. B^m K upapajji ; (S^c uppajjati).

2. To keep the robes down.

3. Vyāvato. This became almost a technical term in connexion with largesse. It is literally 'hindered'; but when the things to be given were too limited as compared with the number of applicants, some had to be passed over. They were dāna-vyāvata 'hindered at the largesse' (Jāt. III, 129). Compare D. II, 141; Sum. I, 296 ; Jāt. I, 89; VVA. 298. But here perhaps it may simply mean 'objected to the largesse.'

4. Literally 'do not associate (with him) in the next.' The gibe intended must be very nearly as we have rendered. But both the reading of the text and the grammatical construction are doubtful. The word we have rendered 'mocked' (uddissati) has only been found here. Perhaps it means 'showed (the matter) up,' which comes to much the same as to point the finger of mockery.

5. Apparently at his own cost.

Now prince Pāyāsi, inasmuch as he had bestowed his gift without thoroughness, not with his own hands, without due thought, as something discarded, was, after his death, reborn into the communion of the Four Great Kings¹, in the empty mansion of the Acacia. But the youth Uttara, who had objected to that gift and had bestowed his gift thoroughly, with his own hands, with due thought, not as something discarded, was, after his death, reborn in a bright and happy world, into the communion of the Three-and-Thirty Gods.

33. Tena kho pana samayena āyasmā Gavampati² abhikkhaṇaṃ suññaṃ Serīsakaṃ vimānaṃ divā-vihāraṃ gacchati. Atha kho Pāyāsi-devaputto yen' āyasma Gavampati ten' upasaṃkami, upasaṃkamtivā āyasmantaṃ Gavampatiṃ abhivādetvā ekamantaṃ aṭṭhāsi. Ekamantaṃ ṭhitaṃ kho Pāyāsi-devaputtaṃ³ āyasmā Gavam-pati etad avoca: 'Ko 'si tvaṃ ti ?'

'Ahaṃ bhante Pāyāsi-rājañño ti.'

'Na nu tvaṃ āvuso evaṃ-ditṭhiko ahosi—Iti pi n'atthi paraloko,⁴ n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭa-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti ?'

'Svāhaṃ bhante evaṃ-ditṭhiko ahosiṃ:⁵ Iti pi n'atthi paraloko, n'atthi sattā opapātikā, n'atthi sukaṭ-dukkatānaṃ kammānaṃ phalaṃ phalaṃ vipāko ti. Api cāhaṃ ayyena Kumāra-kassapena etasmā pāpakā diṭṭi-gatā vivecito ti.'

'Yo pana te āvuso dāne vyāvaṭo ahosi Uttaro nāma māṇavo, so kuhiṃ uppanno⁶ ti ?'

'Yo me bhante dāne vyāvaṭo ahosi Uttaro nāma māṇavo, so sakkaccaṃ dānaṃ datvā sahatthā dānaṃ datvā citti-kataṃ dānaṃ datvā anapaviddhaṃ dānaṃ datvā kāyass bheda

1. The guardian spirits of the four quarters. See the Introduction to the Mahā-samaya Sutta.

2. See There Gāthā 38; S. v. 436 = K. V. 220; Vin. i. 19.

3. B^m Pāyāsiṃ d^o.

4. B^m K as before, paroiko.

5. S^{ct} -si.

6. B^m upapanno, and below.

param marañā sugatim saggaṃ lokaṃ uppann devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sahavyataṃ. Ahaṃ pana¹ asakkaccaṃ dānaṃ datvā asahatthā dānaṃ datvā acittikataṃ dānaṃ datvā apviddhaṃ dānaṃ datvā kāyassa bhedaṃ param marañā Cātummanhārājikānaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ uppanno suññaṃ Serīsakaṃ vimānaṃ. Tena hi bhante Gavampati manussa-lokaṃ gantvā evaṃ ārocehi: “Sakkaccaṃ dānaṃ detha, sahatthā dānaṃ detha, citti-kataṃ dānaṃ detha, anapaviddhaṃ dānaṃ detha. Pāyāsi rājañño asakkaccaṃ dānaṃ datvā asahatthā dānaṃ datvā acittikataṃ dānaṃ datvā apaviddhaṃ dānaṃ datvā kāyassa bhedaṃ param marañā Cātum-mahārājikānaṃ devānaṃ sahavyataṃ uppanno suññaṃ serīsakaṃ vimānaṃ. Yo pana tassa dāne vyāvaṭo ahosi Uttaro nāma māṇavo, so sakkaccaṃ datvā² sahatthā dānaṃ datvā citti-kataṃ dānaṃ datvā anapaviddhaṃ dānaṃ datvā kāyassa bhedaṃ param marañā sugatim saggaṃ lokaṃ uppanno Devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ sahavyatan ti.”

33. Now at that time the venerable Gavampati² used frequently to go for siesta to the empty mansion of the Acacia. And Pāyāsi, now one of the gods, came up to him and, saluting him, stood on one side. To him so standing the venerable Gavampati said :— ‘Who art thou, friend ?’

‘I, sir, am prince Pāyāsi.’

‘Wert thou not once of the opinion that there was no other world, no rebirth other than of parents, no fruit or result of deeds well or ill-done ?’

‘I was indeed, sir, but through his reverence Kumara Kassapa I detached myself from that evil set of opinions.’

‘But the youth Uttara, who objected to thy gift, friend, whereunto has he been reborn ?’

‘He, Sir, having objected to my gift, and having himself bestowed a gift thoroughly, with his own hands, with due thought,

1. B^m K add bhante.

2. He had been the son of a merchant at Benares; and had been received into the Order by the Buddha at the very beginning of his career as a teacher (Vin. I, 19). This legend supposes him, still a man, going for meditation to the lower heavens.

not as something discarded, has, since he died, been reborn in the bright and happy world, into the communion of the Three-and-Thirty Gods. I, sir, inasmuch as I bestowed my gift without thoroughness, not with my own hand, without due thought, as something discarded, was after my death reborn into the communion of the Four Great Kings, in the empty mansion of Acacia. Wherefore, Gavam-pati, Sir, go thou into the world of men and tell them :— “Give me your gifts with thoroughness, with your own hands, with due thought, and give not as if ye were discarding somewhat. For so did not prince Pāyāsi; and he after his death was reborn into the communion of the Four Great Kings, in the empty mansion of the Acacia. But the youth Uttara, who bestowed his gifts in the right way, was after his death reborn in the bright and happy world, into the communion of the Three-and-Thirty Gods.”

34. *Atha kho āyasmā Gavampati manussa-lokaṃ āgantva evaṃ ārocesi: ‘Sakkaccaṃ dānaṃ detha, sahatthā dānaṃ detha, citti-kataṃ dānaṃ detha, anapaviddhaṃ dānaṃ detha. Pāyāsi rājañño asakkaccaṃ dānaṃ datvā asahatthā dānaṃ datvā acitti-dānaṃ datvā apaviddhaṃ dānaṃ datvā kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā Cātum mahārājikānaṃ devānaṃ saṃvayataṃ upponno suññain Serīsakaṃ vimānaṃ. Yo pana tassa dāne vyāvaṭṭaṃ ahosi, Uttaro nāma māṇavo, so sakkaccaṃ dānaṃ datvā sahatthā dānaṃ datva citti-kataṃ dānaṃ datvā datvā anapa-viddhaṃ dānaṃ datvā kāyassa bhedaṃ param maraṇā sugatim saggaṃ lokaṃ uppanno devānaṃ Tāvatiṃsānaṃ shavyatan ti.’*

34. So the venerable Gavampati came back to the world of men, and there told these things. “Give me your gifts with thoroughness, with your own hands, with due thought, and give not as if ye were discarding somewhat. For so did not Prince Pāyāsi; and he after his death was reborn into the Communion of the Four Great kings, in the empty mansion of the Acacia. But the youth Uttara, who bestowed his gifts in the right way, was after his death reborn in the bright and happy world, into the Communion of the Three and Thirty Gods.”

Pāyāsi Sutta Niṭṭhitam

The End Of The Payasi Sutta.

INDEX- I

A

Abhassara devas, the, see
Devas Ātuma, the Buddha at,
256.

Ābhassara, 124.

Accuta, 514.

Ajapala – nigrodha, the Bud-
dha at the, 531.

Ajāta Sattu, Vedehiputta, king
of Magadha, 137, 332, 337.

Ajita kesakambali, 298

Akaniṭṭha devas, the, See
Devas, Aggidatta, Brahmin,
father of kakusandha– Bud-
dhas, 10

Akaniṭṭha, 90.

Ālakamandā, city of Devas,
290, 343.

Ālāra Kālāma, 254, 8.

Allakappa, 337.

Ambagama, the Buddha goes
to, 239.

Ambalaṭṭhikā, the Buddha goes
to, 154.

Ambapālī – vana, at vesālī, the
Buddha at, 181.

Ambapālī, a courtesan at
vesālī, 183, 188.

Ambasaṇḍā, a Brahmin village,
525, 7.

Ambavana, the Buddha goes
to, 263.

Ānanda cetiya, 239, 245.

Ānanda, chief attendant of
Gotama Buddha, 9, 155, 159,
197, 201, 206, 213, 220, 230,
236, 239, 245, 250, 252, 252,
261, 262, 268, 270, 271, 272,
273, 274, 276, 277, 285, 287,
306, 307, 309, 310, 316, 318,
324, 340.

Anejaka, 514.

Anga – Magadhas, the 127.

Aṅgas, the, 471.

Anopama, capital of Supatīta's
kingdom, 10.

Anuruddha, at the Buddha's
death, 310.

Ariṭṭhaka, 514.

Aruṇa Devas, 516.

Aruṇa, king, father of Sikhī
Buddha, 10.

Aruṇavati, capital of Aruna's
kingdom, 10.

Asamā, 513.

Āsava, 516.

Asoka, chief attendant of
Vipassi Buddha, 9.

Assakas, the, 471.

Atappa devas, the, see Devas,

Anāthapiṇḍika, 2.

Atappa, 90.

Ātuma, the Buddha at, 256.

Avanti, the people of, 471.

Aviha devas, the see Devas

Asama, See Devas, Asuras, the,
512, 535.

Aviha, 87.

B

Bahuputta cetiya, 198, 200, 229.

Bali, 512.

Bandhuma, king, of other of Vipassi Buddha, 9, 16, 26, 33, 47.

Bandhumatī, Capital of bandhumā's Kingdom, 10, 16, 71, 84, 87.

Bandhumati, mother of Vipassi Buddha, 10, 16, 87.

Bārāṇasī, 298, 342, 471.

Bārāṇasī, capital of Kikī's kingdom, 9.

Bhadda, an upāsaka, 177.

Bhadda, daughter of the Gandhabba king, 531, 533, 577.

Bharata, 471.

Bhāratas, the seven, 471.

Bhiyyas-Uttara, chief disciples of konāgamana a Buddha, 4.

Bhoganagara, 239, 244.

Bhuñjati, 537.

Bhūri-pañña, epithet of the Buddha, 422, 427, 447.

Bhusāgara, the Buddha at, 256, 257.

Bimbisara, king of Magadha, 412, 413.

Bodhisatta, earthquakes in the career of, 209, 210.

Brahmā Mahabrahmā intercedes for the world with

vipassi, 64, 68.

Brahmā, see Devas.

Bhaṇḍagāma, 236, 239.

Brahmadatta, a Brahmin, father of konāgamana Buddha, 10.

Brahmadutta, 471.

Brahmajala Sutta, number, 1.

Brahmakāyika, 124.

Brahma-parisā, 212.

Buddha, (Dhama, Saṃgha), 302, 306, 307, 411, 412, 413.

Buddhas; their memory, 11, 15, 92; past and future, 155, 158, 286.

C

Canda, See Devas. Candana, See Devas Candima and Suriya,

See Devas, Campā, 289, 342.

Cāpāla cetiya, 211, 212, 215, 221, 222, 229.

Cātummahārajika devas, the see Devas. Catummaharajika Parisa, 218.

Ceti Vansa, the countries, 408, 409, 410.

Citra-Supaṇṇas, the, 513.

Cittasena, a Gandhabba, 511.

Cora-papātaat Rājagaha, 224.

Cunda, enthurtains the Buddha, 245, 247, 246, 249.

Cundaka, attends the Buddha, 245.

D

Dānaveghasa, a class of Asuras, 513.

Dantapura, 471.

Devas, are issāmacchariya-Samyojana, 548; length of days of 639; the thirty three are forms of Brahma, 426.

Devatās, predict the conversion of Bandhumati, 82, 83, 85; address Gotama among the Aviha devas, 87; at Pataligama, 166; and at the Buddha's death, 272.

Dhamma, name of the lake in front of the palace, 372.

Dhamma, name of the place built by vissakamma, for Mahā-Sudassana, 368, 73; 375.

Dhatarattha, see Devas.

Dhanavati mother of kassapa Buddha. 10.

Disampati, king, 462, 468.

Doṇa, a Brahmin, 335, 336, 337.

G

Gandhabbā, 419, 508, 509, 535, 545.

Gandhapura, 338.

Gaṅgā, the river, the Buddha transports himself and the bhikkhus across, 169, 170.

Gatama the Gotama-dvāra at Pālaligāma, 167, 168.

Gavampati, finds Pāyāsi in the returns to the world of men, 688.

Gijjha-kūte, mount, 136, 138, 153, 441.

Ginjakāvasatha, the Brick Hall

at Nādika, 408, 416, 419.

Golamaka Ceitiya, 211, 12.

Gopaka deva putta see Devas

Gopikā, a Sakya Woman, 539.

Gotama nigrodha, at Rajagaha, 225.

Gotama, family name of

Gotama Buddha, 6, 89., See Buddha.

Govinda, a Brahmin, 462, 497.

H

Hāragaja, 516.

Hari, 516.

Hārīta, 518.

I

Inda, See sa-India; Issarā the ten, 516.

J

Jaliya Sutta No. 7

Jambudipa, 84,000 bhikkhus in 83, 85.

Jambugāma, 234.

Janavasabha Sutta, No. 18; 408, 409.

Janesabha, 416, 442, 508, 509.

Jetavana, 1.

Jivakambavane, at Rajagaha, 224, 25.

Jotipāla, son of Govinda, 437, 38.

K

Kakudha, an upasaka, 176.

Kakutthā, river, 251, 263, 264.

Kalandaka nivāpā at Rājagahe 225, 226, 227.

- Kāla-Sila, at Rājagaha, 226, 227.
- Kālakañja, an Asura, 512
- Kālīṅga an upasaka, 176.
- Kālīṅga the kingdom of, 338, 339; the people, 471
- Kāmasettha, 511.
- Kāmasettha, Sec Devas
- Kalakanja, an Asura, 512.
- Kambala, a nāga, 511.
- Kammāssadhamma, a village fo the kurus, 94, 574.
- Kaṇḍañña, family name of Buddhas Vipassi, Sikhī and Vessabhu, 6, 7.
- Kaṇha, epithet of Māra, 519.
- Kapilavatthu, capital of Suddhodana's Kingdom, 10, 337, 339, 510, 539.
- Kareri-kuṭika, in the Jetagrove, 1.
- Karumha, 516.
- Kāsi Kosala, the tribes, 408, 409, 410.
- Kāsis, the, 471.
- Kasis, the, 471.
- Kassapa, family name of Buddhas Kakusandha, Konāgamana, and Kassapa, 6, 7.
- Kassapa-Sīhanada Sutta, No. 8.
- Kaṭigāma, 172, 174.
- Kaṭissabha, an upāsaka, 176.
- Kaṭṭhaka, the Deva, 516.
- Kevaddha Sutta, No. 11.
- Khanda- Tissa, chief disciples of vippassi Buddha. 7, 14, 44, 48.
- Khema, king when kakusandha was Buddha, 10, 44, 48.
- Khemamkara, chief attendant of Sikhi Buddha, 8, 9.
- Khemavati, the capital of khem's kingdom, 10.
- Khemiya, 516.
- Khiḍḍa-padūsika, 514.
- Khumbīra, 507.
- Kikī, king when kassapa was Buddha, 10.
- Kinnugaṇḍu, See Devas
- Kutendu, 510.
- Koliyas, the, of Rāmagāma, 333, 335.
- Kosalas, the, 623, 625.
- Kosambi, 289, 342.
- Kosiya, 537.
- Kumara kassapa, 622, 658, replies as follows to pāyāsi, (1) the sun and moon are gods and belongs to the para-loka (see paraloka), 631; (2) the criminal executed without communicating with his friends, 632. 633; (3) As the man in the dung-heap. So human beings are not sweet to devas, 636; (4) difference of time to devas and to men, 640, 641, (5) the other world not to be seen with the eye of flesh, 642, 643. (6) parable of the posthumous son, 644; (7) in dreams the soul is not seen to go out and in (see Jiva), 645

(8) why body is heavier after death, 649 (9) parable of the trumpet and the villagers, 654; (10) parable of the asectic and the fire which went out 656; (11) parable of the foolish and the wise caravan leaders, 663; (12) parable of the load of dry dung, 663; (13) parable of the poisoned dice, 672; (14) parable of the two villages, one of continually changed his load for a better one, 678.

Kumbhaṇḍa; 508.

Kumbhandas, the Devas. Kumbhīra, see Devas. Kurus, the, 94; the Buddha among, the, 575.

Kuru-Paṇcāta, the tribes, 408, 409, 410, 411.

Kusāvati, 290, 300; the city of Mahā – Sudassana, 343; its ten cries, 343; seven ramparts, 343; four gates, 343; seven avenues of palms, 344, 381.

Kusinārā, 253, 257, 259, 289, 290, 329, 339.

Kūṭadanta Sutta, No. 5.

Kūṭāgāra – Sāta, the, in the Mahāvena. 230.

Kuṭeṇḍu, 510

L

Lāma-Setṭha the Devas. 516.

Lambitaka, 516.

Licchavis, they visit the Buddha, 182, 187, 330, 339.

Lohicca Sutta No. 12.

Loihita – Vasim, 515.

M

Maccha-Surāsenā, the tribes, 409, 411, 412.

Madda kucchi migadāya, at Rājagaha, 224, 225.

Magadha 5, the Buddha among the, 518, 519.

Magadha disciples in, 412, 438.

Magadha, disciples in, 412, 438.

Magadhas, the Buddha among the 519.

Mahā – Parāga, 515. Devas.

Mahā – Satipatthāna Sutta, No 20 .

Mahā – Sudassana, king, 290, 343 – 400.

Maha – Suddassana Sutta No. 17.

Maha parāga, 515.

Maha Samāna, 515, Devas.

Mahā-Brahmā, see Devas Mahā rājas, the four, see Devas.

Mahā-Govinda Sutta No. 19.

Mahā-kassapa, 326, 327, 329.

Mahā-kassapa, 326, 329

Mahali Sutta, No. 6.

Mahāpadana Sutta, No. 14.

Mahāparinibbāna Sutta, No. 15.

Mahāpurisa, the 32 mark. 26, 28, 30, 33

Mahāpurisa, the 32 mask, 26, 28, 30, 33.

Mahāvana, the Buddha at, 229; at kapilvatthu, 501.

Mahā-vyūha kūtāgara, in the pal-

- ace of Maha Suddassama, 371, Namucī, 512.
 378, 379, 389, 381, 384, 385, Nandā, a bhikkhuni, 175.
 386. Nerañjarā, river, 221, 521.
 Makkhali Gosāla, 298. Nigaṇṭha Nāth-putta, 298.
 Makuṭa – bandhana, a cetiya of Nighaṇḍu, 510.
 the mallas, 329, 331. Nigradhārāma, at Rājagah, 224.
 Mallas, the, 292, 293, 294, 296, Nikāṭa, an upāsaka, 176.
 332, 333, 336, 337.

P

- Mallas, the, of kusinara, 333, 336, 339.
 Mano-padūsika, 515.
 Mānusuttama, 515.
 Māra the Devas Māra – parisā, 212.
 Māra-sena, 516, 518.
 Mātali Saṅgāhaka, 532.
 Matāli, 510.
 Matali, Sec, Devas
 Māyā, 510.
 Maya, mother of Gotama Buddha 10,89
 Mithilā, 471.
 Moriyas, the of Pippalivana, 336, 337.
 Moriyas, the, of Pippalivana, 336, 337.
N
 Nābhasa nāgas, 511.
 Nādika, the Buddha at 175, 179, 409, 410, 415.
 Nāga –rāja, 338, 340.
 Nāga, a tille of the Buddha, 517.
 Nagas, the 510, 515.
 Nakkhattas, the Devas 514.
 Nala, a Gandhabba king, 511.
 Nālandā, 155, 158.
 Pabhāvatī, mother of Sikhī Buddha 10.
 Pacceka-Buddha, deserves a thupa, 275.
 Pajjunna, the Devas; 516.
 Pakkusa the Matta, 247, 248.
 Pakkusa the matta, 247, 248.
 Pakudha Kaccāyana, 298.
 Panāda, 510.
 Pañcasikha, a gandhabba, 427.
 Paramatta, 517.
 Paranimmita, 428, 495, 496, 515.
 Pasenadi, king of the kosalas 622.
 Pātaligama, the Buddha at 287, 290.
 Paṭhavī, the Devas, 515.
 Pāvā, 245, 247, 340, 342
 Pāvārikambavana, at Nālanda, 155, 158, 159.
 Pāyāga nāgas, 512.
 Pāyāsi rajanna, 622, 660, denies another world, and the fruit of actions, 622; will be called a foal if he changes his view, 663. 668, 669 is converted, 680; his sacrifices 684, attain fellowship with the four Maharajika devas. 686.

Payasi Sutta, No. 23.
 Potana, 471.
 Poṭṭhapāda Sutta, No. 9.
 Pūraṇa Kasapa, 298.
 Purindada, epithet of Sakka, 516.

R

Rāhubhadda, 513.
 Rajagaha, 136, 154, 153, 223, 446, 519.
 Rājagāraka, at Ambalaṭṭhikā, 153, 154.
 Reṇu, Son of Disampati, 465, 468.
 Roja, 514.
 Roruka, 471.
 Rucira, the Devas, 514.

S

Sabbāmitta, chief attendant of kassapa Buddha 9.
 Sa-Brahmaka, 518.
 Sadamatta, the devas, 516.
 Sahabhu, 515.
 Sahabhu, 515.
 Sahadhamma, 515.
 Sahālī, 513;
 Sāketa, 290.
 Sakka-pañha Sutta No. 21.
 Sakya-muni, 538.
 Sakyas, the 334, 339, 340.
 Salaṭa garaka, the Buddha at 534.
 Samāna, 515.
 Sāmañña-phala Sutta No. 2.
 Sanamkumāra, 417.
 Santuṭṭha an upāsaka, 176.
 Sappasonḍika Cane, at Rajagaha, 224.

Sāriputta, 153, 154, 154.
 Sāriputta-Moggallānā, chief disciples of Gotama Buddha, 8, 89.
 Sātāgira yakkhas, 506.
 Sātha, a bhikkhu, 175.
 Sattabhū, one of the seven Bhāratas, 472.
 Sattambaka Cetiya, 227.
 Sattapaṇṇi cane, at Rājagaha, 224.
 Sāvatti, 1, 290, 534.
 Setavyā, a town of the kosales, 622, 626.
 Sicitti, an Asura, 513.
 Sikkaddhi, Son of Mātali, 532.
 Siṃsapā-Vana near Setaryā, 622, 625.
 Sita-Vana, at Rājagaha, 227.
 Sobh, king when konāgamena was Buddha, 10.
 Sobhavatī, capital of sobhas kingdom, 10.
 Soma, 513.
 Soṇadaṇḍa Sutta No. 4.
 Son-Uttara, chief disciples of vessabhu Buddha, 6, 7.
 Sotthija, chief attendant of konagamana Buddha, 9.
 Sovīras, the 471.
 Subhada, an upasaka, 176.
 Subhadda, Buddha pabbajita, 298.
 Subhaga-vana, the, 87.
 Subhakiṇṇa, 124.
 Subrahma, 517.
 Sudassa, 89;
 Sudatta, an upasika, 176.

Suddhodana, rāja, father of Vepacitti, 512.
 Gotama Buddha, 10, 91. Veroca-nāmaka, 512.
 Sujātā, an upāsikā, 176. Veteṇḍu, 510.
 Sukka, 514. Vicakkhana, 514.
 Sūleyya, 514. Virūpakkha, one of the four
 Supaṇṇas, the 513. Mahārājās, 508.
 Suppatīta, rāja, father of Vitu, 510.
 Vessabhū Buddha, 10. Vitucca, 510.
 Suriya, 625.

Suriyassūpaṇisa, 513.

T

Tevijja Sutta, No. 13.
 Tissa – Bhāradvāja chief dis-
 ciples of kassapa Buddha 6, 8.
 Tissa Sandṃ kumāra, 517.
 Tusita, 428, 517.
 Tuṭṭha, an upasika, 176.

U

Udena cetiya, 198.
 Upasannaka, chief attendant of
 vessabhū Buddha, 9.
 Upavāna, fans the Buddha, 271,
 272.
 Upavattana of the Mallas, 262,
 268, 272.
 Uruveta, the Buddha at, 217.
 Uttarā, mother of konāgamana
 Buddha, 10.

V

Varuṇa 514, 515.
 Vāsavanesin, 514.
 Vasus, 515.
 Vāya, 513.
 Veghanassa, 516.
 Venhu, 516.

Y

Yakkha, (Janavasabha), 416, 442.
 Yakkhas, of various class, 508,
 510.
 Yāma, 428, 515.
 Yāmmunā, nāgas of Yamuna, 511.
 Yaññadatta, father of kona
 gamana Buddha, 10.
 Yasasa, 513.
 Yasavatī, mother of vessabhu
 Buddha, 10.

INDEX- II

SUBJECTS, RARE WORD

A

- Abhisañña-nirodha, 369.
 Acchika, 45.
 Acelakā, 338.
 Addhuvā, 52.
 Adhicca – Samuppanikā, 72.
 Adhivutti-Padāni, 39.
 Ādinakkhatuyā kula, 246, 276.
 Ahinindriyo, 384, 399.
 Ajjhāpanno, 491.
 Ajjhatam anavajja – Sukham, 150.
 Ākiṇṇa-manussā, 428.
 Amarā-vikkhepikā, 64.
 Anattādhino, 156.
 Antānantika, 60.
 Anukūla – yaññani, 296.
 Anupakkuṭṭho, 242, 274.
 Aparanta-kappikā, 102.
 Apāṭihīrakatā, 394.
 Āsandi-pañcamā purisā, 128.
 Asassatikā, 49.
 Asavaṇaṃ khaya-nānam, 179.
 Asi, 166.
 Assavāya, 83.
 Atimāpayato, 121.
 Avassaṭam, 498.
 Āya-mukham, 160.

B

- Bahalva or bahayanam

gahetva, 444.

- Bandhupādāpaccā, 191, 220.
 Bārahisā or barihisatthaya, 293.
 Bhassantāhutiya, 128.
 Bījam, 11.

C

- Cetopariya-nāṇam, 170.
 Cutūpapāta-nāṇaṃ, 174.

D

- Daddula-Bhakkho, 339.
 Dakkhiti, 337.
 Dandhāyitattam, 498.
 Danta-kāro, 168.
 Dassu-khilaṃ, 281.
 Deva-yāniyamaggo, 435.
 Dhamo, 504.
 Dhansemi, 428.
 Dhopanam, 14.
 Dibbā Sata-dhātu, 169.
 Dibbāni Saddāni, 313.
 Dibbo Cakkhu or Dibbena chakkuma, 176.
 Dittha-dhamma-nibbāna-vāda, 88.

E

- Eka – mansa Khalaṃ, 121.
 Elagala, 243, 275.

G

- Gathito, 490.

H

Home, 26.

I

Iddhi, 168, 429.

Ina-mūlāni, 155.

Indriyesu gutta-dvāro, 150.

Iriṇaṃ, 496.

Itihāsa, 186.

Itthi, 206.

J

Jāni, 281.

Jhānas, the four, 158, 160.

Jīva and Sarīra, 325, 386.

Jūta, 17.

K

Kayo, 163.

Khari-vividham, 215, 218.

Khiraṃ, 409.

Kiṇhā, 191, 220, 334.

L

Lokāyataṃ, 34, 186, 256.

M

Mahāpurisa, 186.

Mantā, 257.

Muddhā vipateyya, 294.

Muṇḍakā, 220.

Mussati, 53.

N

Nakkhattānam, 32, 33.

Naṇa-dassanam, 163.

Neeayikā, 283.

Nehapako, 159, 435, 466.

Nelā vācā, 10.

Niddāyati, 462.

Nimantaṇaṃ, 338.

Nippanikā, 26.

Nitthiṇṇo, 157.

Nivuto, 492.

O

Ogacchati, 481.

Ogamanam, 226.

Ophuto, 493.

P

Paccājāto, 141.

Paccemi, 382.

Pallomo, 204.

Parijegucchā, 65.

Pariṇato, 72.

Parivāca, 10.

Pāsādo, 176, 485, 486.

Patapati, 285, 290.

Patimantetum, 260.

Patisallino, 280.

Patuvā-Satani, 124.

Pinda-dāvika, 118.

Pisāco, 197.

Pitāmahā-yugā, 242.

Pubbanta – kappika, 41.

Pubbe nivāsam, 172.

S

Samghāsamghi, 240, 241.

Samghāsamghī, 34.

Samkilesam, 22.

Samphappalāpaṃ, 10.

Samvadanam, 36.

Sankhiyā-dhammo 2.

Santuttho, 153.

Sassata-vāda, 41.

Sati-Sampajañña, 151.
 Sattattam, 72.
 Sayana, 22.
 Siravhāyanam, 36.
 Sobhanagarakam, 14.
 Subbuṭṭhika, 34.

T

Tandila-Seyyam, 339.
 Tiṇḍukācīre, 366.

U

Ubbhidodako, 160.
 Ubbittāvitattam, 8, 90.
 Uddhamāghatanikā, 79.
 Uju-uipaccanika-vadā, 1, 2.
 Upakkhato, 270.
 Upaniyya acaca, 230.
 Upapilo, 281.
 Uppatha-gamanam, 33.

V

Vaccasi, 243, 256, 261.
 Vaṇṇas, the four, Vaṇṇam
 bhāsati, 8.
 Vassa-kammam, 38.
 Viggāhika-kattā, 28.
 Vijjā, 26, 27.
 Vimokkhā the thru Visādam
 pūpuṇati, 496.
 Vipinam, 497.
 Visūka-dassanam, 10, 11.
 Vitthāyitattam, 498.
 Vivittam Sensānam, 153.
 Vobhindanta, 67.
 Vodaniyadhammā, 400.
 Vossa, Kammam, 38.
 Vusitavā-manī, 192.



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